UNIVERSITY
OF PITTSBURGH

Dar. Rm.
DA531
1802
C654
v. 1

LIBRARIES

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2009 with funding from
University of Pittsburgh Library System

http://www.archive.org/details/cobbettsannualre01cobb

Cobbett's political register

COBBETT'S

ANNUAL REGISTER.

VOL. I.

FROM JANUARY TO JUNE,

1802.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY COX AND BAYLIS, GREAT QUEEN STREET.

Dar.
DA531
1802
C654
v.1
cop.1

ADVERTISEMENT.

When I first undertook the Political Register, I was fully persuaded, that the plan, which, indeed, I had long thought of, was well calculated to insure a wide circulation, and to produce an extensive as well as a lasting effect. It appeared to me, that such a work, conducted with great diligence and with common ability, would, with relation to politics, at once embrace every rational object of a news-paper, a magazine, and a review. Here my prospect terminated; but, when I came to see a dozen or fifteen numbers collected together in the form of a book, when, I perceived the convenience and great utility of this book, and particularly when I came to compare its contents with those of the Annual Registers, I felt myself urged, by every motive which can actuate a writer to extend my plan, so as to make it include the purpose of an Annual Register, in which shape, and under which title, I now publish the first volume, notifying, at the same time, my intention of publishing a similar volume at the close of every half year.

I once thought of giving a *table of contents*; but such a table, to a work of such a great number and variety of articles, would be too long to be of use. The *index* is, besides, so very complete as to supersede the necessity of any other means of reference.

In the *parliamentary papers* only I have fallen short of my intention, and that for want of room. The papers, however, which have been omitted in this volume, shall find a place in the next.

The *price* of the volume may, at first sight appear high; but, it will, in proportion to the quantity of print, be found to be cheaper than any other book published in London. It contains as much matter as four or five common octavo volumes.

W. Cobbett.

REMARKABLE EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1801.

January.

1. This day being the commencement of the union with Ireland, a proclamation was issued by his Majesty, declaring his pleasure concerning the royal stile and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and its dependencies, and also the ensigns armorial, flags, and banners thereof.
2. A sixth report from the committee of the house of commons appointed to consider of the high price of provisions was published.
3. A proclamation was issued for a general fast.
6. An account was received, by the way of Paris, of an armistice having been signed at Steyer, on the 25th of the preceding month, between general Moreau, commanding the French army, and the archduke Charles, commanding that of Austria, and by which the latter agreed to deliver into the hands of the French certain fortresses, giving them the complete command of the country.
9. The details were received from Paris, of the operations of the French army which led to the dilemma in which the Austrians were obliged to sue to the French general for an armistice. By these details it appears that the French were as ready to grant, as the Austrians to request, a cessation of hostilities, as their centre was much endangered by having pushed too far beyond their wings. How limited is the perception of man, and upon what trivial circumstances does sometimes the fate of empires depend! Had the Austrians attacked the French centre, how different might have been the circumstances of Europe.
14. An order of council was this day issued, for the detention of all Russian, Danish, and Swedish vessels in British ports. This measure was rendered necessary by a coalition entered into by those powers to resist, by force, the right of search by the ships of Great Britain, a right established to us by ancient usage, and upon which must ever depend the naval superiority, the commercial interests, and the political importance of the British nation!
15. An account received from Paris, of the French army in Italy, under general Brune, having crossed the Adige, on the 1st instant, and of the evacuation of Verona, and the blockade of Mantua.
17. The Gazette contained a letter from capt. Rowley Bulteel, dated from Rio Janeiro, containing an account of the capture of two French frigates, viz.—La Concorde, of 44 guns, and 440 men, and La Medée, of 36 guns, and 315 men.
22. The imperial parliament met for the first time. It was opened by a commission from his Majesty. The commons having attended at the bar of the house of lords, by order of the lords commissioners, they were directed to proceed forthwith to the election of a speaker. The commons having returned to their own house, proceeded to such election, and the right hon. Henry Addington was unanimously elected to that high and important office. The clerks of the house of peers administered the oaths to the peers present, and the lord steward of the household attended in the house of commons, to administer the oaths to the members of that house.
23. The new speaker of the house of commons was presented at the bar of the house of lords, and the election received his Majesty's entire and perfect approbation, through the medium of the lord chancellor.
25. An instance of the extravagance of the emperor Paul, if not a decisive proof of his actual derangement of intellect, was this day received in an article contained in the Petersburgh court gazette, in which that sovereign proposed that all the belligerent potentates of Europe should meet at an appointed place, attended by their prime ministers, and terminate their differences by single combat. Nothing could be better calculated to dissipate the momentary alarm which the prospect of a war with the northern powers had excited in this country.
28. In the court of King's Bench. Mr. Waddington received sentence as a forestaller. The judgment was, that he should, in addition to the imprisonment he had before undergone, be imprisoned in the King's Bench prison for one month, that he should pay a fine of 500l. and be imprisoned until the fine was paid.
31. An account received through France of an armistice having been concluded in Italy, on the 16th, at Treviso.

February.

2. This day his Majesty went in the usual state to the house of peers, and addressed, for the first time, the imperial parliament, in a most gracious speech from the throne.

Motions for addresses to his Majesty were moved in both houses of parliament, and amendments in both proposed, but the original motions were carried, in the house of peers, by a majority of 56, on a division, and in the house of commons, of 182.

6. An account received of the sailing of the French squadron, under the command of admiral Gantheaume.

7. This day Mr. Pitt, Mr Dundas, lord Grenville, and lord Spencer, sent in their resignations to the king.—The public mind was never more agitated than by this event. Under national circumstances the most critical, it was, with every thinking man, a ground of most serious regret and apprehension, that the country should be deprived of the directing genius of these ministers. The gloom that overspread the nation seemed to arise from a presentiment of what was to happen. The appointment of Mr. Addington as chancellor of the exchequer astonished every one. It was some days before people could credit the report Unhappily for the nation, it finally proved to be well founded, and it afterwards appeared, that the very first act of Mr. Addington's administration was to obtain for himself a house belonging to his Majesty in Richmond Park.

9. Mr. Pitt sent notice to the bank that he should continue to transact public business as chancellor of the exchequer, until after the important business of the budget should be completed.

A treaty of peace concluded at Luneville, between the emperor of Germany and the chief consul of France.

10. This day the right hon. Henry Addington resigned his office as speaker of the house of commons.

The gazette contained an account of the taking of the Dedaigneuse of 36 guns and 300 men.

11. Sir John Mitford chosen speaker of the house of commons, in the room of Mr. Addington.

14. The arrangement of a part of the new administration was made public.

16. A loan contracted for to the amount of 28,000,000l.

18. An armistice concluded between the French general Murat, and the king of Naples, at Foligno.

Mr. Pitt opened the budget in the house of commons.

21. Lord St. Vincent, lord Hawkesbury, lord Hobart, and some others of the new ministers, kissed his Majesty's hand on their respective appointments.

22. War declared by Spain against Portugal.

His Majesty had for some days been afflicted with a bad cold. This day, to satisfy the public anxiety respecting the health of their sovereign, his Majesty's physicians wrote out a bulletin, which was left in an anti-room of the Queen's-house.

To repel the unprovoked aggression of the northern powers, and vindicate the rights of our country, a fleet was ordered to be assembled at Yarmouth, to act in the Baltic as soon as that sea would permit an entrance into it. To the command of this fleet Sir Hyde Parker was appointed, and lord Nelson was named as second in command. This day sir Hyde Parker hoisted his flag at Portsmouth, on board the London, of 98 guns, and lord Nelson, in the St. George, of 98 guns, arrived from the westward.

Admiral Cornwallis appointed to the chief command of the channel fleet, in the room of earl St. Vincent, made first lord of the admiralty.

27. A member had given notice of a motion, relative to the King's health, which he proposed to bring forward this night. Mr. Sheridan moved, that the house should adjourn.

March.

2. The gazette contained an account of the capture, among other vessels, of l'Unie French frigate of 30 guns, and 250 men, by the Arrogant, captain Osborn.

3. Intelligence was received of the loss of the Kent East-Indiaman, which was taken by the Confiance French frigate in the East Indies, after a most gallant resistance, in which capt. Rivington of the Kent was unfortunately killed.

5. The fleet destined to act in the Baltic, assembled in Yarmouth Roads.

War declared by Portugal against Spain.

6. Accounts were received of a rebellion having broken out in Sierra Leone, which was suppressed by the great exertions of lieut. Sheriff, of the navy.

8. A landing was effected by the troops under the command of lieut-general sir Ralph Abercromby, in the Bay of Aboukir, on the coast of Egypt. The landing was warmly opposed by the French; but our troops surmounting every obstacle, defeated the enemy, taking eight pieces of cannon, and firmly established themselves.

9. This day the remainder of the army were landed.

11. The last bulletin respecting his Majesty's health was this day published, announcing his complete recovery, to the sincere joy of an anxious and loyal people.

12. The fleet under the command of sir Hyde Parker and lord Nelson, sailed from Yarmouth Roads, consisting of fifteen ships of the line, with a number of bombs, frigates, sloops, gun-brigs, &c.

The British army marched forward to within twenty leagues of Alexandria, and within one league of the enemy, advantageously posted on the commanding ground.

13. The British army advanced to attack the enemy, who, not waiting for the attack, advanced at the same time. A very warm action ensued, in which British valour and discipline were eminently displayed, and completely victorious. The enemy were forced back under

the walls of Alexandria, the British occupying the ground which the enemy had quitted in the morning.

14. Mr. Pitt resigned into his Majesty's hands, at the Queen's house, the seals of office, as chancellor of the exchequer and first lord of the treasury, and they were immediately delivered by his Majesty to Mr. Addington, who kissed hands upon the occasion.

An account received of admiral Gantheaume's squadron having put into Toulon, to repair the damages which it had sustained in several gales of wind.

16. His Majesty's ship Invincible, of 74 guns, the flag-ship of rear-admiral Totty, unfortunately lost near Yarmouth Roads, and the greatest part of the officers and crew drowned. Admiral Totty, and 125 of the crew only saved. The Invincible had sailed from Yarmouth Roads in the morning to join the Baltic fleet, and struck between two and three in the afternoon.

The ratification of the treaty of peace concluded at Luneville, exchanged at Paris.

17. Earl Hardwicke appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland.

20. A motion was made in the house of peers for an inquiry into the state of the nation, which was negatived by a majority of 87, there being 28 for, and 115 against the motion.

The Swedish island of St. Bartholomew, in the West-Indies, surrendered to the British forces under the command of lieut. general Trigge and rear admiral Duckworth.

21. Peace between the emperor of Germany and the French republic proclaimed at Paris.

A general attack made by the French forces in Egypt under the command of general Menou, upon the British line. A most desperate battle ensued, in which the French were twice repulsed with determined bravery on the part of the British, and which ended in the complete defeat of the French. In this battle, the British commander in chief, sir Ralph Abercromby, received a wound in the thigh. He remained on horseback, however, on the field of battle, and in the hottest of the fight, till the fortune of the day was decided in our favour. When taken from his horse, he fainted for loss of blood. He was conveyed on board the Foudroyant, the flag ship of admiral lord Keith.—In this battle the French lost a great many men, 2 pieces of cannon, and, what they valued, probably, still more, the standard, called the *invincible standard*, which was carried by the legion of Buonaparté in all his famous battles in Italy, and which has inscribed on it the names of the several places were those battles were gained. This precious symbol of victory was wrenched from the French by a soldier of the Queen's German regiment, named Antoine Lutz, who was born at Resheim in Alsace, and who, previous to his entering our service, served in the army of the prince of Condé, 'till that gallant corps was disbanded, in 1797.

23. The emperor Paul of Russia died suddenly.

24. Alexander, the eldest son of Paul I. proclaimed emperor of Russia. This prince immediately ordered all the English prisoners to be released, and addressed letters to our court, containing the most friendly assurances.

The island of St. Martin surrendered to the British force.

25. A motion made in the house of commons to inquire into the state of the nation, which was negatived by a majority of 186—there being 105 for, and 291 against, the motion.

27. A dispatch received from Paris, by the French agent here, which was favourable to the commencement of the negotiations for peace.

28. Sir Ralph Abercromby unfortunately died of his wounds received on the 21st. In him his country lost one of its most valuable characters—equally distinguished by his talents as a general, and his virtues as a man.—He left to his family imperishable honour, to his companions in arms the example of his conduct, and his country motives for gratitude and admiration.

The island of St. Thomas surrendered to the British force.

30. The British fleet, commanded by sir Hyde Parker and lord Nelson, passed the sound with very little molestation from the Danes, and no damage on our part.

31. The island of St. Croix surrendered.

April.

1. The Irish budget was opened in the house of commons by Mr. Corry, the chancellor of the exchequer for Ireland.

2. Lord Nelson, with twelve two-deck ships, four frigates, four sloops of war, two fireships, and seven bomb-vessels, made an attack on the formidable line of defence constructed by the Danes for the protection of Copenhagen, and their naval arsenal there. This attack was made with all that judgment, skill, and daring enterprize, which had marked lord Nelson's conduct in the ever-glorious and memorable battle of the Nile. It ended in the most complete success, and with circumstances of peculiar glory to the character of the British nation for humanity, from the admirable presence of mind of lord Nelson.

4. Lord Nelson went on shore at Copenhagen, and had an interview with the crown prince.

7. Napper Tandy, the famous Irish traitor, received sentence of death for high treason.

9. An armistice was agreed upon between the British commanders in the Baltic and the court of Denmark for fourteen weeks.

10. The Hamburgh mail brought an account of that city having been taken possession of by the Danish troops under the command of the prince of Hesse.

14 The account of the death of the emperor Paul received in this country.

15. Captain Otway arrived in town with the official accounts of the glorious victory of Copenhagen.

16. The thanks of both houses of parliament were voted to the commanders, officers, and men of the Baltic fleet for their glorious services and brilliant victories in the action of the second instant.

17. Intelligence was received of a very gallant action performed by captain Connor of the brig Beaver. His ship having been captured by a French privateer, captain Connor and a little boy were left on board, and five Frenchmen to navigate her to France. Captain Connor attacked the whole of the French crew, threw one overboard, subdued the remainder, and brought his ship to England.

19. The town and castle of Rosetta surrendered to a British detachment under the command of colonel Spencer.

21. The island of St. Eustatius taken possession of by a British detachment.

25. Accounts were received of the capture of the French frigate L'Africane, of 44 guns, and 300 chosen troops on board, exclusive of her crew, by the Phœbe of 36 guns, commanded by captain Barlow. The French had 200 killed, and 184 wounded. There was but one man killed on board the Phœbe.

29. Advices received by government, that the rivers in the north of Europe, which had been shut against British commerce by the northern coalesced powers, were again opened by order of the courts of Berlin and Copenhagen.

May.

6. Accounts received from several parts of France of great preparations going forward for the invasion of this country. Measures promptly adopted by our government to repel this threatened attempt.

7. Lord St. Helen's set off as minister plenipotentiary for St. Petersburgh, to settle, definitively, the disputes with the northern powers, and establish, by treaty, the right of search, which the northern coalition was originated to resist.

10. The garrison of Rhamanie surrendered to a British force under the command of Gen. Hutchinson.

14. Mr. Baldwin arrived from Egypt with the official dispatches of the battle of the 21st of March, and brought with him the standard of a French corps taken in that battle, entitled "The Invincible Legion of Buonaparté."—This standard was taken by a soldier, named Antoine Lutz, (a French royalist born in Alsace) of the Queen's German regiment.—This honour has been claimed by the 42d. or Royal Highland regiment, but it in no wise belongs to them.—The Queen's German regiment bore the brunt of the battle, and, indeed, saved the 42d regiment from total destruction.

18. The thanks of both houses of parliament voted to the army in Egypt, for their gallant and successful services in that country.

27. His excellency Marquis Cornwallis left Dublin, and embarked on board the Dorset Yacht, on his return to England.

28. Lord St. Helen's, British plenipotentiary, reached St Petersburgh, and was most graciously received.

June.

3. The pleasing intelligence received that the Emperor Alexander had taken off the embargo from all British ships in the Russian ports.

5. The embargo upon Russian and Danish vessels in the ports of England ordered to be taken off.

6. A treaty of peace concluded between Spain and Portugal at Badajos.

7. A very gallant attack made by a small British squadron, under the command of Captain Newman, of La Loire frigate, on a French flotilla anchored off the harbour of Havre, in which Captain Wight, of the Wolverene, very particularly distinguished himself.

Peace concluded between Spain and Portugal.

8. Accounts received by the way of Paris of the entrance of the Spanish army into Portugal, and their capture of Olivenza.

9. His Royal Highness Frederick Duke of York appointed commander in chief of all His Majesty's land forces in the united kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland.

A most gallant attack made upon a Spanish convoy anchored under the battery of Oropesa, by captain Pulling, in His Majesty's sloops of war the Kangaroo and the Speedy, captain Lord Cochrane, which completely succeeded.

12. His excellency Count Bernstorff, minister plenipotentiary from the court of Denmark, arrived in London.

Another gallant attack made upon the French force, in consequence of which the enemy's flotilla was obliged to return into the harbour of Havre, and in which the Wolverene again distinguished herself.

17. A convention signed at Petersburgh between Lord St. Helen's and Count Panin.

All differences between this country and Russia were amicably and satisfactorily adjusted.

18. An account received from Lord Elgin at Constantinople of the arrival of a British force at Suez, which had come from India up the Red Sea.

24. The Swiftsure, of 74 guns, (but her lower-deck guns had been left at Egypt,) captured by Admiral Gantheaume's squadron, between Egypt and Candia, on her passage down the Mediterrancan.

27. Grand Cairo surrendered by capitulation to the combined British and Turkish army, under the command of Sir J. H. Hutchinson. The garrison consisted of upwards of 6000 men.

29. Their Majesties and the Princesses set off from Kew Palace for Weymouth.

Lord Nelson landed at Yarmouth from the Baltic; and on the

30. His lordship reached town, and went immediately to the Admiralty.

A most tremendous storm of thunder and lightning, which extended over a great part of the southern countries. It was extremely violent at Southampton and its vicinity. His Majesty at the time it came on, was taking an airing in his carriage in the New Forest. One of the horses taking fright at the lightning, became so unruly, that His Majesty was persuaded by his attendants to alight and take shelter in a cottage.

July.

1. The intercourse between this country and France, through the medium of M. Otto, the French agent here, become frequent.

2. Parliament prorogued by commission.

Mr. Merry left town for Paris as British agent there.

3. Their Majesties and the royal family embarked at Christchurch in the royal yachts, and proceeded for Weymouth.

6. A squadron under the command of Rear-Admiral Sir James Saumarez, consisting of seven ships of the line, attacked, in Algesiras Bay, a French squadron of three ships of the line and a large frigate, protected by the formidable batteries in the Bay. The attack was made in the true British style; but the Hannibal, of 74 guns, going inside of the enemy's ships, unfortunately grounded, and being immoveable, she was of necessity, but not until after the most gallant defence, abandoned to the enemy. Captain Ferris, and the remaining part of the crew, surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

8. The French squadron in Algesiras Bay, reinforced by five Spanish line of battle ships, two of them of 112 guns, a French ship of 74 guns, and three frigates, and an incredible number of gun-boats and other vessels.

12. The combined French and Spanish force, amounting in all to ten sail of the line, put to sea from Algesiras Bay. Sir James Saumarez, lying with his squadron at Gibraltar, whither he had gone to repair the damages sustained in the battle of the 6th, immediately put to sea after them, with five ships of the line, determined to oppose their passage to Cadiz, whither they seemed bound. At 11 P. M. the Superb, the van ship of the British squadron, opened her fire upon the enemy—the Cæsar, Sir James's flag ship, closely following, was about to open upon a three-decker of the enemy, which was perceived to be on fire, and which communicating to a ship of the same force to leeward, both soon blew up with a dreadful explosion. The San Antonio, of 74 guns, under French colours, struck to the Superb. The enemy's squadron was dispersed, and with difficulty found shelter in Cadiz harbour from the ardent and bold pursuit of the British ships. Sir James Saumarez returned in triumph to Gibraltar with his prize, and anchored there amongst the loudest acclamations of the garrison. This action may certainly vie in activity, enterprise, and gallantry, with any upon record in the proud annals of British glory.

In the night between this day and the 22d, a most daring and gallant enterprize was executed by the boats of a British squadron of frigates stationed in the mouth of Brest Harbour, under the command of Captain Brisbane, of His Majesty's ship Doris. A French national corvette, called La Chevrette, mounting 20 guns, and having 350 men on board, lay in Camaret Bay, in presence of the combined fleets of France and Spain. The boats of the Doris, Beaulieu, and Uranie, manned with volunteers, proceeded in to cut her out; in which enterprize, under the direction of Lieutenant Maxwell, of the Beaulieu, they were completely successful. The daring exploit was characterised by Admiral Cornwallis, the commander in chief, as being one of the noblest perhaps ever achieved by British valour, and was received in this country with the highest admiration.

24. The island of Medeira taken possession of by a British regiment, who were received as the friends and allies of Portugal.

27. Vice Admiral Nelson hoisted his flag on board the Unité frigate at Sheerness, his lordship having been appointed to the command of a flying squadron of frigates and gun-vessels for the protection of the coast against the threatened invasion of the enemy.

30. Lord Nelson, at day-light, hoisted his flag on board the Leyden of 68 guns, lying in the Downs, and at eight in the evening shifted it to the Medusa frigate.

August.

1. Early this morning Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson sailed from the Downs for the coast of France, with a numerous fleet of gun-brigs, bombs, &c.

4. Lord Nelson made an attack upon a French armament of gun-boats and other vessels, intended for the invasion of this country. His lordship succeeded in destroying and damaging a number of the enemy's vessels.

A letter published in the Gazette from Lord Cochrane, giving an account of his having captured, in the Speedy sloop of war, of 14 guns, four-pounders, and 54 men, a Spanish xebeck frigate, of 32 guns, 22 long twelve-pounders, 8 nines, and 2 heavy carronades, with 319 men. This action was considered by naval men as one of the most brilliant which was ever achieved by a single vessel against another.

6 Lord Nelson anchored in Margate roads from before Boulogne. His lordship came back to make further preparations for a renewal of the attack on the French force at Boulogne.

12. Intelligence reached this country, (viâ Constantinople), of the capture of Grand Cairo by the British and Ottoman army.

14. Lord Nelson again sailed with his squadron for the purpose of renewing the attack on Boulogne harbour.

15. A second attack made by Lord Nelson upon the French flotilla in Boulogne harbour, which had not all the desired success, in consequence of the enemy having taken the precaution, undreamt of by British sailors, of having drawn their vessels ashore.

His holiness the Pope addressed a letter to the French bishops, requiring their resignation, into his hands, of their ecclesiastical appointments.

20. Three gun-boats, two launches, and a flat boat, carrying a brass howitzer, taken and destroyed off Estaples by the boats of a small squadron under the command of Captain Rose, of the Jamaica

El Neptuno, a new ship pierced for 20 guns, belonging to the King of Spain, a gun-boat, and a merchant ship, cut out of the harbour of Corunna by the boats of the Fisguard, Diamond, and Boadicea frigates, under the direction of Lieut. Pipon, of the former vessel.

23. Lord Nelson sailed a third time with his flotilla from the Downs.

27. Lord Nelson anchored in the Downs.

31. An account received by the French papers of a definitive treaty of peace having been concluded between the Elector of Bavaria and the French republic.

September.

2. Alexandria surrendered by capitulation, and taken possession of by the British forces. The garrison consisted of 9,300 men. This great event terminated the campaign in Egypt, a campaign which will be recorded as the most glorious to the British arms that ever was waged in any æra in any quarter of the globe.

La Succes and La Bravoure, two French frigates, going from Leghorn with a convoy of provisions for the besieging army before Porto Ferrajo, driven on shore by an English squadron.—The former got off by the English, the other destroyed.

4. The Archduke Anthony of Austria, elected Bishop of Munster.

7. The Treaty of peace between Spain and Portugal, signed at Badajos, June 6, received in this country.

9. The ratification of the convention concluded between Russia and this country arrived here.

12. The King of Etruria acknowledged at Vienna, by his title being inserted in the Court Gazette.

22. The Emperor Alexander of Russia crowned at Moscow, with great ceremony and state.

25. Lord Nelson sailed in the Amazon frigate from the Downs for the coast of France, but the wind coming foul returned in the evening.

26. Captain Parker, an able and gallant officer, who had acted as aid-de-camp to Lord Nelson in his last attack on the French flotilla in Boulogne harbour, and who had suffered the amputation of one of his legs in consequence of its having been shattered by a cannon-ball, died at Deal.

28. The remains of the gallant Captain Parker were interred with military honours, Lord Nelson, and all the officers of the ships in the Downs, and of the garrison, attending the melancholy ceremony.

29. Peace concluded at Madrid between France and Portugal.

October.

1. Preliminaries of peace were this evening signed at the office for foreign affairs, in Downing-street, between Great-Britain and the French republic.

This day the royal family left Weymouth, on their return to Windsor.

3. A pretty general illumination took place in consequence of the signing the preliminaries of peace.

5. Accounts received in town of universal joy having spread through the country upon the peace.

6. A proclamation published in the London Gazette, calling a meeting of Parliament on the 29th inst.

8. A treaty of peace between Russia and France, signed at Paris, by M. Talleyrand and Count Markoff.

9. A treaty of peace concluded at Paris between the French republic and the Porte.

10. General Lauriston, first aid-de-camp to the first consul of France, arrived in town with the ratification of the preliminaries of peace, which was soon after exchanged between Lord Hawkesbury and M. Otto, at the foreign office. This event was immediately announced by a discharge of the Park and Tower guns. In the evening a general and brilliant illumination took place in the cities of London and Westminster, in parts of which, particularly at the public offices, many appropriate devices were displayed.—This day was the most shameful, the most infamous, that England ever saw. A set of brutes in the shape of men, took the horses from the carriage of this Frenchman, the messenger of the Corsican, and drew him in triumph from Bond street down St. James's street, along Pall Mall, to the admiralty, to Downing street, through the horse guards, along the royal road in the mall, &c. &c. &c. It was a day of sorrow to every man, except the foolish mob and the miserable ministers, who, by making this peace, preserved places, which they never ought to have filled.—The vile miscreants, who rejoiced at the peace, broke the windows of those persons, who refused to illuminate.

This day likewise Paris Journals of the 6th were received, containing the articles of the preliminary treaty of peace.

13. A proclamation made in the London Gazette of the cessation of arms between his Majesty and the French republic, by sea and land.

14. General Lauriston sailed from Dover, on his return to France.

29. This day his Majesty went in the usual state to the House of Peers, and opened the session of Parliament with a most gracious speech from the throne.

Addresses were moved in both houses to his Majesty, and passed in both without the smallest opposition.

His Majesty was this day pleased to appoint Marquis Cornwallis to be his plenipotentiary to the congress to be held at Amiens; and Anthony Merry, Esq. to be his Majesty's Secretary at the said congress.

November.

2. Marquis Cornwallis and his suite left town, on his route to Paris.

3. This day his excellency embarked at Dover, and landed at Calais in the evening, where he was received with every mark of respect and distinction becoming his high character.

A discussion took place in both houses of parliament upon the preliminaries of peace. Upon a motion in the house of peers for an address to his Majesty, expressive of their lordships' full approbation thereof, which was most ably opposed by Lords Spencer, and Grenville, &c. a division took place, when there appeared for the motion 114, and only 10 against it, leaving a majority of 104. In the house of commons, upon a similar motion, no division took place.

7. Marquis Cornwallis reached Paris.

9. Sir Sidney Smith and Colonel Abercromby landed at Portsmouth from Egypt, with the official dispatches of the surrender of Alexandria, and the final conquest of that country by the British forces, duplicates of which had before been received.

The Marquis Cornwallis had his first audience of the chief consul.

A grand fête took place at Paris in celebration of the peace.

Intelligence was received that the Prussian troops had commenced their evacuation of the Honoverian dominions.

Accounts were also received of a new revolution having taken place in the government of Switzerland.

12. The thanks of both houses of parliament were voted to Lord Keith, Sir J. Hutchinson, and the other officers of the army and navy serving in Egypt.

The French papers contained a long account of the very splendid fête which took place at Paris on the 9th November, in honour of the peace between Great-Britain and France. They also contained an account of the French having evacuated the kingdom of Naples.

13. The treaty between Great-Britain and Russia was discussed in the house of commons.

14. The Gazette of this day contained an account of the surrender of Alexander, and consequently of the complete subjugation of the French in Egypt. For this glorious event no illumination took place, nor did the public offices, which had been so brilliantly illuminated to celebrate the signing of the preliminaries of peace, shew the least mark of joy. The ministers were afraid to do so, lest Buonaparté should be offended.

The Gazette also contained an account of the squadron of French frigates cruzing off the Isle of Elba, being attacked by the Phœnix, the Pomona, and the Minerva, the result of which was, that two French frigates of 40 guns were taken, and one of equal force destroyed.

24. Prince Augustus Frederick created Duke of Sussex, and Prince Adolphus Frederick created Duke of Cambridge.

25. Great preparations making at Brest for an expedition to St. Domingo.

December.

1. Marquis Cornwallis, with his suite, arrived at Amiens from Paris.

2. In the house of commons, Lord Glenbervie brought in a bill for removing certain restraints upon the correspondence by letter between Great-Britain and France.

3. The Hamburgh mail brought the intelligence of the siege of Porto Ferrajo having been raised, after a long and most gallant defence.

5. Dispatches were received from Lord Keith, who had arrived at Malta with a considerable part of his fleet having left Sir Richard Bickerton with a squadron at Alexandria.

Sir John Parnell, formerly chancellor of the exchequer in Ireland, expired suddenly, as he was sitting at breakfast.

6. M. Otto received his appointment as minister plenipotentiary from the French republic at the court of St. James's.

9. The congress opened at Amiens.

14. The French fleet, destined for St. Domingo, sailed from Brest.

15. Accounts were received at the admiralty, of some dissatisfaction having appeared in the fleet under the command of Vice-Admiral Mitchell, laying in Bantry Bay, in Ireland.

Parliament this day adjourned to the 21st.

16. An account received of the suppression of the mutiny in the fleet in Ireland, by the spirited conduct of Rear-Admiral Campbell, and the officers and marines of the Temeraire and the Formidable, on board of which ships only it had broken out.

18. The intercourse with France opened by packet-boats between Dover and Calais.

21. Parliament this day adjourned for a week.

28. Parliament again adjourned for a week.

29. Vice-Admiral Mitchell, with thirteen sail of the line, arrived at Spithead, from Bantray Bay, in Ireland.

This day the intercourse with Holland was opened by packets between Harwich and Helvoetsluys.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

N.B. *After this page comes the Register, beginning with page* 1, *and continuing on to page* 800. *Then comes the Supplement, which begins with page* 801, *and closes with the Index.*

COBBETT's

ANNUAL REGISTER,

FOR

THE YEAR 1802.

COBBETT's

ANNUAL REGISTER,

FOR THE YEAR 1802.

London, January 1 to January 16, 1802.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.*

Tuesday, October 29, 1801.

THIS day His Majesty opened the Session with the following most Gracious Speech from the Throne:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that the important Negotiations in which I was engaged at the close of the last Session of Parliament, are brought to a favourable conclusion. The differences with the Northern Powers have been adjusted by a Convention with the Emperor of Russia, to which the Kings of Denmark and Sweden have expressed their readiness to accede. The essential Rights for which we contended, are thereby secured, and provision is made, that the exercise of them shall be attended with as little molestation as possible to the Subjects of the Contracting Parties.

Preliminaries of Peace have also been ratified between Me and the French Republic; and I trust that this important Arrangement, whilst it manifests the Justice and Moderation of My Views, will also be found conducive to the substantial Interests of this Country, and honourable to the British Character.

Copies of these Papers shall be forthwith laid before you, and I earnestly hope that the Transactions to which they refer, will meet with the Approbation of My Parliament.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have directed such Estimates to be prepared for the various demands of the Public Service, as appear to Me to be best adapted to the situation in which we are now placed. It is painful to Me to reflect, that provision cannot be made for defraying the Expenses which must unavoidably be continued for a time, in different parts of the world, and for maintaining an adequate Peace Establishment, without large additional Supplies. You may, however, be assured, that all possible attention shall be paid to such economical arrangements as may not be inconsistent with the great object of effectually providing for the security of all My Dominions.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I cannot sufficiently describe the Gratification and Comfort I derive from the Relief which the Bounty of Divine Providence has afforded to My People, by the abundant produce of the late Harvest. In contemplating the Situation of the Country at this important conjuncture, it is impossible for me to refrain from expressing the deep sense I entertain of the Temper and Fortitude which have been manifested by all descriptions of My Faithful Subjects, under the various and complicated difficulties with which they have had to contend The distinguished Valour and eminent Services of My Forces by Sea and Land, which at no period have been surpassed; the unprecedented exertions of the Militia and Fencibles, and the Zeal and Perseverance of the Yeomanry and Volunteer Corps of Cavalry and Infantry, are entitled to My warmest Acknowledgments:—And I am persuaded that you will join with Me, in reflecting with peculiar satisfaction on the Naval and Military Operations of the last Campaign, and on the successful and glorious Issue of the Expedition to Egypt,

* In the parliamentary proceedings it has been thought necessary to go back to the opening of the present session; but, so much of that session having already elapsed, a very brief account of the *past* proceedings is all that can be attempted: the report of the *future* will, of course, be given more at length. Under the head of State-papers, we have begun with the treaty of Luneville, because that treaty will be found to be the basis of those compacts, which are now new modelling the territorial sovereignty of Europe.

which has been marked throughout by atchievements, tending in their consequences, and by their example, to produce lasting Advantage and Honour to this Country. It is My first wish and most fervent Prayer, that My People may experience the Reward they have so well merited, in a full enjoyment of the Blessings of Peace, in a progressive increase of the National Commerce, Credit, and Resources, and above all, in the undisturbed possession of their Religion, Laws, and Liberties, under the Safeguard and Protection of that Constitution, which it has been the great object of all Our Efforts to preserve, and which it is Our most sacred duty to transmit unimpaired to Our Descendants.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord Bolton moved the address, which was as usual an echo to the Speech, and was seconded by *Lord Lilford*.

The Duke of Bedford rose, he said, with no intention to disturb the harmony, which he perceived was likely to prevail, but to express his hearty concurrence in the sentiments of the Address. He was, however, of opinion, that a more fit time for making peace might have been found at a much earlier period of the war; but, no blame was, on this account, to be imputed to the *present* ministers, who had, from the moment they came into office, endeavoured to effect that which they had now happily effected, and for which he begged them to accept of his sincere thanks. His grace concluded by observing, that the general exultation of the people proved how welcome a peace was to them, and he hoped, that as speedily as possible, the Constitution, of the enjoyment of which they had so long been deprived, would be restored to them, and that an attention would, in future, be paid to their wishes.

The *address* was agreed to *nemine dissentiente*.

Lord Pelham moved, that *Lord Walsingham* be appointed Chairman of the Committees during the present Session. Agreed to. Adjourned to Tuesday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Lord Lovaine moved the Address, which was seconded by Colonel *Woodhouse*.

Mr. Fox expressed his decided approbation of the Address. He heartily joined in the general joy, which the Peace had given rise to, whatever difference of opinion might take place with respect to its terms, or its general tenor, or the manner of concluding it.

Mr. Pitt rejoiced in the unanimity which was like to prevail. He highly approved both of the Peace with France and of the Convention with the Powers of the North. When either of these great topics should come before the House for discussion, he hoped he should be found to agree with the honorable gentleman who had just preceded him, and that they should both express their approbation, although, perhaps, for different reasons. He expressed his thanks to the Ministers, who had effected these great objects, and concluded with an eulogium on the valour of the navy and army, and on the fortitude and loyalty of the nation at large.

Mr. Windham esteemed it a great misfortune to be compelled to differ in opinion from his right hon. friend, but he hoped he should want no apology, if he now differed from two gentlemen, who had heretofore uniformly differed from each other on the whole of the subject of the War, though they now coincided in approbation of the Peace. He proceeded in a tone and language, which deeply affected his hearers. "Are," exclaimed he, "the circumstances "of this peace the natural signs for rejoic- "ing that have been wont to justify our ex- "ultations upon former occasions? I own, "Sir, they strike me in a direct contrary "point of view, and when I am called on to "rejoice, before I put on my wedding suit, "I shall first inquire, whether I am called "to celebrate a marriage or a funeral.— "When I am desired to illuminate, I shall "first endeavour to learn whether it is to "light me to a feast or a sepulchre. For, "Sir, if the solemnity of a death-bed decla- "ration has any claims to veracity or sincerity, I should have no hesitation, were I "to make it at this moment, as to my firm "persuasion and belief, that my hon. friends, "in signing this peace, have put their sig- "natures to the death warrant of their "country. I know, Sir, the inconstancy of "human affairs, and I am not profane "enough to set bounds to the dispensations "of Providence—neither can I pretend pre- "cisely to foresee what different changes "may be wrought in the dispositions of the "people of England by intrigues from with- "out, or convulsions from within. But up- "on no rational view that I can take of this "subject, nor any prospect to which my "discernment enables me to look, can I see "my way out of the evils it will entail upon "my country." He observed, that by the indiscriminate surrender of our conquests, we had thrown out of our hands the only means of counterbalancing the enormous aggrandizement of France; but concluded with

saying, that there might possibly exist some unknown and irresistible *necessity*, which had induced his Majesty's ministers to submit to the terms of the treaty, and that the nation ought to thank, instead of censuring for the measure they had adopted.

Mr. Addington (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) denied, that the preserving of our conquests, and the extension of our colonial system, was the most effectual way to counterbalance the aggrandizement of France. He thought, on the contrary, that the relinquishing what we had conquered was the only pledge for our security; and, that it was in the preservation of our constitution, in our capital and industry, that we were to look for our means of future defence. "As "to *necessity*," said he, "I disclaim it, Sir. I "will be no party to any such plea; and I "thus publicly declare, that had it been "found indispensably necessary to continue "the contest, no deficiency whatever would "have been found in the finances and re-"sources of this country; and it would "have been the grossest dereliction of my "duty to have let such a suggestion pass "uncontradicted."

Mr. Sheridan said, that the speech from the throne contained distinctions and characters of the peace, which, if they had been echoed in the address, he for one would not have given the address his support. As it now stood he had no objection to it. He observed, that notwithstanding the apparent unanimity that prevailed, he was confident, that *if this were the time for men to speak out their real thoughts*, there never was a period of less unanimity than this. He differed from those who called the peace honourable and glorious, and still more from those, who thought it inexpedient to make any peace at all. It was a peace of which every man was *glad*, but of which no man could possibly be *proud*.

Earl Temple begged, that, in voting for the address, he might by no means be understood as giving his approbation to the preliminaries of peace.

The address was carried *nemine contradicente*.

Friday, October 30.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Their lordships having returned from carrying up their address to his Majesty, *Lord Pelham* (Secretary of State for the Home Department) laid before the house the convention with Russia, signed at Petersburg on the 5th of June, and the preliminary treaty of peace with France, signed at London on the 1st of October.

Lord Grenville prefaced a speech of considerable length by stating his reasons for having, on the preceding day, recommended an unanimous concurrence. He did not, he said, even now wish to anticipate a discussion of the preliminaries of peace; but, he thought necessary to protest before hand against that concurrence being construed into an approbation of those preliminaries; and, previous to any discussion thereof, he expressed his wish to obtain some explanation of those articles, which related to the *integrity of our allies*, particularly of the clause respecting the integrity of Portugal, whether it was meant to preserve that power as it stood *before the war*, or, at the *date of the preliminaries*.

Lord Pelham declined entering into any explanation on the subject 'till the preliminaries themselves should become the question before the house.

Upon the motion of *Lord St. Vincent* (first Lord of the Admiralty), seconded by *Lord Nelson*, the unanimous thanks of the house were given to rear-admiral *Sir James Saumarez*, "for his gallant and spirited con-"duct in the action with the united fleets "of France and Spain, off Gibraltar, in "which he had destroyed two Spanish men "of war, and taken a ship belonging to "France."—Like votes was passed in honour of captains *Hood* and *Yates*, and such of the officers as principally distinguished themselves, and of the seamen and marines in the two engagements, under *Sir James Saumarez*, in the Bay of Algesiras and off Gibraltar.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Votes of thanks similar to those this day passed by the Lords were passed in the Commons.

Lord Hawkesbury (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs) having laid before the house copies of the convention with Russia and of the preliminaries of peace with France, moved that the latter be taken into consideration on Tuesday, and the former on Friday next.

Mr. Grey rose to inquire, whether the integrity of Portugal, for which we had stipulated in the preliminaries with France, was intended to preserve her dominions such as they were before the war, or such as they were after the treaty between Portugal and Spain.* He also wished to know, previously to the discussion of the terms of

* The treaty signed at Badajos on the 6th of June, 1801, by which Portugal was compelled to cede to Spain the town and district of Olivenza.

the peace, whether the preliminaries with France would release Portugal from the stipulations, into which, it appeared she had now entered with France, to admit French goods into her ports upon the same footing as British goods, and thereby according to France a participation in those commercial advantages, which she had, for a century past, accorded to England alone.

Lord Hawkesbury said he thought that the questions proposed were unusual and irregular, and therefore he declined at present to enter into any explanation. When the subject came regularly before the house, he should be happy to afford every possible explanation which could facilitate the discussion, but such an explanation, in the present stage, he apprehended, would be inconsistent with his public duty.

Saturday, October 31.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The address was carried up.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved, "that a supply be granted to his majesty;" and afterwards, "that the house do on Monday next resolve itself into a committee to consider of the said motion." Ordered accordingly.

Monday, November 2.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Whitbread wished to be informed if any communication had been made to Holland and Spain relative to that cession of a part of their territory, which had been agreed upon in the preliminary treaty with France.

Lord Hawkesbury answered, that the preliminary treaty certainly was agreed on without any participation, on the part of either Holland or Spain; but, that France was considered as capable of acting for them as well as herself. His lordship said, that, as he was now up, he would answer two questions, put on a former day (by *Mr. Grey*), relative to the sixth article of the preliminaries, which, at that time he did not answer, because he was not then in possession of official information on the subject. The meaning of that article was, that the territories and possessions of her faithful majesty should be maintained entire as settled by the treaty of Badajos. With respect to *the admission of manufactures of other countries into the countries of Portugal, upon the same footing as those of England*, he could only observe, that the preference now given by each country was reciprocal; and that, if Portugal admitted the woollens of *other nations* to be imported upon terms, heretofore enjoyed exclusively by us, *we* should be at liberty *to place all other wines upon a footing with those of Portugal.**

Tho remaining proceedings of the session, down to the date of this number, cannot, for the reasons before mentioned, be allowed any considerable portion of room. A few of the more prominent and important political topics only will, therefore, be noticed.

On the 3d of November, (the day on which the preliminaries of peace were discussed in both houses), *Lord Grenville*, in the house of lords, asked for previous information, respecting the state, in which our treaty with France had left the territorial and commercial independence of Portugal. *Lord Pelham* answered, that, as to *commerce* Portugal was still at liberty to treat with this country; and, that respecting *boundaries of her territory*, it was guaranteed *from and after the treaty concluded on the 29th of September*, 1801.† The former Lord not being satisfied with this explanation relative to the commerce, he, after some opposition from *Lords Hobart* and *Thurlow*, made a motion for the production of papers relating thereto, which was supported by *Lords Spencer* and *Caernarvon*, who contended, that it was inconsistent with propriety and candour to call on the house at once to plunge into the discussion of a matter, on which they did not possess the necessary information. After some further conversation, it was, however, agreed to enter on the order of the day.

The address of thanks was moved by *Lord Romney*, seconded by *Lord Limerick*. It was opposed by *Lords Spencer, Grenville, Warwick, Fitzwilliam*, the *Bishop of Rochester*, and *Lord Caernarvon;* and was supported by the *Dukes of Clarence* and *Bedford*, *Lords Westmeath, Pelham, Hobart, Rawdon, Mulgrave, Westmoreland*, the *Lord Chancellor*, and the *Bishop of London*. The house did not rise

* It is well known, that there are no *other wines*, worth mentioning, but *those of France:* so that, because Portugal has been compelled to grant to our enemy, favours, which she has hitherto confined to us, we, by way of retaliation, are to grant favours to our enemy!

† This statement is materially different from that given by Lord *Hawkesbury*, who stated the territorial integrity of Portugal to be that, which she enjoyed from and after the treaty of *Badajos*, which did not include the cessions made by Portugal to France, *in the treaty of the 29th of September*, of a considerable portion of territory in South America.—This might, however, be a mere error in describing the treaty.

till a very late hour in the morning; the speeches were long and animated, that of *Lord Grenville*, on one side, and of the *Lord Chancellor*, on the other, displayed such knowledge, and eloquence, as have seldom been displayed even by the august assembly, in which those speeches were delivered.—Upon the division there appeared, *Contents* 94, *Proxies* 20, *Non-contents* 10.—The non-contents were, the *Marquis of Buckingham*, Earls *Pembroke*, *Warwick*, *Fitzwilliam*, *Radnor*, *Spencer*, and *Caernarvon*, Lords *Grenville* and *Gwydir*, and the *Bishop of Rochester*.

In the *Commons*, on the same day, and on the same question, the address was moved by *Sir Edmund Hartop*, and seconded by *Mr. Lee* (member for Dungarvon in Ireland,) who, in reverting to the *object of the war*, observed, that *had it commenced on a principle of interference in the internal forms of government in another country, he did not hesitate to say, that it would have been totally unjustifiable Mr. Thos. Grenville*, in replying to this part of the speech of Mr. Lee, observed, that, while he denied the object of the war to have been an intention to restore monarchy to France, he could not admit (in the unqualified manner which the gentleman had laid it down) the maxim, *that one nation had no right to interfere with the internal government of another.**

The address was supported by *Lord Hawkesbury*, *Mr. Banks*, *Mr. Pitt*, *Mr. Fox*, *Lord Castlereagh*, and *Mr. Addington;* and was opposed by *Mr. Thomas Grenville*, *Lord Temple*, *Lord Folkestone*, *Dr. Lawrence*, and *Mr Windham*. No division took place.—The Speech of *Lord Hawkesbury* which was very long and very able, contained some statements conveying great information, amongst which was the following, presenting a comparative view of our commerce upon an average of the three last years of peace, and the three last years of war. His lordship said that by the paper which he held in his hand, it appeared that the value of exports of British plantation for three years preceding this war, was £2,185,000. For three years of this war, £3,561,000.—Colonial produce for the same time for peace, £3,877,000. During war, £5,101,000.—East-India imports for three years of peace, £3,153,000. For the same period of war, £5,617,000.—Exports of British manufactures to America, three years of peace, £3,694,000. For the same period of war, £6,232,000.—British manufactures, &c. to our colonies for three years of peace, £747,000. War in the same period, £1,224,000.—British manufactures exported to the Continent of Europe, £1,530,000. War, £2,145,000.

On the 4th of November, when the report of the address was brought up, *Lord Temple* wished to be informed, whether ministers were in possession of any knowledge of the ratification of a treaty between Portugal and France, and whether they were assured, that the ratification did not extend to any cessions of territory, made since the treaty of Badajos; to which *Lord Hawkesbury* replied, that ministers were in possession of no official information relative to the treaty in question, but that he could assure the noble Lord that the ratification now spoken of did not extend to any points of cession.*—On the report of the address *Mr. Windham* and *Dr. Lawrence*, *Mr. C. Wynn*, and *Mr. Elliott*, delivered their sentiments in opposition to the preliminaries of peace. The *Secretary at War*, Mr. *Wilberforce*, and several other members, spoke in defence of them; after which the address passed without a division.

On the 12th of November, both houses gave their unanimous thanks to General Sir *John Hely Hutchinson*, to *Admiral Lord Keith*, to Admirals *Rainier*, *Blanket*, *Bickerton*, and *Warren*, and to the officers, soldiers, sailors, and marines, under their command, in, and on the coast of Egypt.

The *Convention with Russia* was the subject of discussion, in both houses, on the 13th of

* The writers on the law of nations are unanimous in asserting, that in cases of *revolt*, the neighbouring sovereigns of states have a right to interpose, in *behalf* of which ever party they regard as having justice on its side. But, to justify such interposition, all these authorities agree, that the interposing power must act *for* and *in the name of*, the party whose cause it thinks proper to espouse; and on this ground, we should certainly fail of justification. This was the original sin of the war. Its baleful influence was felt from the drawing to the sheathing of the sword. It was first committed in compliance with the clamours of the ignorant and disaffected; and it finally baffled all the measures of the wisest and most eloquent men, that ever enlightened and adorned the councils of a nation.

* The treaty, here spoken of, is that concluded between France and Portugal, at Madrid, on the 29th of September, and which will be found in a subsequent number of this work. By this treaty, which has been ratified and announced to the world through the French counsellor of state, in a speech delivered to the legislative body, the boundaries of France, on the Continent of South America, are extended to the River Amazons. They were, by a former treaty, extorted from Portugal, and extended as far as the Arowary. At whichever point France may stop she will have the absolute command of the Amazons, which exposes the best colonies of Portugal to her irruptions.

November. The principal speakers, in the Lords, were *Lord Grenville* and the *Lord Chancellor*. The former delivered a speech of great length and ability, the chief object of which was, to convince their lordships of the perplexity, and even danger, that must inevitably arise from the wording, and the terms, of the convention, as it now stood; and to prevail on his Majesty's ministers to adopt such new arrangements as might, before it was too late, prevent the evils he dreaded. It is in vain to look into any (not excepting the most ample and correct) of the printed reports, for even an outline of this speech, which, whether considered as to its arrangement, its reasoning, or its language, was certainly one of the most finished that ever was made, in any assembly in the world.

The *Lord Chancellor* made an able reply, though he rose under an embarrassment, which he was not ashamed to acknowledge.

The address of thanks to the throne passed without a division, as it also did in the *Commons*.

Two topics only, of any political importance, remain to be noticed: the renewed conversation, respecting *the integrity of Portugal*, and the *sailing of the French fleet and army*.

In the House of Commons, on the 21st of December, *Mr. Windham* wished to know, whether, in the progress of the pending negotiations with France, any definitive arrangements had been settled, relative to the integrity of Portugal. It was well known, he said, that, previously to our having formed the preliminary treaty with France, France had, *unknown to us*, formed another treaty with Portugal, by the operation of which, the stipulations contained in our treaty, in favour of the latter, would be rendered completely nugatory; which, if suffered to pass, we must be considered as submitting to a most scandalous fraud. *Mr. Addington* (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) replied, that he had no hesitation to declare, that his Majesty's ministers had every authority, short of actual and definitive signatures, to rely, that the treaty of Badajos was to be considered, on all sides, as the basis of definitive arrangement with regard to Portugal, and that the treaty of Madrid was to be annulled*.

* From this declaration it appears, that, notwithstanding the speech of the Counsellor of State Defermont, in the legislative body of France, Buonaparte has been prevailed upon by our government to relinquish the cession, in South America, made by Portugal to France, in their last treaty; and, there is the more reason to believe this, because to obtain that ceded territory is, at any time, in his power. We have permitted the French to advance to the River Arowary, which does, indeed, fall into the mouth of the Amazons, gives them the command of that important river, and exposes the richest possessions of our ancient ally to their predatory incursions.

On the 28th of December, in the House of Commons, *Mr. Thomas Grenville* expressed his apprehension, that the noble lord at the board of the foreign department, would be induced to lower his tone, in the pending negotiation, and that much worse terms would be obtained, in consequence of his Majesty's ministers having suffered Buonaparte to send out, into the neighbourhood of our valuable and vulnerable colonies, so considerable an armament, as that which was well understood to have lately sailed from the harbour of Brest; and he wished to know, if ministers possessed any consolatory information on that alarming subject. The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* declined entering into any explanation as to the sailing of the armament, or the precautions which we had adopted relative thereto; but assured the hon. gentleman, that the circumstance would not induce the noble lord (Hawkesbury) to lower his tone in the pending negotiation*.

The two houses met (pursuant to the adjournment) on Thursday last, and adjourned to Tuesday the 19th, when they are to be again adjourned to the 28th instant, on which day they will meet for the dispatch of public business.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

The Expedition from Brest.

Since the signing of the preliminaries of peace, we have entered on a scene entirely new. Before this event took place, we surrounded our enemy in every direction. His squadrons, blocked up by our own, rotted quietly in their ports. Solely occupied with the means of his own defence, and threat-

* It is sincerely to be wished, that the ministry may not be deceived by the enemy; but there is but too good reason to fear that they will. That *Toussaint* is, to all intents and purposes, an officer, and a faithful officer, under Buonaparte is a fact, which, in Mr. *Cobbett's* Letters to Mr. *Addington*, is established upon proof as good as that which our laws require to decide on the death of a criminal. This being the case, *the reduction of Toussaint to obedience* must be regarded as a mere cover to some hostile design against the possessions of England.

ened in the colonies which he still retained, as well as in those which belonged to his allies, he despaired of being able to hurt us. But we have now become passive spectators of all the enterprises, which that ever meditating and ever mischievous enemy may be inclined to undertake. The enterprises of France have, indeed, no limits but those of possibility, even when such possibility is extended by a concurrence of all the fortunate circumstances, with which Providence may favour those, who are destined to be the scourge of the world.

That government, which under the most unfavourable circumstances, dared to form and execute the plan of transporting forty-five thousand men to Egypt, is now at liberty to act; it does not lose an instant, and its very first scheme is an expedition, far more extensive and astonishing in its nature, than that which, with so much facility, subjugated Egypt, was about to conquer Syria, and perhaps to overthrow the Ottoman Empire, if it had not been stopped in its career by the heroic genius of a man, who, though still in a station completely subordinate, rendered the most important services to his country and to the universe. Posterity, when perusing the history of our times, will doubtless ask who was that *Sir Sydney Smith*, who performed such wonderful feats, and will not learn without astonishment, that he still remained only a captain in the English navy.

On the 16th of December last, twenty-two ships of the line, seventeen frigates, eight corvettes or luggers, making a total of forty-seven ships of war, divided into five squadrons, sailed from the ports of Brest, l'Orient, and Rochefort. The divisions consisted of three squadrons of the line, one of light vessels, and one of observation; on board these ships, together with some transport vessels, were twenty-five thousand troops, provided with all the means of conquest, which could be collected by the most powerful and victorious nation in Europe. Does this formidable armament, which is far superior to all those that have, at any period whatever, been dispatched to the new world, belong to a nation who is the friend or ally of Great-Britain?—No. Does it belong to a neutral power?—No. To whom then does it belong? To an inveterate and all-powerful enemy, with whom we are not yet at peace. With whose shores a free communication is yet interdicted by law. The armistice and preliminaries themselves are a sufficient proof of the state of warfare. If we are asked what armistice and what preliminaries? The armistice in question confines our forces and liberates those of our enemy. The preliminaries are, on our part, clear and simple concessions, as incontestible as important; on the part of our enemy they are nominal and equivocal restrictions; restrictions which, generally speaking, will not bear a comparison with some of the concessions that have been made by us; for, what sensible person will believe that the Order of St. John of Jerusalem will begin by being restored to its independence, in order to be afterwards invested with the real sovereignty of the island of Malta; that the guaranteeing power will be capable of protecting this island, without having first taken possession of it; that the integrity of Turkey, Naples, and Portugal, will be respected, since it is rendered impossible for us to afford them assistance; that the Cape will be open to us in time of war; who, in short, will believe all . . . . . on which the pretended advantages of the peace are secured to Great-Britain?

The nation justly alarmed, reflects on, and shudders at, an armament which threatens its most valuable possessions. The minister when interrogated in the senate, as to the official knowledge which he had of this subject, replies in a manner that obliges us to have recourse to conjectures.

The avowed object of this armament is the reduction of the Island of St. Domingo. This island is now in fact possessed by a collection of black slaves, who have been made free by the folly and madness of their masters.

The war between England and France restricted this new nation to the government of its internal concerns. At length, the evacuation of the island by the English forces, and some positive stipulations entered into with Toussaint, the chief of its government, made it an independent nation, while commercial agreements, which, although they have not been published, are nevertheless real, have rendered it in some respects a nation allied to Great-Britain.

We shall not at present attempt to discuss the grand question which is here afforded. Is St. Domingo, possessed by a nation of independent negroes, more to be dreaded by the English colonies of a similar kind, than the same island restored to the dominion of the present French government? We will suppose for a moment that this question is decided in the affirmative: We will suppose likewise that the con-

ventions, which are said to have taken place, between Great-Britain and the present Government of St. Domingo, are either imaginary, or considered as not obligatory. We may, nevertheless, be allowed to express our astonishment that no question should have been put to ministers relative to the nature of any engagements whatever, which may exist between this country and St. Domingo.

The result of these different suppositions is, that our government ought not to oppose any obstacle to the efforts made by that of the French, to reduce this colony to a state of obedience; and as, while anxious for the attainment of the object, the means, which may tend to effect it, ought not to be neglected; and that, therefore, the English government ought *to permit* (for, till the peace, it was at the option of the English nation, but in future it will be at that of the French nation *to permit*) the French government to employ the means and the force necessary for the reduction of this island, considering it as an advantageous event to the two governments, though in some degree very unequal. But, in admitting the truth of these conclusions (a truth which is at present only hypothetical) does it follow that the English government has not a right, till after the absolute *conclusion* of the peace, to urge the delay in the execution of a similar measure? Does it fear, least a few months, added to ten years, should render more contagious the example of revolt, which has been given to the blacks in our colonies? Did it not perceive, that the great interest which Buonaparté has for taking possession again of such an important colony, would induce him to accelerate the period of the definitive peace, if this were the only epoch at which he would be permitted to execute the enterprise in question, and consequently cause him to desist from the innumerable difficulties, which might be raised, relative to objects as complex as those which are yet to be determined in the congress at Amiens? Ought not the English government to have foreseen, that if, on the contrary, Buonaparté were permitted to send immediately to the West-Indies such formidable land and sea forces, the Island of St. Domingo would speedily be reduced; that the inhabitants of the other Dutch and French colonies, finding those territories were restored by England to their former masters, would, some of them from a spirit of party, others with a view to escape, a vengeance of which they were in dread, and all from national antipathy, anticipate the predatory designs, which the regicides have on the British proprietors in those colonies: that the principal English colonies would not be secure from invasion by such considerable forces; and that, consequently, Buonaparté, sure of obtaining, by means of the sword, more than was promised him, in the West-Indies at least, would not impose on us harder terms in all the points, which remain to be determined?

If the English government, in stipulating the armistice, has not specified in detail, and with precision, the movements of the forces and squadrons of the enemy, the preliminaries are not a treaty of peace, but rather a miserable capitulation, made precipitately, by men who, covered by a feeble entrenchment, are trembling for the moment when it will be carried by assault. If the departure of this expedition be contrary to the spirit and letter of the treaty, it was a shameful pusillanimity that tolerated it, or a great negligence that it was not prevented; and, if it has been authorized by any secret article, then has the minister most grossly misconceived the interests of the nation.

We have already seen, and it will be perceived in the suppositions that we intend to examine, that the English government was by no means to oppose any efforts which the French government might make (after the definitive peace) for the reduction of St. Domingo; but it will, doubtless, not be disputed, that every measure which is not necessary for that purpose, and which can only have for its object the menacing of our possessions, ought not to be tolerated; and, that it would be better to resort again to arms than to place ourselves at the mercy of our enemy. On this principle, let us examine the nature of the armament of Buonaparté.

The African consul has a black army, the number of which varies, according to different accounts, from twenty to thirty thousand men. The Corsican consul could not therefore effect his enterprize, without conveying thither land forces capable of subjugating those he denominates rebels. But we have never heard of the fleet of Toussaint. What, then, could have been the object of such a considerable maritime *

* To the twenty-two ships of the line, seventeen frigates, and eight sloops of war, are to be added three Dutch ships of the line, six or seven frigates, and, without doubt, several smaller vessels. The Dutch fleet also carries troops. What an immense armament! *thirty thousand* regular troops carried out by *sixty* ships of war!

armament? Against what enemy is it destined? The maritime powers of the North have not a single ship of war in the West-Indies. The Spanish and Dutch marine make a part of the French navy. This immense fleet, therefore, has no other object but to render independent of England, from this time, the numerous forces transported to the new world by Buonaparté, and at once to make the French possessions in America bear as threatening an aspect towards the colonies which are left to us in that quarter of the globe, as France herself now bears towards Great-Britain. And all this at a time, too, when the French fleets must wait for the permission of the British Admiralty to sail from their ports; it is even before the French have in their possession those numerous and important acquisitions, which have cost us so much, and them so little, that they are bold enough to make such attempts, and the English minister is bold enough to suffer them.

Hitherto we have proceeded upon the supposition, that Toussaint is actually in hostility to Buonaparté; but, that this is not the case is now proved beyond contradiction or doubt*. What is, therefore, the real object of this formidable armament, shall be the subject of our future inquiries.

[*To be continued.*]

STATE PAPERS.

Treaty of Peace concluded at Luneville on February 1st, 1801, between the French Republic, and the Emperor, and the Germanic Body.

[The preamble to this Treaty, which is concluded in the usual form, has been here omitted, as it would have occupied too great a portion of room: it is, however, necessary to state, that his imperial Majesty *stipulates in the name of the whole Germanic Body;* and that his reasons for so doing, are, "his anxious desire for Peace, and the present conjuncture not allowing the necessary time for the consultation of the Empire."]

Art. I. There shall be henceforth and for ever, peace, amity, and good understanding, between his Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, stipulating, as well in his own name, as in that of the Germanic Empire and the French Republic, his said Majesty engaging to cause the Empire to give its Ratification in good and due form to the present Treaty. The greatest attention shall be paid on both sides to the maintenance of perfect harmony, to preventing all hostilities by land and by sea, for whatever cause, or on whatever pretence, and carefully to endeavour to maintain the union which is now happily established. No assistance nor protection shall be given, either directly or indirectly, to those who would do any thing to the prejudice of either of the Contracting Parties.

II. The cession of the ci-devant Belgic Provinces to the French Republic, stipulated by the 3d Article of the Treaty of Campo Formio, is renewed here in the most formal manner, so that his Imperial and Royal Majesty, for himself and his successors, as well in his own name as in that of the Germanic Empire, renounces all his right and title to the said provinces, which shall be possessed henceforth as their sovereign right and property, by the French Republic, with all the territorial property dependant on it. There shall also be given up to the French Republic by his Imperial and Royal Majesty, and with the formal consent of the Empire;

1st. The Comté of Falkenstein, with its dependencies.

2d. The Frickthal, and all belonging to the House of Austria on the left bank of the Rhine, between Zurzach and Basle: the French Republic reserving to itself the right of ceding the latter Country to the Helvetic Republic.

III. It is also agreed, in renewal and confirmation of the 6th Article of the Treaty of Campo Formio, that his Majesty the Emperor and King shall possess in sovereignty, and as his right, the Countries below enumerated, viz. Istria, Dalmatia, and the Venetian Isles in the Adriatic dependant upon those Countries, the Bocca de Cattaro, the city of Venice, the Canals and the country included between the Hereditary States of his Majesty the Emperor and King; the Adriatic Sea and the Adige, from its leaving the Tyrol to the mouth of the said Sea; the Towing-path of the Adige serving as the line of limitation. And as by this line the cities of Verona and Porto Legnago will be divided, there shall be established on the middle of the bridges of the said cities, draw-bridges to mark the separation.

IV. The 8th Article of the Treaty of Campo Formio is also renewed thus far, that his Majesty the Emperor and King binds himself to yield to the Duke of Modena, as an indemnity for the Countries which this Prince and his Heirs had in Italy, the Brisgau, which he shall hold on the same terms as those by virtue of which he possesses the Modenese.

V. It is moreover agreed, that His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany shall renounce, for himself, his Successors, &c., the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, and that part of the Isle of Elba, which is dependant upon it, as well as all right and title resulting from his claims on the said States, which shall be henceforth possessed in complete sovereignty, and as his own property, by His Royal Highness the Infant Duke of Parma. The Grand Duke shall obtain in Germany a full and complete indemnity for his Italian States. The Grand Duke shall dispose, at pleasure, of the goods and property which he possesses in Tuscany, either by personal acquisition, or by descent from his grand-father the Emperor Francis I. It is also agreed, that the grants, establishments, and other property of the Grand Duchy, as well as the debts secured on the Country, shall pass to the new Grand Duke.

VI. His Majesty the Emperor and King, as well in his own name as in that of the Germanic Empire, consents that the French Republic shall possess henceforth in complete sovereignty, and as their property, the Country and Domains situated on the left bank of the Rhine, and which formed part of the Germanic Empire: so that in conformity with what had been expressly consented to at the Congress at Rastadt, by the Deputation of the Empire, and approved by the Emperor, the Towing-path of the Rhine will henceforth be the limit between the French Republic and the Germanic Empire; that is to say, from the place where the Rhine leaves the Helvetic Territory, to that where it enters the Batavian Territory.

In consequence of this, the French Republic formally renounces all possession whatever on the right

C 2

* V. de Mr. Cobbett's Letters to Mr. Addington.

bank of the Rhine, and consents to restore to those to whom it may belong, the fortress of Dusseldorff, Ehrenbreistein, Philipsburgh, the fort of Cassel, and other fortifications opposite to Mentz, on the right bank, the fort of Kehl, and old Brisach, on the express condition that these places and fortresses shall continue and remain in the state at which they were at the time of their evacuation.

VII. And as in consequence of the cession which the Empire makes to the French Republic, several Princes and States of the Empire will be dispossessed either altogether or in part, it is incumbent upon the Germanic Empire collectively to support the losses resulting from the stipulations in the present Treaty; it is therefore agreed between His Majesty the Emperor and King, as well in his own name as in that of the Germanic Empire, and the French Republic, that in conformity with the principles formerly established at the Congress at Rastadt, the Empire shall be bound to give the Hereditary Princes who shall be dispossessed on the left bank of the Rhine, an indemnity, which shall be taken from the whole of the Empire, according to arrangements which, on these bases, shall be ultimately determined upon.

VIII. In all the ceded countries, acquired or exchanged by the present Treaty, it is agreed, as had already been done by the 4th and 10th Articles of Campo Formio, that those to whom they shall belong, shall take them, subject to the debts secured on the said countries; but considering the difficulties which have arisen in this respect, with regard to the interpretation of the Articles of the said Treaty of Campo Formio, it is expressly understood, that the French Republic will not take upon itself any thing more than the Debts resulting from the loans formerly agreed to by the States of the ceded countries, or by the actual administration of such countries.

IX. Immediately after the exchange of the ratification of the present Treaty, the sequestration imposed on property, effects and revenues of the inhabitants or proprietors, shall be taken off. The Contracting Parties oblige themselves to pay all they may owe for money lent them by Individuals, as well as by the public establishment of the said countries, and to pay and reimburse all annuities created for their benefit on every one of them. In consequence of this, it is expressly admitted that the holders of Stock in the Bank of Vienna, who have become French subjects, shall continue to enjoy the benefit of their funds, and shall receive the interest accrued or to accrue, notwithstanding any sequestration or demand derogatory to their rights, particularly notwithstanding the loss which the holders aforesaid, become French subjects, sustained by not being able to pay the 30 and 100 per cent. demanded by His Imperial and Royal Majesty, of all creditors of the Bank of Vienna.

X. The Contracting Parties shall also cause all the Sequestrations to be taken off, which have been imposed on account of the War, on the Property, the Rights, and Revenues of the subjects of the Emperor, or of the Empire, in the Treaty of the French Republic, and of the French Citizens in the States of his said Majesty or the Empire.

XI. The present Treaty of Peace, and particularly the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 15th Articles, are declared to extend to, and to be common to the Batavian, Helvetic, Cisalpine, and Ligurian Republics. The Contracting Parties mutually guarantee the Independence of the said Republics, and the right of the People who inhabit them, to adopt what form of Government they please.

XII. His Imperial and Royal Majesty renounces for himself and his successors, in favour of the Cisalpine Republic, all rights and titles arising from those rights, which his Majesty might claim on the Countries which he possessed before the War, and which, by the conditions of the 8th Article of the Treaty of Campo Formio, now form part of the Cisalpine Republic, which shall possess them as its sovereignty and property with all the territorial property dependent upon them.

XIII. His Imperial and Royal Majesty, as well in his own name as in that of the Germanic Empire, confirms the agreement already entered into by the Treaty of Campo Formio, for the union of the ci-devant Imperial Fiefs to the Ligurian Republic, and renounces all rights and titles arising from those rights on the said Fiefs.

XIV. In conformity with the 11th Article of the Treaty of Campo Formio, the Navigation of the Adige, which serves as the limits between the states of His Majesty the Emperor and King, and those of the Cisalpine Republic, shall be free, nor shall any Toll be imposed, or any Ship of War kept there.

XV. All Prisoners of War on both sides, as well as Hostages taken or given during the war, who shall not be yet restored, shall be so within forty days from the time of signing the present Treaty.

XVI. The unalienated real and personal Property of His Royal Highness the Archduke Charles, and of the Heirs of Her Royal Highness the Archduchess Christina, deceased, situated in the Countries ceded to the French Republic, shall be restored to them on condition of their selling them within three years. The same shall be the case also with the landed and personal property of Their Royal Highnesses the Archduke Ferdinand and the Archduchess Beatrice, his wife, in the territory of the Cisalpine Republic.

XVII. It is particularly stipulated, that the 12th, 13th, 15th, 16th, 17th, and 23d Articles of the Treaty of Campo Formio, shall be executed according to their form and tenor, as if they were here repeated verbatim.

XVIII. The contributions, payments, and war impositions of whatever kind, shall cease from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty on the one hand, by His Imperial Majesty and the Germanic Empire, and on the other by the French Republic.

XIX. The present Treaty shall be ratified by His Majesty the Emperor and King, by the Empire, and by the French Republic, in the space of thirty days, or sooner if possible; and it is agreed that the armies of the two Powers shall remain in their present positions, both in Germany and in Italy, until the ratifications shall be respectively exchanged at Luneville.

It is also agreed, that ten days after the exchange of the ratifications, the armies of His Imperial and Royal Majesty shall enter the Hereditary Possessions, which shall within the same space of time be evacuated by the French armies; and thirty days after the said ratification shall be exchanged, the French armies shall evacuate the whole of the territory of the said Empire.

Executed and signed at Luneville, Feb. 9, 1801.

LOUIS COUNT COBENZEL.
JOSEPH BONAPARTE.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Paris, December 24.—The resignations of several bishops have been received, amongst others, of the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines, the Bishop of Toul, Ferdinand Prince de Rohan, Guemenée Archbishop of Cambray, and Clement Vinceslaus de Saxe,

Prince Royal of Poland, Archbishop Elector of Treves, Bishop and Prince of Augsburg, the Bishops of Ypres, of Chalons sur Marne, of Meaux, of Nice, of Castres, and the Archbishop of Mayence.

Legislative Body, December 29.—The president read the following letter from the Consuls:—Legislators, The government has determined to withdraw the plans laid before you respecting the civil code, and also the law for branding condemned persons. It is with regret that government finds itself obliged to postpone to another period, the consideration of those laws, which have been so anxiously expected by the nation; but it is convinced that the time is not yet come, when these important discussions can take place, with that calmness and unity of intention which they require. (Signed) *Bonaparté.*

January 6.—M. Spina, Archbishop of Corinth, arrived at Grenoble from Paris on the 24th of last month.—On the 28th, he was to continue his journey to Valence, in order to make the necessary preparations for transporting the remains of Pius VI. to Rome.

Copenhagen, December 15.—On Sunday afternoon the new-born son of the Prince of Wurtemberg was baptized by the name of Christian Frederick William Alexander. The Dutchess of Augustenburgh presented him at the font, and his Majesty, the Crown Prince, and the Duke of Augustenburgh, attended as witnesses.

December 26.—The negotiation between Major-General Waltersdorff and the English ministry, have had the most favourable issue for Denmark. It has been agreed that Denmark shall receive the stipulated indemnities either in ready money or commodities. General Macdonald, the accredited minister from the French Republic to our Court, having received his audience of leave, has set out for Paris. The diplomatic business of the Republic will in the mean time be conducted by the Secretary of Legation Desaugiers.

Ofen, (in Hungary), December 31.—Letters from Bucharest mention, that Paswan Oglou is at present causing the coin of the Grand Seignior to be counterfeited; for which purpose he has already used about 5000lb. weight of silver and copper; but the army, as well as the inhabitants, refuse to accept this money. According to letters from Brunn, several Pachas, with an army consisting of 7000 Kersaks, 20,000 Spahis, and many thousand Janisaries, are marching towards Widden and Belgrade; and it is confidently asserted, that the van of this army is already arrived in the vicinity of the last-mentioned city.

Vienna, December 16.—The solicitations to have the King of Etruria acknowledged by our Court, are again renewed: however, it is extremely probable that this acknowledgment will not take place before the Grand Duke of Tuscany is fully indemnified for his Dukedom.—The annual revenues which the Grand Duke of Tuscany has lost, and for which he must be indemnified, are said to amount to 2,700,000 florins.

Hamburgh, December 25.—The following interesting account of the losses which the continental powers have sustained in consequence of the war, has lately been published in the German newspapers.

	Territory. German miles square.	*Population.*	*Revenue, Florins.*
Austria loses, including the Milanese, Modena, Tuscany, &c.	1060½	3,629,455	9,314,135
The Princes of the Left Bank, 31 in number, lose	885	1,960,575	14,163,134
The 43 Counts who had possessions on the Left Bank	75	182,630	1,391,942
The Abbayes and Chapters which had separate domains	42½	109,500	1,254,540
The Equestrian Order	20½	52,000	409,300
The Chapter of Cologne	1	2,500	16,800
The Imperial Cities, 5 in number	4	99,000	521,000
Holland, including her ancient Belgic Possessions	80	218,000	1,300,000
The Imperial Chamber of Wetzlaar	—	—	21,600
Total loss	2,168½	6,253,660	28,392,451

On the 23d of December, the Swedish Charge-d'Affairs to the circle of Lower Saxony, received intelligence from Stockholm, of the death of the Hereditary Prince of Baden, at Arboga, at six o'clock in the morning. His Highness with his family was on his return when his carriage was overturned in a narrow road. Though his Highness received no contusion or wound, yet he appeared stunned and speechless, with other symptoms of an apoplexy, and though attended by the first physicians, his Highness expired the next day. His spouse and children returned to Stockholm; whi-

ther the body was likewise sent, previous to its being transported to Germany.—His Highness was born the 14th of February 1755, and married on the 15th of July 1774, to Princess Amelia Frederica, daughter of Louis IXth, Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, born June 20th, 1754. He was father of the reigning Empress of Russia, of the Queen of Sweden, and the Electress of Bavaria.—The Dukes de Laval and de Guines have been erased from the list of emigrants: the latter through the intercession and good offices of Lord Cornwallis, with whom he was acquainted during his embassy in England.

Stockholm, December 19.—The court has gone into mourning for the Prince of Baden, and will receive, for the three following weeks, no visits but those of condolence. The play-houses are shut up, and there will be neither balls nor feasts during the winter.

Hague, January 3.—The session of the legislative body, under the presidence of Leunep, will commence on the 12th instant. —Admiral Hartzink sailed from Flushing road with his squadron. It consisted of a *French* and three Dutch frigates, on board of which was embarked the 7th half brigade of *French* infantry.—Thus, we see that not a movement is made by the Dutch, without the leave, and even without the participation of France, to whom Holland is in as perfect subjection, as Cornwall is to the English crown.

America, December 10.—The Congress began their session on the 8th of December. The speech of the president announces an intention of a complete change in all the departments of the government.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

His Majesty's visits to Windsor for the remainder of the winter, till Lent, will be on Fridays; he will return to town on the Monday following.

The following notice was issued by his Royal Highness Monsieur, upon his arrival on the 1st instant, at Holyrood House.

"His Royal Highness Monsieur, solicitous to express those sentiments of satisfaction which he cannot but entertain, on returning again to a country endeared to him by every possible testimony of politeness, and every demonstration of attention, will hold a levee at Holyrood House every Monday during the course of the present month, at half past twelve o'clock."

The court-martial, lately holden at Portsmouth for the trial of the offenders, concerned in the mutiny at Bantry Bay, have, after a long and patient trial of fourteen of the ring-leaders, to wit, John Mayfield, James Ward, James Chesterman, John Fitzgerald, Joseph Rowland, Thomas Jones, Thomas Christ, William Cook, Christopher White, John Collins, James Locker, John Cummins, William Hillier, and John Dames, condemned them all to suffer *death*, with the exception of Christ and White, who are sentenced to be flogged.——To the inquiries of those, who are, and not without reason, somewhat alarmed, that the trial did not take place in the port, where the crime was committed, we have it in our power to reply, that the objection arose not from any political apprehensions of his Majesty's ministers, but from some *legal* doubts, which were entertained on the subject.—Six of the criminals were executed, at Spithead, yesterday morning.——The *Temeraire*, on board of which the mutiny began, is, with the three other ships from Bantry Bay, to sail for the West-Indies immediately.

General Baird's detachment from India, that arrived in Egypt, in addition to the native troops, consisted of detachments from the 75th, 77th, and 78th regiments, and the strength of the 10th, 84th, and 88th regiments of foot, with a detachment of artillery. These corps remained at Alexandria when the last accounts arrived from thence, waiting orders from home how they are to be disposed of.

The 34th regiment of foot, at present at the Cape of Good Hope, will embark from thence for Bengal in the spring.

On January the 11th, came on at Montrose, the election for a member of Parliament for the Aberdeen district of boroughs, in the room of Alexander Allardyce, Esq. deceased, when James Farquhar, Esq. of Doctors' Commons, was unanimously returned.

The head and gun-money for the Helder Point business is in a train of settlement. The first payment to the captors, being about 45,000*l.* it is expected will be discharged in about ten days. The remainder, about 150,000*l.* will not be paid, it is supposed, for some time.

The prize-money for the army present at the capture of the Cape of Good Hope is announced for payment on the 15th instant, by Mr. Davidson, the agent.

Letters have been received over-land from Bombay, dated at that Presidency on the 20th of August, which speak in confident terms of the death of the King of

Cabul, who died early in the month of April, while on an expedition to Candahar.

The island of Ternate, in the East-Indies, surrendered to his majesty's arms on the 21st of June last, by capitulation. This island is one of the largest of the Moluccas, and produces vast quantities of spice. The expedition was commanded by Colonel Burr.

By a proclamation which has been published at Botany Bay, it appears that some serious disturbances have arisen in that colony, and attempts been made to effect a *revolution* among the convicts.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

1. *Financial and Political Facts of the Eighteenth Century; with comparative Estimates of the Revenue, Expenditure, Debts, Manufactures, and Commerce of Great Britain. By John M'Arthur, Esq.*—This work, which is an extension of one, which was, some time ago, published by the same author, will form a valuable addition to the collection of those, who study political œconomy. The author's observations (particularly as they were written before the peace), relative to the ruinous effects, which the commerce and manufactures of Great-Britain would experience, if the enemy should be left in possession of the Netherlands, discover great knowledge and ability, and are highly worthy of attention.

2. *Reflections on the Conclusion of the War: being a Sequel to Reflections on the Political and Moral State of Society at the Close of the Eighteenth Century. By John Bowles, Esq.*—The moral reflections, contained in this work, are such as every one would expect to meet with from the well-known pen of Mr. Bowles.

3. *The Immediate Causes and Remote Consequences of the Peace considered. By — Thurgood.*——The principal object of this author is, to prove, that the war might, with safety, have been avoided, and that the peace tends to the destruction of this country. The former position is too notoriously false, and the latter too notoriously true, to require a commentary from us. In contrasting the former declarations of some of the defenders of the war, with the submissive and abject stipulations of the peace, Mr. Thurgood is more successful; and his pamphlet is, on this account, well worth the attention of those, whose memories do not furnish them with the materials for making such contrast.

4. *A short View of the Preliminaries of Peace, signed at London, October* 1, 1801.——The little pamphlet before us, is, in every respect beneath criticism, and would certainly not have been mentioned here, were we not desirous to insert the name of every work, which has appeared on the peace.

5. *The Speech of the Right Hon. William Windham, delivered in the House of Commons, Wednesday, November*, 4, 1801, *on the Report of an Address to the Throne, approving of the Preliminaries of Peace with the Republic of France.*—Not having room to enter into a regular review of this admirable speech, we shall only observe, that we are happy it has been rescued from the confused and garbled diurnal reports, and has been thus placed on record, as a protest against the fatal preliminaries of peace.

6. *Eight Letters on the Peace; and on the Commerce and Manufactures of Great Britain. By Sir Frederick Morton Eden, Bart.*—Every event, that troubles the political horizon, is sure to set in motion some dozen or two of authors, who, like coachmen on a stand, are, while the sky is serene, constantly holding up their finger for a job. To one of these hackney writers we should certainly have attributed the letters before us, which first appeared under the signature of *Philanglus*, had they not been elevated from the Porcupine newspaper to a pamphlet, bearing the respectable name of Sir Frederick Morton Eden, Baronet, a circumstance which now induces us to ascribe to want of knowledge alone, those erroneous statements and conclusions, which we had before imputed to a cause, less humiliating, perhaps, to the author, but far less honourable to the man. These letters, are, nevertheless regarded, by the ministers themselves, as *the best defence of the peace*, and, that bad is the best, has, we think, been incontrovertibly proved by Mr. Cobbett's letters to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

7. *Letters to the Right Hon. Henry Addington Chancellor of His Majesty's Exchequer, on the Fatal Effects of the Peace with Buonaparté, particularly with Respect to the Colonies, the Commerce, the Manufactures, and Constitution of the United Kingdom. By William Cobbett.*

8. A second edition of Mr. Cobbett's letters to Lord Hawkesbury, including the above-mentioned letters to Mr. Addington, with an appendix (now greatly enlarged) containing all the conventions, treaties, speeches, and other documents, relating to the subject.——Of these two works, we will only say, that we should sincerely rejoice to see all the statements and conclu

sions, contained in them, completely overturned.

New Works at Paris.

9. There appears in the last received numbers of the *Moniteur*, under the signature of Peuchet, a series of essays, strongly recommending the establishment of a commercial company to trade with the Baltic, and to be called the *Baltic Company*, to be situated at *Antwerp*. The author proves, we think clearly, that the advantages, which France has acquired by the peace, will now enable her to rival England in the part of the world, of which he is speaking. When he has closed his observations, (which discover great knowledge of the commercial interests of the nations of Europe), we shall endeavour to give an analysis of them, in the mean time, we shall content ourselves with an extract, exhibiting an account of the exports from France to the Baltic, in 1789, the year preceding the revolution.

	lbs. wt.		*lbs. wt.*
Almonds	230,000	Sulphur	370,000
Aniseed	4,900	Sugar	16,537,276
Staining wood	85,000	Tobacco	180,000
Liquorice	77,356		*casks.*
Cocoa & Coffee	6,529,960	Brandy	17,800
Cotton	76,000	Sweet Oil	180
Drugs	109,900	Molasses	4,000
Indigo	68,000	Wines	130,000
Gall's	37,080	Vinegar	4,040
Saffron	411		*cases.*
Figs	39,716	Oranges & Lemons	937
Spices	11,400		*tons.*
Prunes	1,800,000	Apples & Pears	617
Raisins	54,000		*bales.*
Rice	47,000	Paper	977
Soap	105,000		

The author states, that, in 1790, there were considerable shipments of cloth, and that a demand for that article was daily increasing.

10. *Mentelle's Elements of History and Geography.*—This work contains, 1. A description of the constitutions of the several nations of Europe; 2. A view of their most memorable wars and treaties; 3. A sketch of the genealogy of the sovereigns of the principal states.

PROMOTIONS.

His Majesty's Letters Patent have passed the Great Seal of Ireland, appointing Arthur Browne, Esq. His Majesty's Prime Serjeant at Law in Ireland, in the room of Edm. Stanley, Esq, who has resigned; and also appointing Wm. Smith, Esq. one of the Barons of His Majesty's Court of Exchequer in Ireland, in the room of Peter Metze, Esq. who has resigned.—The Rev. Henry Plumley, A. M. is preferred to the living of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, on the presentation of the Rev. Dr. Bingham, Archdeacon of London.—Lieut. Gen. Wm. Gardner is appointed Governor of Kinsale and Charles Fort, vice General Lord Rossmore, deceased.—The Hon. Christopher Hely Hutchinson, Brother to General Lord Hutchinson, is elected Representative of the City of Cork, in the room of the General, who is called up to the House of Peers.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

Birth.—In Rutland Square, Dublin, Viscountess Cory, of a Son and Heir.

Marriages.—On the 31st ult. Captain Pearse, of the 14th Light Dragoons, son of the late Colonel Pearse, of the East-India Company's service, to Miss Martha St. Aubyn, daughter of Sir John St. Aubyn, of Clowance, Cornwall, Bart. Lately, by special license, at the house of the Countess of Clanwilliam, Stephen's Green, Dublin, the Right Hon. John Chambre, Earl of Meath, to Lady Melesina Adelaide Meade, fourth daughter of the late Earl of Clanwilliam.—Thursday, at Mary-le-bone Church, W. H. Burgess, of Birchin Lane, Esq. to Miss Eliza Burdett, youngest daughter of Sir Charles Burdett, Bart.

Deaths.—On the 24th ult. at his house in Hereford Street, the Right Hon. Lord Kirkcudbright, aged 73.—On the 26th ult. at Exmouth, the Lady of Sir John Whitefoord, Bart.—At Tarbat House, Ross-shire, on the 28th of Dec. the Right Hon. Lady Elizabeth Mackenzie, of Cromarty, widow of the late George Lord Ellibank, and daughter of the late George Earl of Cromarty.—On Saturday the 2nd inst. of a decline, at Kenegie, near Penzance, in the County of Cornwall, in the 48th year of his age, the Right Hon. Lord Rodney.—On Saturday the 2nd inst. the Hon. Miss Charlotte Julia Leslie, the youngest daughter of the Right Hon. Lord Leslie, at his Lordship's house at Shrub Hill, near Dorking, Surrey.—Wednesday, the 6th. inst. at Wadley House, Berks, in the 35th year of his age, the Right Hon. Viscount Ashbrook.—At his family mansion, Castlejordan, in the County of Meath, Sir D. Giffard.—At Annabella, near Mallow, Sir Joseph Hoare, Bart.—At Pynes House, after a short illness, the Dowager Lady Northcote.—On Wednesday last, of a paralytic stroke, at his house near Kingston, Surrey, Sir Thomas Kent, at the advanced age of 83 years.—On Saturday last, at Cobham Hall, in Kent, of a fever, the Hon. Lady Catharine Bligh, eldest daughter of the Earl of Darnley.—Monday se'nnight, at Armathwaite, near Keswick, in the 73d year of her age, Lady Fletcher, relict of Sir Lionel Wright Vane Fletcher, Bart. of Hutton, in Cumberland, and mother of Sir Frederick Vane.

PRICE OF STOCKS.

English three per cent. consols.—Monday, Jan. 11, 67 $\frac{7}{8}$ 8 7 $\frac{3}{4}$.—Tues. 12th, 67 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{5}{8}$.—Wednes. 13th, 67 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{3}{8}$.—Thurs. 14th, 67 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{3}{8}$.—Friday 15, 67 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{3}{8}$ $\frac{1}{2}$.—Sat. 19th.—American Stocks.—Eight per cent. 112. Six per cents. 95$\frac{1}{2}$. Three per cents. 58. Six per cents. deff. 96$\frac{1}{2}$.——French Stocks.—Tiers consolidé 54 fr. 66 C. Bons deux tiers 2 fr. 70 C.

PRICES OF CORN AND BREAD IN LONDON.

Foreign White Wheat 70 to 85s. per quarter. Foreign Red ditto 65 to 74s. ditto. Inferior ditto 55 to 63s. English Wheat 65 to 83s. Rye 56 to 42s. Barley 25 to 46s. Malt 45 to 60s. Oats 20 to 30s. Pease 36 to 52s. Beans 38 to 46s. First Flour 65 to 70s. Second ditto 60 to 63s. per sack of 2$\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. American Flour none for sale. Price of Bread, one shilling and one farthing the quartern loaf.

LONDON, January 16 to January 30, 1802.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

January 19, 1802.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Soon after their lordships assembled, *Lord Pelham* moved, that the House do adjourn 'till Wednesday the 3d of February. On the question being put,

The *Earl of Carlisle* rose, and observed, that, as great anxiety prevailed with respect to the repeated short adjournments, he thought his Majesty's ministers were now, at least, called upon to give an explanation of the cause of such an extraordinary mode of proceeding;* and that some explanation was also due from them on another, and more important, point—the *sailing of the French fleet and army to the West-Indies.* This expedition, his lordship observed, was said to be fitted out for the sole purpose of regulating certain concerns in the French islands; and, if so, it might, perhaps, if successful, be productive of no evils to this kingdom; but, he apprehended, that this was a point not so clear as to preclude the necessity of an official explanation, especially when it was considered, that we were, for aught the country knew to the contrary, still in a state of hostility with Spain, which power had just sent out a squadron under convoy of the French flag. Such an alarming expedition as this having been sent out during an interval, which must be regarded as a truce, called loudly on ministers for explanation. His lordship said he hoped, and, indeed, that he doubted not, that they had taken precautions, adequate to the emergency, for securing our valuable West-India possessions, though he had heard of no British force being sent to that quarter, except four sail of the line.

Lord Pelham replied, that he could not accede to the propriety of such a mode of questioning ministers, on points of such delicacy and importance. With regard to the latter subject of the noble earl's inquiry, his lordship stated, that ministers were duly aware of the sailing of the expedition from Brest, and that they had reason to believe, that the objects of France were of a legitimate nature. He further observed, that he thought the interests of our own possessions in the West-Indies required that the expedition should be attended with success; but, that ministers had taken such precautionary steps, relative to the occasion, as appeared to them politic and proper. For the short adjournments of Parliament, his lordship said that sufficient grounds had certainly existed, but that they now no longer existed in such force as to render it necessary for ministers to detail them to the House.

The question was then put, and their lordships adjourned 'till the 3d of February.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that when the House last met, the reasons, which had induced him to propose motions for short adjournments, could scarcely be said to exist; but, as a bare possibility might be said to remain of the necessity of resorting to the wisdom of parliament, he had thought it his duty to act as he had done; but he was happy to state, that the causes, which then influenced his conduct, were now entirely removed. He expressed his astonisment, that an opinion should have gone abroad, that, on this day, it was his intention to make a communication to the House, on the cause of its late short adjournments. He observed, that, though the cause might be perfectly understood, it might, nevertheless, be very improper to make it a subject of public discussion, and that the silence of ministers, on a great national object, by no means implied a wish for concealment. He had now, he said, described the ground of his conduct in a manner, which, he hoped, would be perfectly intelligible; and, as it did not appear, that it required the interposition of Parliament, the less was said of it the better. He concluded by moving, that the House do adjourn 'till the 2d of February.

Mr. Elliot said, that he could not permit the question to pass without expressing the regret and disappointment he felt that a proposition for an adjournment to so dis-

* The real cause of the short adjournments, has, since this debate took place, been fully understood to be, the necessity, which might arise for the passing of some law relative to the mutiny in the fleet; but, it is much to be feared, that such a precaution will be interpreted into a serious doubt respecting the efficiency of the executive power, to whose department it exclusively belongs to quell and to punish every species of mutiny.

tant a day should be made, without such an explanation on the present alarming predicament of public affairs, as he thought the House had now fair pretensions to expect. Near a month had elapsed since intelligence was received of the departure of the naval armament from the ports of France, which he believed he was justified in describing to be, in point of magnitude, almost unprecedented in the quarter of the globe, to which it was said to be destined. After such an interval, he had flattered himself that his Majesty's ministers would have been enabled to have afforded the House the satisfaction of knowing, that a successful representation had been made to the government of France, on a subject which must necessarily excite much solicitude and apprehension in this country. He had conceived too, that his majesty's ministers would have been the more anxious to have made some communication, because, from any thing that had hitherto transpired, it was difficult to account for so extraordinary an event, otherwise than by some fraudulent department, on the part of the French government, or by some very reprehensible remissness on the part of those who have the management of the affairs of this country. Whether the state of the French islands in the West-Indies was such as to require, even pending the negotiation of peace, so large a military force as that which has been sent thither, he could not take upon himself to determine. On that point he must necessarily give credit to ministers, but surely it could not be necessary that so large a *naval* force should be dispatched to that quarter. It could hardly be contended that the blacks were in a state of maritime strength, which it required a fleet of between twenty and thirty sail of the line to subdue; because, he believed, they could scarcely produce as many canoes. But if ministers, under the persuasion of the necessity of such a measure, did permit the dispatch of so large a military force, he was very sincere in not imputing to them a previous knowledge that it was the intention of France to accompany that military force by a naval armament of such alarming magnitude. At the same time he could not presume, that they did not endeavour to ascertain the amount of the naval force which it was in the contemplation of France to send out, and if there had been any communication with the French government on that point, and ministers had been deceived in the information they had received in respect to it, there must have been some duplicity on the part of France. He thought, however, that ministers should have guarded against such a case, and should not have permitted the expedition to proceed, without having previously stipulated its exact force. If there was such a stipulation, and France had violated it by dispatching a greater force than was agreed to, it was an act of the most flagrant and hostile perfidy on her part. Nevertheless, even in that case he could not acquit ministers of supineness, in not having provided means either for compelling France to an adherence to her engagement, or for immediately counteracting the prejudicial effects of its infringement. But whatever the circumstances attending the transaction might be, the perilous predicament, in which it left the interests of the country, was obvious. With such an advantage gained on the part of France, he should be glad to ask with what weight and influence the noble marquis to whom the interests of this country are entrusted at Amiens (and to whom he could not allude without expressing the veneration, esteem, and affection he entertained for him,) could press any questions that might arise in the course of the negotiation for the definitive treaty? Whatever might be the state of the business at the present moment, it was no absurd or wild conjecture to suppose that some points of difficulty might occur in the course of a negotiation of such magnitude and importance. For instance, it was not extravagant to imagine, that the extent of the cessions in Guiana might become a matter of controversy, as there had been already two explanations of it, one from the ministers in that house, and another from persons of authority in the French councils, and both different. It would not be contended that our ambassador could urge a compliance with his representation on that point, if it should meet with opposition on the part of the French government, otherwise than at the risk of a renewal of hostilities; and if hostilities should be renewed, France might recommence them by some important blow on our possessions in a quarter where, a few months ago, she did not possess the means of annoyance. He did not mean to assert that France would act in this way; he was rather inclined to think that she would not pursue any ulterior object of aggrandizement until she had secured to herself the possession of those valuable cessions which had been so liberally made to her by the preliminaries of peace. But she might form such a formidable dépôt of naval force in the western hemisphere as would oblige Great-Britain

to maintain an equal degree of maritime strength there, and expose the country to the expence and other multiplied inconveniences of large establishments; and if this should be the case, what would become of all those speculations that were so fondly indulged on the cheapness and œconomy of peace? On the other hand, France availed herself of all the advantages of an armed naval force; and had already acquired a temporary superiority, at least in that portion of the seas which contained some of our most valuable possessions. These benefits she enjoyed, though the language which she held was little calculated to remove all uneasiness; for she had scarcely published a state paper in which she did not zealously assert what she calls the liberty of the seas, and did not inculcate that code of maritime regulations, which seemed contrived for the very purpose of annihilating the naval and commercial power of this country. This being the hazardous situation in which the country was placed, he confessed he had hoped for some communication on the circumstances that had produced it. After the interval of a month some ships were on the point of sailing, but this, though it recognized some jealousy on the part of ministers of the views of France, did not display any very commendable promptitude of preparation for the resistance of her designs. He had not made this statement for the purpose of throwing a gloom and despondency over the country. He wished only to draw a true picture of our situation, that our efforts might be in proportion to the exigency of our affairs. His object was to excite the attention of the country to the arduous predicament in which it stood, and to stimulate ministers to exertion. The emergency was pressing, and time was swift. We were now in the course of a most critical communication with a power which knew not how to rest. A power which was all vigilance, all design, all energy, all activity. We could not repose even for a moment, in which it would not avail itself of our relaxation We could not leave bare and exposed even a crevice, into which it would not endeavour to insinuate itself. It was actuated by a proud and haughty ambition, and a furious lust of dominion, that nothing could satiate short of universal empire. Its system was vicious, but it had all the qualities that belonged to a depravity of an exalted cast. It was not to be met by langour, tameness, and submission; and unless ministers evinced more watchfulness and vigour than present appearances indicated, it was his firm and honest conviction that nothing could save this nation from furnishing to the world an awful example of the extinction of the glory of a great and flourishing country, through imbecility of councils and inefficiency of conduct.

Lord Hawkesbury said, that the hon. gentleman, who had preceded him, spoke like one who wished the definitive treaty to be broken off, and, that the tone, in which he had delivered his sentiments, deprived them of a considerable portion of that high respect, which he entertained for the hon. gentleman himself. His lordship observed, that the notion, which seemed now, as on a former occasion, to be entertained, that, between the signing of preliminary articles and that of a definitive treaty, no alteration whatever could take place in the relative situation of the forces of the parties, without implying an hostile intention, he could not help regarding as erroneous. He said, that he never understood such an alteration to be a subject of complaint; unless, indeed, attended with some concomitant circumstances, unequivocally hostile. On many occasions, this country had made changes in the disposition of her forces, during the interval between the date of the preliminaries and that of the definitive treaty, and on no occasion more than on the present, when a great part of our force had been brought *from Egypt*, a measure against which the French might, *with equal propriety*, complain, as tending to strengthen the defence of Great-Britain. This, he said, was a subject of peculiar delicacy, and one upon which he could not explain himself so fully as he might otherwise have wished; but he thought himself at liberty to state, *that the French fleet did not sail without previous communication made to the government of this country*. What the nature of the communication was, he declined to explain; yet he thought it right to add, that, according to his belief and conviction, there was nothing attending the sailing of the French armament that manifested hostility to this kingdom. At the same time, however, he trusted that credit would be given to ministers for having taken the necessary precautions to render our force, in the quarter alluded to, not inferior to that of France. His lordship observed, that the hon. gentleman had spoken of the tardy diligence of ministers, without knowing what ships they had sent out, or from what quarter they had been sent. The hon. gentleman had also asked, in what situation Lord Cornwallis would be placed by this movement of the French; in reply to which

his lordship said, that he knew of nothing that could render it necessary for that nobleman to hold language less firm and vigorous than that which had hitherto been held. His lordship concluded by observing, that the speech of the hon. gentleman seemed to indicate no wish for the conclusion of the definitive treaty upon fair and equitable terms, but rather for the entire failure of an object, the accomplishment of which was so earnestly desired by the House, and by the nation at large.

Dr. Lawrence said, that it appeared to him to be rather a new and cavalier mode of treating the House of Commons, to say to any gentleman, 'you differ from me upon the subject of peace, and, therefore, your observations are not entitled to respect.' If danger was stated to threaten the country, it was the duty of ministers to examine into the fact; and, if the danger was found to exist, to satisfy the House of their wish and their endeavours to remove it, or, at least, to ward off its menacing effects. His hon. friend had not said, that it was the intention of France to renew hostilities: he had conceived her intention to be, to establish a preponderating force in the neighbourhood of our most valuable and most vulnerable foreign possessions; and he would be glad to know what answer had been given, or attempted to be given, to that argument. The noble lord had observed, that we had brought home a great part of our troops from Egypt, of which movement the French might, with equal propriety, complain; forgetting, undoubtedly, that the object of France in making peace was to remove those troops out of Egypt—a removal, indeed, which, by a stipulation of the preliminaries, we are *obliged* to effect; so that, to make out a parallel in the two cases, we have only to find some other stipulation, by which France engages to send out an immense armament to menace our West-India possessions. The learned gentleman observed, that the noble lord's illustrations would, therefore, have been much less unlucky, if he had supposed it likely for the French to *complain* of the bringing home our fleet from the blockade of Brest.——He proceeded to state, that Toussaint professed to be in the service of the Republic of France, that he held his commission from her, that all his acts were done in her name and behalf, and that, therefore, no satisfactory reason, consistent with the safety of our islands, could be given, why such a formidable armament was sent to that quarter. Even supposing Toussaint to have erected the standard of independence, and that the whole of the island were in complete subjection to his authority, "where," asked the hon. gentleman, "shall we look, Sir, for the use "of nearly thirty sail of the line, to subdue a negro-chief, who has not a single "cannon floating on the water?" He said, that he by no means supposed, that ministers would fail to send out a force sufficient to cope with that of France, were the two fleets to come to an hostile rencontre; but, it did not follow, he said, that the hostile designs of France would be frustrated; for, though we were to have a fleet of even superior strength in Port Royal harbour, a descent might, with great facility, be made on Jamaica, from St. Domingo or Cuba. Admitting, however, that, by keeping up a great fleet in the West-Indies, our possessions, in that quarter would be effectually secured; yet the consequences naturally to be apprehended from two such fleets watching each others movements, together with the intolerable burthen of maintaining such a force, in a part of the world so distant, so expensive, and so fatal to our seamen, would render our situation totally unworthy of the name of peace. The preliminary treaty he disliked; but, it having been sanctioned by those, who were better qualified to decide on its merits than himself, he submitted; and by no means wished to break off the definitive treaty. He did, however, think, that some stipulation should be insisted on, respecting the naval force to be kept up by each power respectively, in the different parts of the globe; he thought that some security should be obtained for the return of the vast armament, fitted and sent out since the signing of the preliminaries; which security, he thought, might be found in our retaining a temporary possession of Malta and the Cape of Good Hope. If this were refused, no reliance could be placed on the amicable disposition of France; because if she contemplated no hostile object, if she sought that peace and harmony, which had been ascribed to her views, it was evidently her interest to keep her naval force in her European ports. Whether some stipulation, such as he had mentioned, had already been proposed, he could not tell; but, it appeared to him, that Parliament ought to receive early information on the subject, and he, therefore, thought the House should not adjourn for so long a time. He had, he said, pressed this point the more, because he had heard

it stated, that the object of the French was, to make the colony of St. Domingo as formidable to the West-Indies as France is to Europe. Their design appeared to be, to send out more and more of those troops, which the peace has thrown idle on their hands; and, if this design were suffered to be carried into execution, neither the strength nor the valour of our fleet could prevent the invasion and the ruin of our possessions, without the aid of an army bearing some proportion in numbers to that of France, and, like hers, seasoned to the climate.—He concluded with moving, "that the House do adjourn 'till Tuesday "next."

The Attorney-General regarded the speech of the learned gentleman as having no other object than that of irritating ministers to a disclosure of what they ought to conceal, and of obstructing the work of peace. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Elliot) had, he said, in imputing fraudulent practices and base artifice to a power, with which we were treating for permanent tranquillity, acted in a manner little consistent with the dignity or liberality of the House of Commons: and, he must, in whatever way he considered the speeches of the hon. and the learned gentlemen, conclude, that the chief motive of them was, to impede, embarrass, and set aside, a negotiation, which was begun under the sanction of Parliament, and the success of which was earnestly desired by almost the total mass of the inhabitants of this country, a motive which, he trusted, would not meet with the approbation of the House.

Mr. Jones, in order to shew the earnestness and sincerity of his wishes for peace, said, that, when considered in conjunction with that object, he regarded the sailing of the French armament as a speck in the sun. Yet, he could not approve of the conduct of ministers in suffering that great armament to sail before the conclusion of the definitive treaty, the terms of which, he apprehended (notwithstanding what had fallen from the noble lord), could not be rendered more favourable to us by the permission which was thus given to the French, to treat with us sword in hand, and to hold that sword pointed at our most vulnerable part: that such was the way to obtain good and honourable terms of peace common sense forbade us to believe. Nor could he give his approbation to those short adjournments; this mode of holding petty sessions. Under this impression, he owned he wished, with the learned gentleman (Dr. Lawrence) for some information: and he thought it would be perfectly proper for the minister to do away the prevailing rumours, anxiety, and alarms, as well as at once to make some communication, to enable the House to form a correct judgment of the state of public affairs, and to repose, without a dereliction of duty, that liberal confidence in ministers to which he hoped they would prove themselves entitled. He concluded by observing, that if we were now to bear the enormous expense of keeping up a powerful fleet and army in the West-Indies, he was ready to confess, that he should not be an admirer even of what was called peace and plenty—peace without a cessation of arms, and plenty without bread.

The amendment of Dr. Lawrence was put, and negatived. The original motion was then put, and carried, without a division.

Several accounts and estimates were laid on the table, after which the House adjourned 'till the 2d of February.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

Armament from Brest.

(Continued from page 21.)

That no armament whatever was necessary *to reduce Toussaint to obedience* is clear from the following facts. Not many months ago, a *M. de la Caze* was sent out to St. Domingo by the French government, and was, by Toussaint, immediately installed as governor of the Spanish part of the island, an office to which he had been appointed by Buonaparté, and which he holds at this time, his residence being in the city of Santo Domingo. Some frauds, on the custom-house of Cape François, and other parts of the island, having been attributed to the American traders, it has, within these six months, been thought necessary to oblige the ships from the United States to produce certificates of the real value of their cargoes at the place of shipment; and these certificates are given by the commercial agents of the Republic of France, residing in the American ports, which agents are ordered so to act by *Pichon*, the French Ambassador in America, who gives public notice of his having issued such orders *. We have now before us a

* To enable our readers to judge for themselves, we here insert the notice given by *Pichon*.

"Notice is hereby given, *to Merchants trading to "the Island of St. Domingo*, That *the government of*

proclamation published by Toussaint, *dated 16th Brumaire, 9th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible* (7th Nov. 1801) and concluding *au nom de la République Françoise.* To this proclamation is subjoined a decree, signed by Toussaint, permitting free trade to the colony, in *French* vessels, or vessels of neutral powers, or powers *in alliance with France.* After the statement of these facts, great indeed must be that credulity, or that obstinacy, which would still regard Toussaint as the chief of a revolt, requiring a fleet and army to reduce it to obedience.

That very little force can be wanted to assist Toussaint in restoring the blacks to their former state of obedience and servitude is a position, which is also perfectly established by well-known facts. A revolt against his authority took place in the month of October last, of which revolt he has published a narrative, dated (according to the Christian calendar) 4th November, 1801. From this narrative we learn, that the blacks, in the northern part of the colony, taking advantage of a sort of tour, which he was making to the south, began an insurrection, which, "in the name of the *French government,*" he completely quelled in the space of fourteen days, though, when he first heard of it, he was more than a hundred miles from the spot were the insurgents were assembled. He describes the "rebels" as being a cowardly and wretched banditti, who fled at the approach of his troops. He concludes in these words:—"Tranquillity "is now established.—The most positive "orders have been given that the works of "the plantations should be carried on with "the greatest vigour; that no inconveni- "ence should accrue to persons or pro- "perty, and that the smallest attempt upon "the public peace be most exemplarily "punished; and all my cares and attention "shall be directed, to prevent any evil "effect upon the public confidence from "this fatal event."

"*the said island,* in order to provide against the fraudulent entries and declarations made by traders, "with the view of evading the duties laid on the "value of goods, *have desired the commercial agents "of the French Republic in the United States,* to attest "the prices quoted in the invoice bills as conformable to the prices current in the places from "whence the shipments are made. In conformity "to that desire, the agents aforesaid are directed to "give the above-mentioned certificates. Such, "therefore, as chuse to have their bills so certified, "may apply for that purpose *to the French Commissaries in the several ports of the United States.*

"*L. A. Pichon.*"

"*Georgetown (Potomac,) 7th Floreal, "9th year, (22d July, 1801.")*.

These facts render it entirely unnecessary to enter into argument to prove, that the reduction of St. Domingo was a mere pretext for raising the blockades of Cadiz, Brest, and the Texel, and for conveying a most formidable force to the West-India seas. That this pretext should have succeeded is matter of astonishment; but, the truth really is, that his Majesty's ministers were not acquainted with the facts here related, though they are fully stated by Mr. Cobbett, in his Letters to Mr. Addington, and though the greater part of them were actually in print previous to the sailing of the armament.

What is the *real object* of the French, in sending out this amazing fleet and army, and in what manner they will proceed to effect that object, shall be the subject of an article in our next number; in the mean time we cannot help expressing our earnest hope, that the ministry will not suffer themselves to be amused by professions, however fair; that they will recollect what has been the conduct of Buonaparté towards Genoa, Modena, Tuscany, Venice, and Switzerland; and that they will take speedy and effectual measures, *cost what they may,* to provide for the safety of our colonies, Jamaica in particular*.

Cession of Louisiana.

By turning to the state-papers in this number, our readers will find the treaty, which was concluded between France and Spain, on the 21st of March last, and which is now just published. The motive for keeping this treaty so long from the eyes of the world, evidently was, to prevent the ratification of the cession of Louisiana from being known, 'till peace was made between France and Great-Britain. This cession, the consequences of which were glanced at in Mr. Cobbett's Letters to Lord Hawkesbury, is of the greatest importance, whether considered as to the facility which it gives the French of invading Mexico, or of domineering over the United States of America. The views of France in extorting Louisiana from Spain are tolerably well developed by Moreau de St. Mery,

* We have the satisfaction to learn, that measures have been taken for assembling from ten to fifteen thousand men in Jamaica; two regiments have been ordered from Halifax, Nova Scotia, and others from Gibraltar, and our ships are going out as fast as they can be got ready. This is *War*; to be sure, but War, though under the name of Peace, is better than that destruction, which the loss of our West-India colonies would inevitably produce.

in his History of St. Domingo, written in 1795, he being then in the United States, and having acquired a competent knowledge of the situation and resources of the country, of which we are speaking. His reasons for obtaining the cession are, 1. to provide the French West-Indies with a never-failing supply of lumber and provisions; 2. to form a balance against that military and naval influence which Great-Britain has over the United States by the possession of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia; 3. to enable France, by giving her the command of the Mississippi, to extort from the United States of America such commercial regulations as will tend to give her commerce a preponderance over that of Great-Britain. These reasons are sound and incontrovertible. Two of the States of America, Kentucky and Tennessee, together with the territory of Mississippi, have, since the navigation of that river was opened in 1794, by the treaty between America and Spain, increased, in produce, in an astonishing degree, and their united population amounts, at this time, to not less than half a million of people, composed chiefly of rich proprietors from England, and of hardy, industrious, and enterprising emigrants from the Northern States of America. These people are cut off from the inhabited parts of the other States by a wilderness three hundred miles across; the only out-let for the produce of their fertile lands is the river Mississippi, of which the French will now occupy the opposite bank, and of which they will hold the key by the possession of New Orleans. When France has once got firm footing in this new acquisition, it will be perfectly in her power to extort from the United States, whatever commercial regulations may be subservient to her views of injuring England, or, if these are refused, to cut off Kentucky, Tennessee, &c. from the sovereignty of the United States. If we are told of the counterbalancing influence, which England possesses in New Brunswick and Canada, we beg leave to remind our opponent of this circumstance, that no part of the produce of the United States finds its way to the sea down the St. John, or the St. Lawrence, whereas every article exported from the Western States of America must go down the Mississippi. It would be in the power of France instantly to assume the sovereignty of those Western States; but this she will not do; she will leave it in the hands of America, as the sure and certain means of obtaining and preserving a domineering influence in the councils of the federal city, which councils are already but too much disposed to favour those plans, which she has laid for destroying the commercial and naval preponderance of England. Five thousand pounds in arms and ammunition, sent to Bowles, the Indian chief, and two thousand British soldiers, sent to take possession of New Orleans, would have effectually guarded us against this threatening evil; but, even so trifling an expedition never could be obtained, though it was earnestly and repeatedly requested from his majesty's present ministers, who were made fully acquainted with the importance of the object. They were resolved to shut their eyes on every thing but peace.

The possession of Louisiana, while it commands America, on one side, opens the road to Mexico, on the other. To the conquest of this latter country there is now no obstacle sufficient to deter a battalion of raw militia, much less an army of those veteran and marauding sans-culottes, who have plundered the continent of Europe from Amsterdam to Naples, and who will feel little remorse in adding the blood of a few thousands of enervated Spaniards to the rivers that they have already shed.

STATE PAPERS.

Message of the President of the United States to both Houses of Congress.

December 8, 1801.

Sir,

The circumstances under which we find ourselves at this place, rendering inconvenient the mode heretofore practised, of making by personal address the first communications between the legislative and executive branches, I have adopted that by message, as used on all subsequent occasions through the session.—In doing this, I have had the principal regard to the convenience of the legislature, to the economy of their time, to their relief from the embarrassment of immediate answers, on subjects not yet fully before them, and to the benefits thence resulting to the public affairs.—Trusting that a procedure founded in these motives will meet their approbation, I beg leave, through you, Sir, to communicate the enclosed message with the documents accompanying it, to the honourable House of Representatives; and pray you to accept, for yourself and them, the homage of my high respect and consideration.

Ths Jefferson.

The Honourable the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate, and House of Representatives.

It is a circumstance of sincere gratification to me, that on meeting the great council of our nation, I am

able to announce to them, on grounds of reasonable certainty, that the wars and troubles which have for so many years afflicted our sister-nations, have at length come to an end; and that the communications of peace and commerce are once more opening among them. Whilst we devoutly return thanks to the beneficent Being, who has been pleased to breathe into them the spirit of conciliation and forgiveness, we are bound with peculiar gratitude to be thankful to him that our own peace has been preserved through so perilous a season, and ourselves permitted quietly to cultivate the earth, and to practise and improve those arts which tend to increase our comforts. The assurances, indeed, of friendly disposition received from all the powers, with whom we have principal relations, had inspired a confidence that our peace with them would not have been disturbed; but a cessation of irregularities which had affected the commerce of neutral nations, and of the irritations and injuries produced by them, cannot but add to this confidence, and strengthens at the same time, the hope, that wrongs committed on unoffending friends, under a pressure of circumstances, will now be reviewed with candour, and will be considered as founding just claims of retribution for the past, and new assurances for the future.

Among our Indian neighbours, also, a spirit of peace and friendship generally prevails; and I am happy to inform you, that the continued efforts to introduce among them the implements and the practice of husbandry, and of the houshold arts, have not been without success: that they are becoming more and more sensible of the superiority of this dependence, for clothing and subsistence over the precarious resources of hunting and fishing: and already we are able to announce, that, instead of that constant diminution of their numbers, produced by their wars and their wants, some of them begin to experience an increase of population.

To this state of general peace with which we have been blessed, one only exception exists: *Tripoli*, the least considerable of the Barbary states, had come forward with demands, unfounded either in right or in compact; and had permitted itself to denounce war, on our failure to comply within a given day. The style of the demand admitted but one answer. I sent a small squadron of frigates into the Mediterranean, with assurances to that power of our sincere desire to remain in peace, but with orders to protect our commerce against the threatened attack. The measure was seasonable and salutary. The Bey had already declared war. His cruisers were out: two had arrived at Gibraltar. Our commerce in the Mediterranean was blockaded: and that of the Atlantic in peril. The arrival of our squadron dispelled the danger: one of the Tripolitan cruisers having fallen in with and engaged the small schooner Enterprize, commanded by Lieut. Sterrett, which had gone as a tender to our larger vessels, was captured after a heavy slaughter of her men, without the loss of a single one on our part. The bravery exhibited by our citizens on that element will, I trust, be a testimony to the world, that it is not the want of that virtue which makes us seek their peace; but a conscientious desire to direct the energies of our nation to the multiplication of the human race, and not to its destruction. Unauthorised by the constitution, without the sanction of Congress, to go beyond the line of defence, the vessel being disabled from committing further hostilities, was liberated with its crew. The legislature will doubtless consider, whether, by authorising measures of offence also, they will place our force on an equal footing with that of its adversaries. I communicate all material information on this subject, that in the exercise of the important functions, confided by the constitution to the legislature exclusively, their judgment may form itself on a knowledge and consideration of every circumstance of weight.

I wish I could say that our situation with all the other Barbary States was entirely satisfactory. Discovering that some delays had taken place in the performance of certain articles stipulated by us, I thought it my duty by immediate measures for fulfilling them to vindicate to ourselves the right of considering the effect of departure from a stipulation on their side. From the papers which will be laid before you, you will be enabled to judge, whether our treaties are regarded by them as fixing at all the measures of their demands; or as guarding from the exercise of force our vessels within their power: and to consider how far it will be safe and expedient to leave our affairs with them in their present posture.

I lay before you the result of the census lately taken of our inhabitants, to a conformity with which we are now to reduce the ensuing ratio of representation and taxation. You will perceive that the increase of numbers during the last ten years proceeding in geometrical ratio, promises a duplication in little more than twenty-two years; we contemplate this rapid growth, and the prospect it holds up to us, not with a view to the injuries it may enable us to do to others in some future day, but to the settlement of the extensive country, still remaining vacant within our limits; to the multiplication of men, susceptible of happiness, educated in the love of order, habituated to self-government, and valuing its blessings above all price.

Other circumstances, combined with the increase of numbers, have produced an augmentation of revenue arising from consumption in a ratio far beyond that of population alone, and though the changes in foreign relations, now taking place, so desirably for the whole world, may for a season affect this branch of revenue, yet weighing all probabilities of expense, as well as of income, there is reasonable ground of confidence, that we may now safely dispense with all the internal taxes, comprehending excise, stamps, auctions, licenses, carriages, and refined sugars; to which the postage of newspapers may be added to facilitate the progress of information, and that the remaining sources of revenue will be sufficient to provide for the support of government, to pay the interest of the public debts, and to discharge the principals within shorter periods than the laws, or the general expectation had contemplated. War, indeed, and untoward events may change this prospect of things, and call for the expenses which the impost could not meet, but sound principles will not justify our taxing the industry of our fellow citizens to accumulate treasure, for wars to happen we know not when, and which might not perhaps happen but from the temptations offered by that treasure.

These views, however, of reducing our burthens, are formed on the expectation, that a sensible, and at the same time a salutary reduction may take place in our habitual expenditures: for this purpose, those of the civil government, the army and navy, will need revisal: when we consider that this government is charged with the external and mutual relations only of these states, that the *states themselves* have principal care of our *persons*, our *property* and our *reputation*, constituting the great field of human concerns, we may well doubt whether our organization is not too complicated, too expensive; whether offices and officers have not been *multiplied unnecessarily*, and sometimes injuriously to the service they were meant to promote. I will cause to be laid

before you an essay towards a statement, of those who under public employment of various kinds, draw money from the treasury, or from our citizens. Time has not permitted a perfect enumeration; the ramifications of office being too multiplied and remote to be completely traced in a first trial. Among those who are dependant on executive direction, I have begun the reduction of what was deemed unnecessary. The expenses of diplomatic agency have been considerably diminished. The inspectors of internal revenue, who were found to obstruct the *accountability* of the institution, have been discontinued. Several agencies, created by executive authority, on salaries fixed by that also, have been suppressed;—and should suggest the expediency of regulating that power by law, so as to subject its exercises to legislative inspection and sanction. Other reformations of the same kind will be pursued with that caution which is requisite, in removing useless things, not to injure what is retained. But the great mass of public offices is established by law, and therefore by law alone can be abolished. Should the legislature think it expedient to pass this roll in review, and try all its parts by the test of public utility, they may be assured of every aid and light which executive information can yield: considering the general tendency to multiply offices and dependencies, and to increase expense to the ultimate term of burthen which the citizen can bear, it behoves us to avail ourselves of every occasion which presents itself for taking off the surcharge; that it *never may be seen here*, that, *after leaving to labour the smallest portion of its earnings* on which it can subsist, *government shall itself consume the whole residue of what it was instituted to guard.*

In our care too of the public contributions entrusted to our direction, it would be prudent to multiply barriers against their dissipation, by appropriating specific sums to every specific purpose susceptible of definition; by disallowing all applications of money varying from the appropriation in object, or transcending it in amount; by reducing the undefined field of contingencies, and thereby circumscribing discretionary powers over money; and by bringing back to a single department all accountabilities for money, where the examination may be prompt, efficacious and uniform.

An account of the receipts and expenditures of the last year, as reported by the secretary of the treasury, will as usual be laid before you. The success which has attended the late sales of the public lands shews, that, with attention, they may be made an important source of receipt. Among the payments, those made in discharge of the principal and interest of the national debt, will shew, that the public faith has been exactly maintained; to these will be added an estimate of appropriations necessary for the ensuing year—this last will of course be affected by such modifications of the system of expense as you shall think proper to adopt.

A statement has been formed by the secretary of war, on a mature consideration of all the posts and stations where garrisons will be expedient, and of the number of men requisite for each garrison. The whole amount is considerably short of the present military establishment; for the surplus no particular use can be pointed out; for defence against invasion, their number is nothing; nor is it conceived needful or safe, that a standing army should be kept up, in time of peace, for that purpose. Uncertain as we must ever be of the particular point in our circumference, where an enemy may chuse to invade us, the only force which can be ready at every point, and competent to oppose them, is the body of neighbouring citizens, as formed into a militia. On these, collected from the parts most convenient in numbers, proportioned to the invading force, it is best to rely not only to meet the first attack, but if it threatens to be permanent, to maintain the defence until regulars may be engaged to relieve them. These considerations render it important that we should, at every session, continue to amend the defects which from time to time shew themselves, in the laws for regulating the militia, until they are sufficiently perfect: nor should we now, or at any time, separate until we can say we have done every thing for the militia which we could do, were an enemy at the door.

The provision of military stores on hand will be laid before you, that you may judge of the additions still requisite.

With respect to the extent to which our naval preparations should be carried, some difference of opinion may be expected to appear; but just attention to the circumstances of every part of the union will doubtless reconcile all. A small force will probably continue to be wanted, for actual service, in the Mediterranean. Whatever annual sum beyond that you may think proper to appropriate to naval preparations, would perhaps be better employed in providing those articles which may be kept without waste or consumption, and be in readiness when any exigence calls them into use. Progress has been made, as will appear by papers now communicated, in providing materials for 74-gun ships, as directed by law.

How far the authority given by the legislature for procuring and establishing scites for naval purposes, has been perfectly understood and pursued in the execution, admits of some doubt. A statement of the expenses already incurred, on that subject, shall be laid before you. I have in certain cases suspended or slackened these expenditures, that the legislature may determine whether so many yards are necessary as have been contemplated. The works at this place are among those permitted to go on: and five of the seven frigates directed to be laid up, have been brought and laid up here; where, besides the safety of their position, they are under the eye of the executive administration, as well as of its agents, and where yourselves also, will be guided by your own view, in the legislative provisions respecting them, which may from time to time be necessary.—They are preserved in such condition, as well the vessels as whatever belongs to them, as to be at all times ready for sea on a short warning. Two others are yet to be laid up, so soon as they shall have received the repairs requisite to put them also into sound condition. As a superintending officer will be necessary at each yard, his duties and emoluments, hitherto fixed by the executive, will be a more proper subject for legislation. A communication will also be made of our progress in the execution of the law respecting the vessels directed to be sold.

The fortifications of our harbours, more or less advanced, present considerations of great difficulty, while some of them are on a scale sufficiently proportioned to the advantages of their position, to the efficacy of their protection, and the importance of the points within it; others are so extensive, will cost so much in their first erection, so much in their maintenance, and require such a force to garrison them, as to make it questionable what is best now to be done. A statement of those commenced, or projected, of the expenses already incurred, and estimates of their future cost, as far as can be foreseen, shall be laid before you, that you may be enabled to judge whether any alteration is necessary in the laws respecting this subject.

Agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and *navigation,* the *four pillars of our prosperity,* are then most thriving when left most free to individual enterprize. Protection from casual embarrassments, however, may sometimes be seasonably interposed; if in the course of your observations or inquiries, they should appear to need any aid, within the limits of our constitutional powers, your sense of their importance is a sufficient assurance they will occupy your attention. We cannot indeed but all feel an anxious solicitude for the difference under which our carrying trade will soon be placed; how far it can be relieved, otherwise than by time, is a subject of important consideration.

The judiciary system of the United States, and especially that portion of it recently erected, will of course present itself to the contemplation of Congress, and that they may be able to judge of the proportion which the institution bears to the business it has to perform, I have caused to be procured from the several States, and now lay before Congress an exact statement of all the causes decided since the first establishment of the courts, and of those which were depending when additional courts and judges were brought into their aid.

And while on the judiciary organization, it will be worthy your consideration, whether the protection of the inestimable institution of juries, has ben extended to the cases involving the security of our persons and property. Their impartial selection also being essential to their value, we ought further to consider whether that is sufficiently secured in those States where they are named by a marshal depending on executive will, or designated by the court, or by the officers dependant on them.

I cannot omit recommending a revisal of the laws on the subject of naturalization. Considering the ordinary chances of human life, a denial of citizenship under a residence of fourteen years, is a denial to a great proportion of those who ask it; and controls a policy pursued from their first settlement, by many of these states, and still believed of consequence to their prosperity. And shall we refuse to the unhappy fugitives from distress, that hospitality which the savages of the wilderness extended to our fathers arriving in this land? Shall oppressed humanity find no asylum on this globe? The constitution indeed has wisely provided, that for admission to certain offices of important trust, a residence shall be required sufficient to develope character and design, but might not the general character and capabilities of a citizen be safely communicated to every one manifesting a *bonâ fide* purpose of embarking his life and fortunes permanently with us?—with restrictions perhaps to guard against the fraudulent usurpation of our flag; an abuse which brings so much embarrassment and loss on the genuine citizen, and so much danger to the nation of being involved in war, that no endeavour should be spared to detect and suppress it.

These, fellow-citizens, are the matters respecting the state of the nation, which I have thought of importance to be submitted to your consideration at this time; some others of less moment, or not yet ready for communication, will be the subject of separate messages. I am happy in this opportunity of committing the arduous affairs of our government to the collected wisdom of the union. Nothing shall be wanting on my part to inform, as far as in my power, the legislative judgment, how to carry that judgment into faithful execution. The prudence and temperance of your discussions will promote within your own walls, that conciliation which so much befriends rational conclusion: and by its example, will encourage among our constituents that progress of opinion which is tending to unite them in objects and in will.

That all should be satisfied with any one order of things, is not to be expected; but I indulge the pleasing persuasion, that the great body of our citizens will cordially concur in honest and disinterested efforts, which have for their object to preserve the general and state governments in their constitutional form and equilibrium; to maintain peace abroad, and order and obedience to the laws at home; to establish principles and practices of administration favourable to the security of liberty and property, and to reduce expenses to what is necessary for the useful purposes of government.

Th. Jefferson.

Treaty between France and Spain.

[The preamble to this treaty runs in the usual words. It was signed at Madrid, on the 21st of March, 1801.]

Art. I. The reigning Duke of Parma renounces for ever, for himself and his heirs, the Dutchy of Parma, with all its dependencies, in favour of the French Republic, and his Catholic Majesty shall guarantee this renunciation. The Grand Dutchy of Tuscany, which the Grand Duke in the same manner renounces equally, and the cession of which is guaranteed by the Emperor of Germany, shall be given to the son of the Duke of Parma, as an indemnification for the countries ceded by the Infant his father, and in consequence of another treaty concluded formerly between his Catholic Majesty and the French Republic.

II. The Prince of Parma will go to Florence, where he will be acknowledged Sovereign of all the possessions which belong to the Grand Dutchy, and receive from the constituted authorities the keys of the forts, and the oath of fidelity will be taken to him as Sovereign. The first Consul will exert his authority in order that these acts may be peaceably executed.

III. The Prince of Parma will be acknowledged King, with all the honour due to his rank. The first Consul shall acknowledge him, *and shall cause him to be so considered by the other powers of Europe.* The measures necessary for this purpose shall be taken before the Prince takes possession.

IV. The part of the Isle of Elba which belongs to Tuscany, and depends upon that State, shall remain to the French Republic; and the First Consul shall give as an indemnity to the King of Tuscany the country of Piombino, which belongs to the King of Naples.

V. As this treaty originates from that which has been concluded between the First Consul and his Catholic Majesty, and by which the king cedes to France the possession of Louisiana, the contracting parties agree to put in execution the articles of the former treaty, and to use their respective rights till the settlement of those differences mentioned in it.

VI. As the new family to be established in Tuscany is of the family of Spain, these estates shall remain for ever united to Spain, and an Infant of that family shall be called to that throne, in case the present king or his children have no posterity: in this case, the sons of the reigning family of Spain shall succeed to these estates.

VII. The First Consul and his Catholic Majesty agree to procure for the reigning Duke of Parma, in consideration of this renunciation in favour of his son, proportionable indemnities, whether in possessions or revenues.

VIII. The present treaty shall be ratified and exchanged in the course of three weeks.

(Signed) *Lucien Buonaparté.*
The Prince of Peace.

BRITISH COLONIES.

By late dispatches we learn that the Decoits, a people who some years since maintained a sanguinary warfare with our Indian government, and excited a considerable degree of alarm in this country, are again in arms, and have committed great excesses.

Accounts from Ramghur, of the 4th of August, state, that a very powerful body of these people had made an incursion into that neighbourhood where the convicts were employed in clearing the jungles and repairing the public roads; they brought with them fire-arms, pikes, &c. to arm the convicts, having previously agreed to set them free, and associate them in their intended plunder of the district.

The Sepoy guard made a gallant but ineffectual resistance, most of them being either killed or wounded; when the convicts, with their deliverers, retired into the hill country.

From their fastnesses they have made numerous excursions into the adjacent country, depopulating villages, and destroying such property as they are unable to remove.—The flourishing and extensive town of Aurungbaad, which in 1799 was destroyed by Juggo Deo and his adherents, having been re-built and re-peopled, and numerous extensive granaries established there, has been again plundered, and reduced to ashes by the Decoits.

The leader of this banditti is a man of distinguished talent, who formerly enjoyed a high rank in the army of the late Nabob of the Carnatic, but in consequence of some offence committed against the English, he threw up his situation, the better to indulge his revenge. He appears to have fomented the troubles in the Southern districts, by the dispersion of seditious letters, &c. and his present insurrection, which is secretly encouraged by many of the friends of the late Nabob, is in close concert with the Poligars.

Intelligence has been received that a detachment from Colonel Stephenson's army has gained a signal victory over a vast body of the insurgent Poligars at the Eastern foot of the Gauts: this action took place early in August, but the particulars have not transpired.

The Rannee, or Princess of Delle, who was confined at Dindigul by the India Company, on suspicion of having assisted the insurgent Poligars, has offered, as her ransom, a lac of pagodas, and a very considerable yearly tribute, in the event of her being restored to her sovereignty. This unfortunate Princess likewise engages to give up those who seduced her to hostility against the Company, and make the surrender of her country to them the consequence of any future misconduct on her part. These terms, however, have not been accepted; as, prior to any accommodation, we understand it is insinuated, that her conduct shall undergo an investigation before the Supreme Government of Bengal.

In *Jamaica*, from whence we have letters of 1st of December, the news of the peace had produced no very pleasing sensations. Men of reflection foresaw what has happened; and in a letter, dated Kingston, 27th November, which is now before us, the writer expresses a hope, that no French army will be suffered to go out to *re-inforce* Toussaint, and predicts, that, should that be the case, Jamaica would be exposed to great danger.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Paris, January 25.—Buonaparté was still at Lyons, on the 23d of January, where he had collected around him deputies from the Cisalpine, Ligurian, and Helvetian Republics, and from the kingdom of Etruria; and where he was employed in graciously listening to the adulatory odes and orations of a set of the most despicable slaves that ever disgraced the human form. The language of Paris, in the mean while, has not been quite so adulatory. It appears, that a writer named *Fouilhoux*, has, for some little time past, published a sort of periodical handbill, in which he has spoken of the Grand Consul, his connections, and his comrades, in a style, of which they did not approve. As far as we can gather, from a public notice of the minister of the police, Fouilhoux had promulgated some truths, which were not generally known, but which were very interesting, and not perfectly well calculated to keep the people in a salutary state of ignorance, with respect to the characters and conduct of their rulers. The minister of police obligingly tells us, that for some time, he thought this *libeller* was beneath his notice; but, that, perceiving many weak

people, particularly certain stupid foreigners, lately arrived at Paris, to be deceived by these "secret anecdotes," (of which, by the by, we wish we had a complete copy), he thought it necessary to put a stop to the scandal, and that he has, therefore, seized poor Fouilhoux, whom he has *fouillé*, that is to say, he has rummaged his pockets, his drawers, and his papers, in which he has found the list of subscribers to the hand bill, amongst whom are not a small number of *foreign gulls*, pointing not very indirectly at those who have lately gone from London to Paris. What will become of poor Fouilhoux, citizen Fouché forgets to tells us; but we doubt not that effectual means will be taken to prevent him from blabbing in future.

Amiens, January 21.—The Spanish Plenipotentiary has arrived at Paris; but will proceed no further 'till Buonaparté and Talleyrand returns from Lyons, which, it is expected, they will do in the course of a few weeks. In the mean while, the definitive treaty goes briskly on, and may, possibly, be concluded before the middle of March. It is said, that Spain demands the restitution of Trinidada; if she makes this demand, she makes it at the instigation of France, and it needs no ghost to tell us what will be the consequence. Indeed we should feel little regret at the giving up of this island, the possession of which, considering its uncultivated state, and its exposure to the invasion of the French, is not worth the amount of our diplomatic expenses for a single day.

Lyons, January 17.—Talleyrand, the pious Talleyrand, the ci-devant guardian of the holy oil, has, in an answer given to one of the slavish addresses of the Lyonese, assured them, that the emperor of Russia has expressed his earnest desire to enter into the most liberal commercial connections with the republic of France.

In an answer, which Buonaparté has given to the merchants of Bourdeaux, he expresses his intention of visiting that city.

Vienna, December 23.—By several specific edicts, it has been forbidden, under the severest penalties, to print the most trivial thing without previously submitting the manuscript to the censors, the chief department of which has been lately united to that of the minister of police; and consequently, the police of Vienna directing its attention to the execution of the existing laws in respect of the publications, has discovered in the genealogical tables of two pocket almanacks, *an article contrary to the present state of things in France*, and which appears not to have been laid before the department of the censors. The two almanacks were accordingly seized in conformity to the edict. The police compelled the offending booksellers to withdraw all the copies from their agents, whether in the provinces or in foreign countries; and the booksellers are moreover to be delivered to the punishment of the laws, according to the degree of offence with which they may be charged.—*An article contrary to the present state of things in France!* This article styles Louis the XVIII. *king of France;* and this is an offence, for which the booksellers of an emperor are to be punished! Voltaire truly said, that monarchical government never could die but by *suicide;* and if this be not an act of suicide in the government of Austria, we know nothing of politics. Far be it from us, however, to boast of our own comparative situation. The cowardly sentiments, which we have lately heard in this country, and the base means, which we understand have been resorted to, in order to shut the mouths of those, who have spoken with horror of the detestable manners and principles, which are fashionable amongst the domineering men and women at Paris, lead us to fear, that, in a very little time, the influence of France will not be much less at London than it is at Vienna. Another article from Vienna states, that a dispute, on a point of precedence, had taken place between the Russian and French Ambassadors, both of whom had, on the occasion, sent off couriers to their respective courts. It appears, that the Frenchman had come into the same chamber where the other foreign ministers were assembled, and, instead of waiting to take his turn in entering into the presence, had rushed in before any of the rest. This was resented by the Russian; but the affair was accommodated by the court of Vienna, who, not daring to disapprove of the conduct of the citizen ambassador, threw the whole blame on the chamberlain, to whose neglect, it was pretended the premature entrance of the republican was to be ascribed! This is the ancient and warlike house of Austria! "The paths of glory lead but to the grave;" an adage which we always repeat with a sigh, when we view our present situation, and reflect on the defence of Acra and the battle of the Nile.

December 26.—The acknowledgment of the king of Etruria will be deferred until the grand duke of Tuscany shall be completely

indemnified for the loss of his states, and of an annual revenue of 2,100,000 florins.

December 27.—His Royal Highness the Archduke Anthony has returned an answer, dated 16th December, to the Chapter of Cologne, relative to his election. That answer is conceived in the very same terms with that which that Prince returned to the Chapter of Munster.—His Royal Highness the Archduke Ferdinand is to be married to a Princess of Naples.

Lucca, January 7.—The provisory government accepted, the day before yesterday, the new constitution which has been presented to it. It is composed of twenty-eight articles, divided into three titles, of which the heads are as follow—The government of the republic of *Lucca* is composed of a college, an executive power, and an administrative council. The college, which is composed of 300 citizens, selected from among the rich proprietors, merchants, artists, and men of letters, is charged with forming the laws, naming the members of the executive power, of the administrative council, and the tribunals, and receive no salary. A third part of it shall be renewed every fifth year. The executive power is composed of twelve *Anziani* (ancients), each of whom shall preside six months in his turn, under the title of *Gonfalier*. Each of the Anziani shall remain four years in place. The college shall renew a fourth part of this body every year. The administrative council is composed of Anziani and the four magistrates who shall have the inspection of internal affairs, of justice, of police, of war, &c.

Berne, December 20.—Sulzer, Keller of *Obringen*, and Gotz of *Tachsen*, are to be tried before the cantonial tribunal, the general accuser having already orders to prosecute them. An idea may be formed of their conspiracy from the proclamation which they circulated in the districts of *Barken* and *Andelsingen*. The substance of it was as follows.

Liberty! Equality!

"*Tacshen, Dec.* 8, 1801.

The valiant warriors of the circle of Andelsingen, and of Winterthur, to Citizen . . . . . , Chairman of all the members of the constitutional central government.

"Our soldiers have formed an union to redeem their country. We are armed against that traitor . . . . , and against all those who have so meanly favoured that base faction. We have declared war in support of the lawful central government, of virtue, religion, and property.—This I attest in the name of every one.

(Signed) "*Sulzer*,
Captain of the Corps."

Under this was written:

"*Winterthur, Dec.* 9.

"Your troops will march hitherwards this morning at eight o'clock. You will cause the above to be read to your commons, and suffer as many military men to pass as come out of the city.

Basle, January 3.—Considerable fermentation prevails in the country of the Grisons. The object, as far as we are able to judge, is to shake off the yoke of France; but the miserable people are all divided amongst themselves, and all those who dare to struggle will perish one by one.

Hague, January 1.—Pamphlets have been published here openly espousing the cause of the Prince of Orange, and deprecating the new constitution and government. No good is to be expected from such effusions. Arms, arms, and arms alone; there must be swords drawn, and able hands to use them, before any hope can exist of the emancipation of this miserable country.

Berlin, December 26.—The Austrian ministers have received instructions not to hasten the negotiations relative to the indemnities in the German empire; but, on the contrary, to temporize, whilst their court hopes to circumscribe the secularization, within very narrow bounds. It is not probable, however, that this system will produce the desired success, *France* and *Prussia* being agreed on the principle of secularizations.

United States of America, December 26.—In our present number will be found, under the head of State Papers, Mr. Jefferson's speech, or rather message, at opening the session of Congress, which took place on the 8th of December last. The new President seems to have resolved on an entire departure from the policy and practices of his predecessors, whom he scorns to imitate, even in the form and manner of communicating his sentiments to the legislature. This was, both by Washington and Adams, done in a *speech* delivered in person to both houses, which speech was answered by them, in nearly the manner of answers of our houses of Parliament to the speeches from the throne. Jefferson has chosen to communi-

cate his sentiments in a message, sent by his secretary, and accompanied with an intimation that the formality of an answer may be dispensed with. His message is evidently the precursor of a radical change in the several departments of the government. It proposes the abolition of numerous offices; the discharge of a considerable portion of the military, and the dismantling of nearly all the ships of war. The patronage, which, by these measures, he will lose, he will be amply compensated for by the popularity, which he will obtain by the proposed abolition of the internal taxes, including the excise, stamp act, carriage tax, and tax on auctions, the first of which has already cost, in the quelling of insurrections, a million of dollars more than it ever produced. The American newspapers regard him as alluding, in one part of his message, to the adoption of those commercial regulations, which were formerly proposed by him, and which were intended to compel Great-Britain to throw open her West-India ports to the ships of America, a measure, if ever it could be necessary to America, must be so at this time, when she has, in consequence of the peace, 200,000 tons of shipping thrown idle on her hands. That some such measure is already in contemplation seems to be corroborated by the language of those public prints, which are well known to speak the sentiments of the President. These prints were, when the last advices came away, circulating, with great assiduity, the report, which Jefferson made in 1793, and in which he strongly recommended commercial restrictions with respect to Great-Britain; and, indeed, one of these prints, which is now lying before us, openly urges the necessity of immediately adopting such restrictions, until Great-Britain shall, with regard to America, do away her navigation act.—The American States had already severely felt the effects of the peace Scores of ships had been put up to auction. Real property had fallen greatly in value, particularly in the northern and middle states, which were much more deeply engaged in the carrying trade than the states to the southward. This will produce a great emigration to the states on the Mississippi, and will, of course, add to the influence of the new masters of that river. The moment the news of the peace arrived in America, the first act of the traders was, to countermand, in a greater or less degree, the orders they had sent to England for spring goods. This was naturally to be expected; but it clearly proves the erroneousness of Sir Frederick M. Eden's conclusion, that our exports to America would increase. Party spirit seemed to be somewhat subsided in the United States; the French party had a preponderance before, and the peace appears to have established its sway. Of England no man seemed to speak but with shame, or with contempt. The columns of even those papers, which were formerly wont to exult at the successes of Britain, now come filled with acknowledgements of her declining spirit and of her approaching fall. Such is the opinion of those foreigners, who love us most, and whose interests lead them to wish for our prosperity. Before we quit America, we think it not improper to recommend to ministers, to examine into the nature of those offensive and unlawful acts, which have lately been committed in her ports by the packet-boats of his Majesty. Two of those vessels have been seized at New York, within a very short space of time; and, if strict justice had taken place, very few of all those, which have sailed into that port, for some years past, would have escaped.

Turkey seems to be on the eve of some convulsive shock. The accounts are various, and little to be relied on; but it appears, that the government is greatly alarmed, as well with respect to its home concerns as with regard to Egypt, where a most scandalous affair seems to have taken place between the Captain Pacha and the Beys, and whither, it is said, Lord Elgin is gone to assist General Hutchinson with his advice how to act in such a delicate conjuncture. We do not like to enlarge upon this subject, 'till the facts come to us with a somewhat greater degree of authenticity.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

Since our last number was published, six more of the mutineers have been condemned, *viz.* John Allen, Edward Taylor, George Cumming, George Dixon, James Riley, and Thomas Simmons, five of whom were executed, at Spithead, on 19th instant. The marines of the Princess Royal and the Resolution have addressed letters to their respective officers, expressing their horror of the conduct of the persons concerned in the late mutiny, and declaring their readiness to oppose such unlawful combinations, and to obey their commanders

on all occasions. These letters have been sent to the Lords of the Admiralty, who, through the commander of the squadron, have expressed their *high satisfaction* and *grateful feelings* on the occasion. We may be singular in our opinion; but, we freely confess, that we have derived no satisfaction from the perusal of this correspondence. Pleased, indeed, we are at the loyalty of the men, who, we doubt not, are perfectly sincere; but we lament that officers should receive letters from their men on such a subject, and much more, that the Lords of the Admiralty should think it necessary to make them a reply. To make an offer of any thing necessarily implies *the power of witholding what is offered.* An idea of this sort might not, perhaps, be entertained by the marines, but one of their letters, which is signed by a serjeant, concludes with declaring, that he and his fellows have come to a "firm resolution to support and maintain our "officers in any thing which they may think "proper, and *that which is best calculated to* "*promote the interest of our king and country.*" This is the language of a deliberative body, and not that of men, who have sworn to yield implicit obedience. We shall just add our hopes, that no such correspondence as this will ever again be indulged in, and, as to its consequences, we have only to remind the Lords of the Admiralty of the fate of those, who corresponded with the loyal national guards of a neighbouring country, which was once a kingdom.

On the eighteenth instant, four of his Majesty's ships of the line, the Temeraire, Formidable, Orion, Theseus, and Majestic, dropped down to St. Helen's Point, preparatory to their sailing for the West-Indies. To these ships are to be added four others, which are to follow them as soon as possible. Two regiments of foot are to proceed, to the same quarter, from Halifax, and Nova Scotia; some troops are to be sent from Gibraltar, and others from this country. Notwithstanding, however, all this preparation, all these warlike measures, and all these burthensome expenses, the end of which no man can foresee, a ministerial print has the effrontery to tell its readers, that "nothing can more fully demonstrate "the *advantages* which this country has de-"rived from the peace, than the expedition, "which the French government has sent "out to the West-Indies!!!" But, we will not call this a *ministerial* print. It is impossible, that his Majesty's ministers should have dictated, or approved of, such an intolerable insult to the understanding of the nation. We would, however, beg leave to remind them, that where a public paper is known to be under their influence, they must not blame the world for attributing its leading sentiments to them. We most sincerely wish, that they may be able to extricate their country from the dangers that threaten her; but, they may be assured, that ministerial popularity is not long to be preserved amidst national disasters; and it certainly behoves them to restrain that disgusting insolence, which the True Britain is at present suffered to lavish on the public; for, they may learn from the fable, that nothing is so likely to rouse the old lion, as these repeated jerks from the heels of the ass.

On the 22d instant, Captain Sir Edward Hamilton was tried by a court-martial, on a charge of *tyranny and oppression.* This tyranny and oppression consisted in ordering a gunner to be tied up to the shrouds, for disobedience of orders, which disobedience was clearly proved. It appears, that the gunner was tied up but a part of the time which his crew remained so tied, and that the crew did not experience any evil consequence from their punishment, though the gunner fainted upon being taken down. Sir Edward said, in his defence, that motives of compassion had, now as well as formerly, prevented him from bringing the gunner to a court-martial, he being an old man, and having a family to maintain. The sentence of the court, we are sorry to state, was, that "Captain Sir Edward Hamilton be *dismissed from his Majesty's service.*" Such is the close of the career of the gallant officer, who cut out the Hermione, and who has, from the age of eight years, devoted his life to the service of his king and country! But deeds of heroism are no longer in request.

Lord Kensington has been chosen a representative in Parliament for the Borough of Haverford-west, in the room of his late father.

A partial change in the ministry is talked of, and we think it very likely that some such change will take place; but we do not believe, that Mr. Pitt has any intention of coming in immediately, as has been so positively asserted. If we have any wishes on this score, it is, that some change or other may bring to the aid of the government, policy more extensive and enlightened, more firmness, more knowledge of commerce and finance, and a greater stock of diplomatic skill, than are possessed by the present members of the Cabinet. These

points secured, without a diminution of that integrity, which we sincerely attribute to the present ministers, we care not who are the *men* that any change may bring into power.

On the 28th instant, Governor Wall was executed. We shall, hereafter, give some account of his trial; but we cannot for a moment delay expressing our detestation of the rabble, who, when the unfortunate man mounted the scaffold, testified their savage delight by a loud and general shout of joy, which they again repeated at the awful moment, when he was launched into eternity!!! This is something new in the annals of England, and we see in it but too near a resemblance of those ferocious monsters, who made their bloody deeds the subject of a song and a dance. *Ah! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira, les aristocrats à la lanterne*, was a sound, which we never expected to hear in London; but, we are fully persuaded, that, had the unfortunate man been in *a low rank of life*, we should have heard of no rejoicings at his execution, though he had murdered his parents or his children—an opinion which is verified by daily experience. "Whoso is wise will ponder these "things;" and will take special care not to encourage the increasing insolence of the mob. Let it not be forgotten, either, that this is the age of "*humanity*." We are weeping over the cruelties committed on the brute creation—a sort of cant, which, if much longer indulged in, will render the life of a man and the life of a beast, objects of equal importance in the eyes of the ignorant.

PROMOTIONS.

On the 13th of January, the Right Honourable William Wickham, the Right Honourable George Rose, and the Right Honourable Charles Long, were, by his Majesty's command, sworn of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council.—His Majesty has been pleased by Letters Patent, to appoint John Wilson, Esq. a Commissioner for investigating the Accounts of the Army in the West-Indies, in the room of General Maitland, resigned.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

Birth.—On the 12th inst. the Lady of the Honourable and Rev. Pearce Meade, of a son.

Marriages.—On Saturday the 16th inst. at St. James's Church, by the Rev. Sam. Peach, Sir Francis Vincent, Bart. to Miss Jane Bouverie, fourth daughter of the Honourable Edward Bouverie.—On Tuesday the 19th, at Upmarden Church, Sussex, Colonel Crosbie, of the 22d Regiment, to Miss Thomas, daughter of George White Thomas, Esq. one of the Representatives for the City of Chichester.—On Wednesday the 20th, by a special license, at the house of the Honourable Thomas Erskine, in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, Samuel Holland, of Great Portland Street, M.D. Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford, to Miss Frances Erskine, eldest daughter of the Honourable Thomas Erskine.

Deaths.—Lately, at Bath, in her 70th year, Lady Wright, wife of Sir James Wright, Bart, of Hoyhouse, Essex.—On Friday the 15th inst. at Bath, in the 32d year of her age, Lady Charlotte Nares, third daughter of the Duke of Marlborough.—Same day, at Colonel M'Kenzie's house, in Queen Street, Edinburgh, Mrs. M'Kenzie, Lady of Colonel Alexander M'Kenzie, Commandant of the 78th Regiment, and sister to the Right Honourable Lord Seatorth.—On the 18th inst. at Lord Keith's house, in Harley Street, the Honourable Miss Primrose Elphinstone.—At her house in Princes Street, Edinburgh, on the 19th inst. the Right Honourable Mary Clara Lady Elibank.—On Wednesday night, the 20th inst. at her apartments in St. James's-palace, the Honourable Miss Jeffreys, Maid of Honour to the Queen.—Lately, at Hutton-Hall, in Cumberland, Lady Fletcher, mother of Sir Frederick Vane, Bart. Member for Carlisle.—At Kilkenny, the Right Honourable Lady Frances Kavanagh, sister to the late, and aunt to the present, Earl of Ormond.—Lately, on the Continent, and for whose decease the British Court has just appeared in mourning, the Princess Maria Josepha, sister of the King of Spain, and the Archduchess Marie Clementine, wife of the Hereditary Prince of Naples.

PRICE OF STOCKS.

English three per cent. consols.—Monday, Jan. 18, shut.—Tues. 19th, 67 $\frac{3}{8}$ $\frac{1}{2}$.—Wednes. 20th, 67 $\frac{3}{8}$ $\frac{3}{8}$ $\frac{1}{2}$.—Thurs. 21st, 67 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{2}$.—Friday 22d, 67 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{3}{8}$.—Sat. 23d, 68 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{3}{8}$.—Mon. 25th, shut.—Tues. 26th, 68 $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{3}{8}$.—Wednes. 27th, 68$\frac{3}{8}$ $\frac{5}{8}$.—Thurs. 28th, 68$\frac{3}{8}$ $\frac{5}{8}$.—Friday 29th, 68$\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{3}{8}$ $\frac{1}{2}$.—Sat. 30th, 68$\frac{1}{8}$.——American Stocks.—Eight per cent. 113. Six per cent. 96$\frac{1}{2}$.——French Stocks.—Tiers consolidé 57 francs 20 cents.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

Hamburgh 32 3 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ us.——Altona 32 4 2$\frac{1}{2}$ us.——Bilboa 38$\frac{1}{2}$.——Cadiz 30.——Madrid 39.——Leghorn 52 $\frac{1}{2}$.——Naples 44 $\frac{1}{2}$.——Genoa 48.——Venice 56 $\frac{1}{2}$.——Lisbon 67 $\frac{1}{2}$.——Oporto 68 $\frac{1}{2}$.——Dublin 12.

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Corn.—Foreign White Wheat 70 to 84s. per quarter. Foreign Red ditto 65 to 70s. Inferior ditto 55 to 65s. English Wheat 70 to 84s. Rye 36 to 42s. Barley 36 to 42s. Malt 40 to 54s. Oats 18 to 28s. Pease 36 to 46s. Beans 34 to 46s. First Flour 65 to 70s. Second ditto 60 to 65s. Bread, 1s. the quartern loaf. Hops 3l. to 8l. per cwt. Average price of Hay 4l. 14s. Beef per stone 4s. 4d. to 6s. Mutton 5s. to 6s. 6d. Veal 5s. to 6s. 6d. Pork 5s. 4d. to 7s. Tallow 3s. 11d. Coals 1l. 16s. to 2l. 1s. per chaldron. Porter was last week reduced to 4d. per pot.

N. B. We shall be much obliged to any gentleman, who will have the goodness to supply us with a diary of the weather.

LONDON,

LONDON, January 30 to February 6, 1802.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

Tuesday, January 2, 1802.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

ACCOUNTS were presented respecting the disbursements for the army and navy, which accounts will hereafter be given at length in this work.

Mr. Canning rose to call the attention of the House to the subject of a notice, given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, of an intention to bring forward a measure for making provision for the discharge of the arrears of the Civil List, by the sale of certain of his Majesty's colonial possessions.* The *object* had his hearty approbation; but, as to the mode of effecting that object he thought it not quite free from objection; and he therefore wished to be informed, whether, when this measure should be brought forward, it would come before the House in such a way as to render the question of sale a matter of separate discussion; if that were not the case, he wished that some other opportunity might be afforded of discussing that question.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied, that he had, on a former day, stated, that the sale of certain colonial lands belonging to his Majesty would afford the means of discharging the greater part of the arrears of the Civil List, without imposing additional burthens on the country. He had alluded to the Charib lands, in the island of St. Vincent; but he did not think it his duty to bring before Parliament any distinct question as to the sale of those lands.

Mr. Canning said, that, in repeating his perfect concurrence as to the discharge of the arrears, he must, nevertheless, say, that he should have serious objections to the lands being sold without any restrictions. He wished, therefore, to know if the proposed sale was to be confined to St. Vincent's, or whether it was to extend to the uncleared lands in the other colonies also.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied, that, while he mentioned the Charib lands, in particular, he did not restrict himself from applying the same proposed measure to the private property of his Majesty in the other colonies.

Mr. Jones said, that he wished to know whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer intended to bring forward any specific proposition relative to the *Income Tax*, as he himself had, on a former day, given notice, that he should, after the recess, bring forward such a proposition.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer wished it to be understood, that he held out no promise, but he appealed to the candour of the gentleman, whether it was proper to urge a discussion, 'till it was known what were the intentions of government on the subject.

Mr. Jones said he should desist for the present; but, that, if ministers did not bring the matter forward, he should.

Wednesday, February 3.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord Holland rose, and called their lordships' attention to the circumstance of the treaties which were in negociation between this country and the courts of Sweden and Denmark. These involved considerations of the highest political importance, and he thought it proper that the House should receive some information respecting them, the more especially, as the negociation with Sweden included a question in which the two other powers were not implicated. He therefore wished to learn, whether the treaties in question were yet arrived, and whether it was proposed, shortly, to make any communication to Parliament upon the subject.

Lord Pelham observed, as to the obvious impropriety of directly answering such questions in the way they were put by his lordship; the practice, at least, was unparliamentary and irregular; and he must protest against that mode of putting such questions to ministers, on the part of individual Peers, on subjects which were not before Parliament, or in a regular train for coming

* These colonial possessions consist of the Charib lands, in the island of Saint Vincent, and others, which became the private property of the king of England, in the reign of Charles II. and which have, of course, so descended to his royal successors. There are also lands, in almost all the islands, which have reverted to the crown by escheat, and which it is in the power of the king to dispose of. The annual revenue, which these lands have, of late years, yielded, is not, perhaps, more than about 20,000l.

under its discussion. With respect to the noble lord's questions, in the present instance, his lordship proceeded to state, that in the way he understood them, he could, in the present circumstances, only state, that the treaties alluded to were not yet arrived, which was to be accounted for, on various grounds, such as the circumstances of the times, the state of the seasons, &c. but, that, when these treaties should be received, he had no doubt of his having it in command from his Majesty, in due time, to lay them before the House.

Lord Holland, in reply, observed, that he would agree that the practice of putting such questions as he had done, to any individual peer, was neither parliamentary nor regular. He did it, however, in the present instance, merely to save the House that trouble which must attend the regular mode of couching them in the shape of a motion. With respect to his motives for putting the questions he had done, he could assure the House, it was not in the least, as the noble lord seemed to him to imagine, to embarrass his Majesty's ministers; but on this head he could not help adverting to the circumstance that the discussion of the convention with Russia had been, in one instance, put off for a fortnight on the suggestion of ministers, and in the avowed hope that within that interval the ratification of that treaty, on the parts of Denmark and Sweden, would arrive. On that occasion he had voted for the address, on the principle of confidence, which certainly he was not in the habits of doing; and he must observe, that as things had since turned out, such a vote was rather immaturely given.

The House adjourned 'till Friday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Lord Glenbervie made two motions for the House to go into a committee, first on the Southern Whale Fishery, and second on the law respecting fish imported at Billingsgate.

A resolution was passed for going into a committee of ways and means on Friday.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD HAWKESBURY.

Pall-Mall, 5th Feb. 1802.

My Lord,

In the course of those letters, which I did myself the honour to address to your lordship, soon after the signing of the preliminaries of peace, I ventured to predict, that the relative situation of the two countries, in future, would be, a "state of mistrust, "anxiety, expense, and danger, on our "part; and of intrigues, insults, threats, "and hostile preparations, on the part of "France." Have not subsequent events already, even before the concluding of the definitive treaty fully verified my prediction? Has not the insulting and menacing armament, sent out from those ports, which we so lately blockaded, already filled this nation with mistrust and alarm? Has it not already created a monstrous expense, and a danger greater than any that our colonies were ever before exposed to?

It has been stated, in the public prints, that your lordship has declared, from your seat in Parliament, *that the French fleet and army did not leave Europe, 'till information of such intended expedition had been communicated to his Majesty's ministers.* That this statement is correct, there can be no doubt; and, give me leave, then, to ask you, my lord, why the expedition was permitted to proceed? You are, by the True Briton, and other public prints, said to have declared, that you had full confidence in the honourable views of the French government, and that you even regarded the success of the expedition as an event necessary to the preservation of the peace and prosperity of our own West-India possessions. I doubt not the sincerity of your lordship's declarations; but, if such were your real sentiments, I may surely be permitted to enquire, why it was thought necessary to send a British fleet to the West-Indies, at the moment when we might have expected to see the ships dismantled; and to collect an army in Jamaica, more numerous than any that ever before had been maintained in that island, even in time of war? Either you or your colleagues suspect the French of some hostile intention, or you do not: if the former, why did you suffer the armament to go out? if the latter, why is the nation loaded with the expense of a West-India fleet and army? Did you, from the first, suspect the French of some hostile intention, and, nevertheless, did you want the resolution to prevent their sailing out? Or, were you not, 'till after the sailing of the expedition, in possession of those circumstances, which have since excited your suspicions? For the honour of his Majesty's government, for the honour of our country, my lord, I hope, that the latter is the ground on which the historian will have to account for your conduct. Yet, how is it possible, that, with free access to all the sources of information, you should not have been ac-

quainted with facts that came to the knowledge of an obscure individual like me? How is it possible, that you should not have known, that Toussaint was in the interest, and at the absolute command, of Buonaparté; that the French Ambassador in America had given public notice of the acknowledged dependance of the colonial commanders on the government of the mother country; that a man sent out from France, and appointed by the Consul to be governor of the Spanish part of the island, had been installed in that office by Toussaint himself; that the son of Toussaint was sent to France by his father only eighteen months ago, and that he made one in the expedition; that Toussaint held the blacks in the island in a state of perfect subjection; that there wanted, in short, neither fleet nor army to reduce the colony to obedience; and, of course, that the sending out of such an armament must have been dictated by some view hostile to England? How is it possible, my lord, that his Majesty's ministers should not have been acquainted with these facts; and, if they were acquainted with them, how came they to permit so formidable an armament to put to sea, from those very ports, which our fleets yet held in a state of blockade?

Leaving your advocates to reply to these questions, my lord, I shall now proceed to examine into the validity of the defence, which those advocates have set up, of this unaccountable measure. They tell this credulous nation, that our colonies were in imminent danger from the contagious example of the negroes of St. Domingo; and, that the French expedition, by destroying the negro government, or anarchy, will effectually remove this danger. Such a plea, my lord, was never urged but upon a presumption of the ignorance of those, who were to decide on the question. Facts have already furnished a strong presumptive proof, that neither fleet nor army was necessary to reduce the negroes to their former state of subjection; and the event will not fail to render this proof positive. But, my lord, if the French expedition be now necessary to secure the internal tranquillity of our own colonies, how comes it, that, for the last five years, this tranquillity has remained undisturbed, without the aid of any such expedition? Admit, however, that the crisis is at last arrived, when French interference is wanted to preserve the quiet of our islands; we must again ask, how this benign object of Buonaparté can be reconciled with the great addition, which is now making to our fleet and army in that quarter of the world? Astonishing, indeed, would be the conduct of his Majesty's ministers, were they to augment our forces in the West-Indies, at the very moment when they believed, that all danger was about to be removed by an enemy, now become our friend! No, no, my lord, it is trifling with, it is insulting, the understanding and feelings of the nation, to affect to attribute our additional force to any other cause, than the *additional danger*, which you and your colleagues, have, when it is too late, perceived to arise from the sailing of the French expedition.

This expedition has, however, sailed; and, my lord, if you have time to listen to political speculations, I will tell you what I think to be its real objects. The first is, to form a deposit of European troops in St. Domingo, to enrol, in the several battalions, a certain portion of Toussaint's disciplined blacks, and to form an army of 50 or 60 thousand men, well inured to the climate. The fleet will, in the mean time, be stationed at the Cape, at Port au Prince, and at the Havannah. No operation, of any importance, will be undertaken, 'till six months after the signature of the definitive treaty; that is, 'till Buonaparté (or his successor, or successors) shall have got in his or their safe possession all the colonies which we have agreed to surrender to them. This surrender once accomplished, the army of St. Domingo will begin to receive orders to move, and the very first step (it is but a step) they will take, will be to the island of Cuba; the next will be to Jamaica, which will cost them about six hours sail. If we have a fleet to watch their motions, they will not move from Cuba; but a strong detachment, encamped on the southern side of that island, will require an English fleet constantly cruizing on the north side of Jamaica, where we have, by the by, not a single port to shelter them, in case of foul weather, or other accidents. The fertile, the opulent, the loyal, island of Jamaica is, as I observed in my Letters to Mr. Addington, one of the most precious jewels in the British diadem; and, be you assured, my lord, that the nation, which is bent on our ruin, will never be at heart's ease, 'till she has plucked this jewel away. If she finds our precautions sufficient to prevent the accomplishment of this darling object, she will, as I before observed, keep a detachment of her army in Cuba, in constant readiness for the enterprize, to prevent the successful execution of which

we must always keep a formidable fleet to watch her motions. In the mean while she will send detachments to take possession of Louisiana, of her newly acquired territory in the neighbourhood of the Amazons, and of the colonies, which we shall surrender to her, as well in the islands, as on the continent of South America. She will make wild work with the continental dominions of Spain and Portugal. Her project is to annihilate the latter power, to give its European territory to Spain, and to take the Brazils to herself; but, these are parts of an after game. Her first object is to take Jamaica, or to compel us to keep up our West-India war establishment, either of which, as she well knows, will effect our destruction.

"But," say the advocates of the permission, which ministers have given for the sailing of this fleet, "where will France find "the money for supporting this immense "force?" Where, my lord, did she find the means of fitting out the expedition? On *the Royal Exchange of London* she found them, and that in such abundance too as would, were it necessary, encourage her again to apply to the same prolific source. She will, however, need no such application. In exchange for her colonial produce, she will receive, from the United States of America, a superabundance of every thing she will want for the repairing of her fleet, and for the victualling of her fleet and her army. The roads, the harbours, the dockyards, the fleets, and the treasures, of Holland and Spain she has at her command, nay, in her actual and absolute possession. With these advantages, together with the command of the Mississippi, and the invaluable possession of New Orleans, her expenses will be a mere trifle, compared with the enormous cost of maintaining a British fleet and army in the ports and on the land of Jamaica, every six-pence of which cost must be drained from the United Kingdom.

Upon casting my eye over the distribution of the British naval force, as it stood on the 1st day of this month, I perceive, that, in the West-Indies, and on the passage thither, we have 24 ships of the line, 1 fifty, 35 frigates, and 46 smaller ships of war. The account of the distribution of the army, at the same period, tells me, that we have, in that quarter of the world, 25 battalions of infantry, containing upon an average 800 men each) and 1 battalion of cavalry. This is no trifling force, my lord, for a *peace establishment*. Yet, it must be greater, or Jamaica is no longer ours. There are men, my lord, who can contemplate even this alternative with calmness and indifference, consoling themselves with the reflection, that, if we have no sugar of our growth, we can purchase enough from the French; but, if the ignorance of such men were not equal to their baseness, they would enquire whence the money is to come, with which this purchase is to be made. It is, my lord, by the prevalence of the opinions of such men as the Rev. Dr. Beeke (who, I hope, has been caressed for his piety rather than his politics) that we have been led to the brink of that destruction, from which nothing short of a radical and speedy change of system can possibly save us. We may hug ourselves in the contemplation of our internal resources, our capital, our improvements, and our industry; but, without colonies, without great and flourishing colonies, this kingdom cannot retain its weight in the scale of nations, and must dwindle into insignificance and dependance.

It was my intention to close this letter with some remarks on the cession of Louisiana, which France has extorted from Spain; but these will, perhaps, be addressed with more propriety to the people of the United States of America, whom I long ago warned of this danger, whom, indeed, I positively assured, that France would take possession of Louisiana, as soon as peace was made with England, unless they, the Americans, immediately took possession of it themselves, which they had then just cause for doing, and which I strongly urged them to do. The French minister contradicted my statements, and, unfortunately for the Americans, they believed him.

I cannot let slip this opportunity of reminding your lordship of the rapid progress, which, under the administration of you and your colleagues, the people are making in insolence, violence, and ferocity. The foolish illuminations for the peace with the regicide Republic was the signal for the commencement of the reign of the mob. I told your lordship, at the time, that the demolition of my house would not be the last conspicuous act of the sovereign people: they have since given a more awful proof of their peaceable and philanthropic disposition, and I sincerely pray, that the mirth of those statesmen, who regarded my injuries as an excellent joke, may not, at a period less distant than they imagine, be changed into the voice of lamentation. I am,

My Lord, your Lordship's most humble
and most obedient servant,
Wm. Cobbett.

STATE PAPERS.

Notes presented to the French Government by M. Kalitscheff, the Russian Minister at Paris.

The undersigned hastens to communicate to Citizen Talleyrand the commands he has just received from his Court.

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, relying upon the Chief Consul's love of justice, by which he has obtained so great and so merited a reputation, entertains the hope, that he will fulfil the engagements into which he had entered with the late Emperor, not to insist upon the hard conditions to which the King of Naples had been obliged to submit. The undersigned thinks it his duty to remind Citizen Talleyrand, that the admission of the five Articles, presented to the French government by way of answer to its pressing representations for opening a negotiation with Russia, was the only motive for sending the undersigned to Paris. The new instructions directed him to insist, that the said five articles, which had been agreed upon as the basis of the negotiation, should receive their speedy execution.

By these articles the two powers agreed that the King of the Two Sicilies, and the King of Sardinia, should be again put in possession of the respective states which they possessed before the irruption of the French troops into Italy. Citizen Talleyrand, Minister for Foreign Affairs, has been authorized repeatedly to give the assurance, that the five articles were agreed to, and that they would be carried into effect.

As, however, it has been seen that by force of arms the King of Naples has been compelled to agree to other terms: and as, in defiance of the most solemn promises, to conclude a definitive peace with the King of Sardinia, by which he was again to be established in his dominions, it is evident that the latter is excluded from his territories, there is every reason to suspect and believe, that unforeseen circumstances have changed the intentions of the French government, and inspired it with other views and intentions repugnant to the above articles and measures which had been taken with his Majesty.

The undersigned is commanded to represent to Citizen Talleyrand, that without positive certainty of the five articles alluded to being carried into effect, and which were acceded to by the French government as preliminaries, there can be no restoration of harmony between the two countries; and he therefore declares, that neither the armistice of Foligno, nor the conditions which in the first instance were presented to the Marquis de Gallo, and which afterwards, on the refusal of the latter to agree to them, were transmitted to General Murat, to be signed by the Chevalier Micheroux, can ever be acknowledged by the Emperor, and that they must ever be considered as directly inconsistent with the promises made by the Chief Consul.

This is the substance of the commands which the undersigned has received, and which he has been directed to communicate to the French government. He must also add, that the views which the Chief Consul announced, and his moderation, which was held out as directed to promote a general peace, were the only grounds on which all Europe entertained the hope that the moment of that peace was at no great distance; that it would be permitted to look forward to the future with tranquillity; and that the system of robbery taken up by the directory no longer existed. These were the only reasons that induced his Majesty the Emperor to send a Plenipotentiary to Paris, and through whom it was expected that the relations of amity with the French government would be restored.

The undersigned flattered himself, that the Chief Consul, in his wisdom, would consider that his fame is concerned in fulfilling the promises he had made, and the hopes he had raised, as it will depend upon him, by the re-establishment of a general peace, to give repose to all Europe. He therefore requests Citizen Talleyrand to make known the contents of this note to the Chief Consul, and, as soon as possible, to communicate to the undersigned the resolution which the French government shall adopt.

The undersigned takes this opportunity, &c.

(Signed) *Kalitscheff.*

As no Answer was given to this Note, Count Kalitscheff, on the 8th of May, presented the following.

The undersigned reminds Citizen Talleyrand, that he has yet to receive an answer respecting the objects on which he had the honour, by the command of the Emperor, his master, to address him; and therefore he begs him to notify to the undersigned, whether the French government, agreeably to the admission of the five preliminary articles, intends to keep its promise concerning the integrity of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and the re-establishment of the King of Sardinia in his dominions, as they were previous to the arrival of the French troops in Italy.

The undersigned considers it unnecessary to make any farther observations respecting this affair, which has already been sufficiently discussed, and he hopes that Citizen Talleyrand will lay before the Chief Consul the contents of the present note, and that he will communicate to him his resolutions agreeably thereto.

(Signed) *Kalitscheff.*

[With regard to these articles which are not enumerated in the above notes, it is believed that the first contained a positive assurance that the Pope should be maintained in his temporal dominion; the second, that the Grand Duke of Tuscany should be indemnified in Italy, and not in Germany; and the third, that the arrangements in consequence of the treaty of Luneville should be made with the concurrence of Russia.]

Convention of St. Petersburgh, between England and Russia, concluded June 5th (17th), 1801.

In the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity—The mutual desire of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias and of his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, being not only come to an understanding between themselves with respect to the differences which have lately interrupted the good understanding and friendly relations which subsisted between the two states; but also to prevent, by frank and precise explanations upon the navigation of their respective subjects, the renewal of similar altercations and troubles which might be the consequence of them; and the object of the solicitude of their said Majesties being to settle, as soon as can be done, an equitable arrangement of those differences, and an invariable determination of their principles upon the rights of neutrality, in their application to their respective monarchies, in order to unite more closely the ties of friendship and good intercourse, of which they acknowledge the utility and the benefits, have named and chosen for their Plenipotentiaries, viz. His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the Sieur Niquita, Count de Panen, his Counsellor, &c. and his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, Alleyn, Baron St. Helens, Privy Counsellor, &c. who, after having communicated their full powers, and found them in good and due form, have agreed upon the following points and articles:

Art. I. There shall be hereafter between his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias and his Britannic Majesty, their subjects, the states and countries under their domination, good and unalterable friendship and understanding, and all the political, commercial, and other relations of common utility between the respective subjects, shall subsist as formerly, without their being disturbed or troubled in any manner whatever.

II. His Majesty the Emperor and his Britannic Majesty declare, that they will take the most especial care of the execution of the prohibitions against the trade of contraband of their subjects with the enemies of each of the high contracting parties.

III. His Imperial Majesty of all the Russias and his Britannic Majesty having resolved to place under a sufficient safeguard the freedom of commerce and navigation of their subjects, in case one of them shall be at war, whilst the other shall be neuter, have agreed :—

1. That the ships of the neutral power shall navigate freely to the ports, and upon the coasts of the nations at war.

2. That the effects embarked on board neutral ships shall be free, with the exception of contraband of war, and of enemy's property; and it is agreed not to comprize in the number of the latter, the merchandize of the produce, growth, or manufacture of the countries at war, which should have been acquired by the subjects of the neutral power, and should be transported for their account, which merchandize cannot be accepted in any case from the freedom granted to the flag of the said power.

3. That in order to avoid all equivocation and misunderstanding of what ought to be qualified as contraband of war, his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias and his Britannic Majesty declare, conformably to the 11th Article of the treaty of Commerce concluded between the two crowns on the 10th (21st) February, 1797, that they acknowledge as such only the following objects, viz. Cannons, mortars, fire-arms, pistols, bombs, grenades, balls, bullets, fire-locks, flints, matches, powder, salt-petre, sulphur, helmets, pikes, swords, sword-belts, saddles and bridles : excepting, however, the quantity of the said articles which may be necessary for the defence of the ship and of those who compose the crew; and all other articles whatever not enumerated here shall not be reputed warlike and naval ammunition, nor be subject to confiscation, and of course shall pass freely, without being subjected to the smallest difficulty, unless they be considered enemy's property in the above settled sense. It is also agreed that that which is stipulated in the present article shall not be to the prejudice of the particular stipulations of one or the other crown with other powers, by which objects of a similar kind should be reserved, prohibited, or permitted.

4. That in order to determine what characterizes a blockaded port, that determination is given only to that where there is, by the disposition of the power which attacks it with ships stationary, or sufficiently near, an evident danger in entering.

5. That the ships of the neutral power shall not be stopped but upon just causes and evident facts : that they be tried without delay, and that the proceeding be always uniform, prompt, and legal.

In order the better to ensure the respect due to these stipulations, dictated by the sincere desire of conciliating all interests, and to give a new proof of their loyalty and love of justice, the high contracting parties enter here into the most formal engagement to renew the severest prohibitions to their Captains whether of ships of war or merchantmen, to take, keep, or conceal on board their ships any of the objects which, in the terms of the present Convention, may be reputed contraband, and respectively to take care of the execution of the orders which they shall have published in their Admiralties, and wherever it shall be necessary.

IV. The two high contracting parties, wishing to prevent all subject of dissention in future by limitting the right of search of merchant ships going under convoy to the sole causes in which the Belligerent Power may experience a real prejudice by the abuse of the neutral flag, have agreed,

1. That the right of searching merchant ships belonging to the subjects of one of the contracting powers, and navigating under convoy of a ship of war of the said powers, shall only be exercised by ships of war of the Belligerent Party, and shall never extend to the fitters out of privateers, or other vessels, which do not belong to the Imperial or Royal fleet of their Majesties, but which their subjects shall have fitted out for war.

2. That the proprietors of all merchant ships belonging to the subjects of one of the contracting sovereigns, which shall be destined to sail under convoy of a ship of war, shall be required, before they receive their sailing orders, to produce to the commander of the convoy their passports and certificates, or sea-letters, in the form annexed to the present treaty.

3. That when such ship of war, and every merchant ship under convoy, shall be met with by a ship or ships of war of the other contracting party, who shall then be in a state of war, in order to avoid all disorder they shall keep out of cannon shot, unless the situation of the sea, or the place of meeting, render a nearer approach necessary; and the commander of the ship of the Belligerent Power shall send a sloop on board the convoy, where they shall proceed reciprocally to the verification of the papers and certificates that are to prove on one part, that the ship of war is authorized to take under its escort such or such merchant ships of its nation, laden with such a cargo, and for such a port : on the other part, that the ship of war of the Belligerent Party belongs to the Imperial or Royal fleet of their Majesties.

4. This verification made, there shall be no pretence for any search, if the papers are found in due form, and if there exists no good motive for suspicion. In the contrary case, the captain of the neutral ship of war (being duly required thereto by the captain of the ship of war or ships of war of the Belligerent Power) is to bring to, and detain his convoy during the time necessary for the search of the ships which compose it, and he shall have the faculty of naming and delegating one or more officers to assist at the search of the said ships, which shall be done in his presence on board each merchant ship conjointly with one or more officers selected by the captain of the ship of the Belligerent Party.

5. If it happen that the captain of the ship or ships of war of the power at war, having examined the papers found on board, and having interrogated the master and crew of the ship, shall see just and sufficient reason to detain the merchant ship in order to proceed to an ulterior search, he shall notify that intention to the captain of the convoy, who shall have the power to order an officer to remain on board the ship thus detained, and to assist at the examination of the cause of her detention. The merchant ship shall be carried immediately to the nearest and most convenient port belonging to the Belligerent Power, and the ulterior search shall be carried on with all possible diligence.

V. It is also agreed, that if any merchant ship thus convoyed should be detained without just and suffi-

cient cause, the commander of the ship or ships of war of the Belligerent Power shall not only be bound to make to the owners of the ship and of the cargo a full and perfect compensation for all the losses, expenses, damages, and costs, occasioned by such detention, but shall further be liable to an ulterior punishment for every act of violence or other fault which he may have committed, according as the nature of the case may require. On the other hand, no ship of war with a convoy shall be permitted, under any pretext whatsoever, to resist by force the detention of a merchant ship or ships by the ship or ships of war of the Belligerent Power; an obligation to which the commander of a ship of war with convoy is not bound to observe towards privateers and their fitters out.

VI. The high contracting powers shall give precise and efficacious orders that the sentences upon prizes made at sea shall be conformable with the rules of the most exact justice and equity; that they shall be given by judges above suspicion, and who shall not be interested in the matter. The government of the respective states shall take care that the said sentences shall be promptly and duly executed, according to the forms prescribed. In case of the unfounded detention, or other contravention of the regulations stipulated by the present treaty, the owners of such a ship and cargo shall be allowed damages proportioned to the loss occasioned by such detention. The rules to observe for these damages, and for the case of unfounded detention, as also the principles to follow for the purpose of accelerating the process, shall be the matter of additional articles, which the contracting parties agree to settle between them, and which shall have the same force and validity as if they were inserted in the present act. For this effect, their Imperial and Britannic Majesties mutually engaged to put their hand to the salutary work, which may serve for the completion of these stipulations, and to communicate to each other without delay the views which may be suggested to them by their equal solicitude to prevent the least grounds for dispute in future.

VII. To obviate all the inconveniences which may arise from the bad faith of those who avail themselves of the flag of a nation without belonging to it, it is agreed to establish for an inviolable rule, that any vessel whatever to be considered as the property of the country the flag of which it carries, must have on board the captain of the ship, and one half of the crew of the people of that country, and the papers and passports in due and perfect form; but every vessel which shall not observe this rule, and which shall infringe the ordinances published on that head, shall lose all rights to the protection of the contracting powers.

VIII. The principles and measures adopted by the present act shall be alike applicable to all the maritime wars in which one of the two powers may be engaged whilst the other remains neutral. These stipulations shall in consequence be regarded as permanent, and shall serve for a constant rule to the contracting powers in matters of commerce and navigation.

IX. His Majesty the King of Denmark, and his Majesty the King of Sweden, shall be immediately invited by his Imperial Majesty, in the name of the two contracting parties, to accede to the present convention, and at the same time to renew and confirm their respective treaties of commerce with his Britannic Majesty; and his said Majesty engages, by acts which shall have established that agreement, to render and to restore to each of these powers all the prizes that have been taken from them, as well as the territories and countries under their domination, which have been conquered by the arms of his Britannic Majesty since the rupture, in the state in which those possessions were found at the period at which the troops of his Britannic Majesty entered them. The orders of his said Majesty for the restitution of those prizes and conquests shall be immediately expedited after the exchange of the ratifications of the acts by which Sweden and Denmark shall accede to the present treaty.

X. The present Convention shall be ratified by the two contracting parties, and the ratifications exchanged at St. Petersburgh in the space of two months at furthest, from the day of the signature. In faith of which, the respective Plenipotentiaries have caused to be made two copies perfectly similar, signed with their hands, and have sealed with their arms.

Done at St. Petersburgh, the 5th (17th) of June, 1801.

(L. S.) *N. Count de Panen.*
(L. S.) *St. Helens.*

Formula of the Passports and Sea Letters which ought to be delivered in the respective Admiralties of the States of the two High Contracting Parties to the Ships of War, and Merchant Vessels, which shall sail from them, conformable to Article IV. *of the present Treaty.*

Be it known, that we have given leave and permission to N—, of the city or place of N—, master or conductor of the ship N—, belonging to N—, of the port of N—, of — tons or thereabouts, now lying in the port or harbour of N—, to sail from thence to N—, laden with N—, on account of N—, after the said ship shall have been visited before its departure in the usual manner by the officers appointed for that purpose, and the said N—, or such other as shall be vested with powers to replace him, shall be obliged to produce, in every port or harbour which he shall enter with the said vessel, to the officers of the place, the present license, and to carry the flag of N— during his voyage.

In faith of which, &c.

Copy of the 1st separate Article of the Convention with the Court of London, signed the 5th (17th) of June, 1801.

The pure and magnanimous intentions of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias having already induced him to restore the vessels and goods of British subjects, which had been sequestered in Russia, his said Majesty confirms that disposition in its whole extent; and his Britannic Majesty engages also to give immediately orders for taking off all sequestration laid upon the Russian, Danish, and Swedish properties, detained in English ports, and to prove still more his sincere desire to terminate amicably the differences which have arisen between Great Britain and the northern courts; and in order that no new incident may throw obstacles in the way of this salutary work, his Britannic Majesty binds himself to give orders to the commanders of his forces by land and sea, that the armistice now subsisting with the court of Denmark and Sweden shall be prolonged for a term of three months from the date of this day; and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, guided by the same motives, undertakes, in the name of his allies, to have this armistice maintained during the said term.

This separate article, &c.

In faith of which, &c.

Copy of the 2d Separate Article of the Convention with the Court of London, signed at St. Petersburgh, the 5th (17th) of June, 1801.

The differences and misunderstandings which subsisted between his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias and his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland being thus terminated, and the precautions taken by the present convention, not giving further room to fear that they may be able to disturb in future the harmony and good understanding which the two high contracting parties have at heart to consolidate, their said Majesties confirm anew, by the present convention, the treaty of commerce of the 10th (Feb. 21, 1797) of which all the stipulations are here repeated, to be maintained in their whole extent.

This separate article, &c.

In faith of which, &c.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Paris, January 31.—A letter written from Malta, by a French officer, who arrived from Alexandria, gives the following details:

"Some days after the departure of General Menou from Alexandria, four beys, viz. Osman-Bey-el-Bardissy, Osman-Bey-el-Ascar, Mourad-Bey, the little, and it is not known whether the fourth was Osman-Bey-el-Fambouzy or Ibrahim-Bey, all arrived from Cairo, on a visit to the Captain Pacha, who was encamped about two leagues from Alexandria, on the road to Aboukir. The next day, they expressed their desire of paying a visit to the English General, Oakes, commandant of Alexandria. The Captain Pacha said he would gladly bear them company, and ordered a felucca to be prepared, to go by the Lake Mareotis, as far as Pompey's Pillar, where they were to take horse. Being all on board the felucca, they had arrived within a league of Alexandria, when a Tartar appeared on the shore, and with a speaking-trumpet informed the Captain Pacha that he had just arrived with dispatches from Constantinople, desiring him at the same time to land immediately and read them. The Captain made excuses to the Beys, and told them they could proceed on their journey, and he would rejoin them on horseback at Alexandria. The Beys continued their route, and were only a small distance from Pompey's Pillar, when six large canoes, filled with Turkish soldiers, and three gun-boats of the same nation, came and assailed the felucca with cannon-shot and musquetry, and attempted to board. The Beys, with the small number of Mamelukes that were with them, defended themselves like lions; but at length overpowered by numbers, they were massacred with the exception of Mourad-Bey, the little, who was left for dead, and covered with wounds. The English General, hearing the report of cannon at Alexandria, ordered his troops under arms, and learning what had passed, commanded the Captain-Pacha to appear before him. The latter set off, and having arrived at some distance from the tent of the English General, who was encamped on the place of Alexandria, he was arrested and disarmed by the Swiss grenadiers of the regiment of Roll, who received orders to this effect from General Oakes. The General reproached the Captain Pacha in the severest terms; but the latter excused himself, by declaring that he had received an order from the Grand Seignior, to put all the Beys and Mamelukes to death, and declared he was to answer with his head for the execution of the order. The English General commanded the Captain Pacha to be secured till the bodies of the Beys were found. They were brought, and interred by his direction, with great pomp. On searching for the bodies, it was discovered that Mourad-Bey, the little, was only wounded. Seven hundred individuals were to have been massacred at the same time at Cairo, by order of the Grand Seignior.

Lyons, January 27.—Yesterday, the First Consul, accompanied by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the Interior, by four Counsellors of State, twenty Prefects, and several General Officers, proceeded to the sitting of the Cisalpine Consulta, and pronounced, in Italian, the following discourse:—

"The Cisalpine Republic, which has existed since the treaty of Campo-Formio, has already experienced many vicissitudes. The first efforts which were made to establish it, proved unsuccessful. Having since been invaded by enemies' armies, its existence did not appear propable, when the French people, for the second time, expelled, by force of arms, your enemies from your territory. Since that time, every thing has been attempted to effect your dismemberment. This has been prevented by the protection of France. You have been recognized at Luneville. Being increased by one-fifth, you now exist more powerful, more consolidated, and with greater hopes!! Composed of six different nations, you will be united under a constitution better adapted than any other to your manners and circumstances. I have assembled you around me at Lyons, as the principal citizens of the Cisalpine Republic. You have given me

the necessary accounts, to enable me to fulfil the august task which my duty imposes on me, as First Magistrate of the French People, and as the man who has most contributed to your creation. The choice which I have made to fill the situations of your first magistrates, have been made independently of all idea of party or locality. With respect to the situation of President, I have found no person among you who is sufficiently divested of the spirit of locality, and who has rendered important services to his country sufficient to entitle him to such a situation. The procès-verbal which you have transmitted to me through your Committee of Thirty, in which are analysed with as much precision as truth, the internal and external state of your country, have interested me extremely. I adhere to your wish; I shall still continue to pay, as long as circumstances may require, the greatest attention to your affairs. Amidst the continual meditations which are required by the post I hold, all that may relate to you, and may tend to consolidate your existence and prosperity, will ever have a place amongst the most lively affections of my soul. You have now only private laws; you will henceforth require laws of a general nature. Your people have only local customs; it is necessary they should adopt national manners. Lastly, you have no army; the powers who may become your enemies have numerous forces: but you possess what will produce them; an abundant population, fertile fields, and the example which has been given to you, on every important occasion, by the first people in Europe."

Constantinople, December 13.—Lord Elgin still remains here, and probably will not proceed to Egypt, but to England direct. He is on the point of quitting the Hotel de France, which has been given to the embassy from that nation: this embassy in the mean time occupies two houses in the vicinity of the place, which the Porte has purchased for the purpose of building a hotel for the English embassy.

Rome, January 29.—Cardinal Rinuccini died on the 27th of December, of an attack of apoplexy. His excellency was only 58 years of age. His funeral took place on the 30th in the church of Saint Marcel, at which the sovereign Pontiff assisted, together with the Sacred College.

Semlin, January 12.—On the 28th of December, in the morning, we heard the report of artillery from the ramparts of Belgrade. It was supposed that the guns were fired on account of the interment of the Pacha. Some days before his death, the Janissaries had again refused to pay him any obedience, and had caused him to be strictly guarded. It was added, that the Janissaries had declared they would no longer acknowledge any other master than Passwan Oglou, who was shortly to come and take possession of the town. On the 27th the guard of the Pacha consisted of 200 men, two of the most determined of whom entered his chamber in the afternoon, and massacred him, having first asked him where he kept his treasure. Shortly after this event, the Janissaries ordered a proclamation to be made by sound of drum, that all the shops should be shut up, and the families remain quietly in their houses, except such men as were capable of bearing arms, who were to appear armed, before the upper fortress. The accounts above-mentioned are all that could be then collected respecting the tragical end of the Pacha. As soon as the news was known here, estafettes were dispatched to Vienna and Peterwaradin; at which latter place resides the commandant-general of our province. While waiting for superior orders, several measures of safety have been adopted; and it is expected that communication between Semlin and Belgrade will be cut off.

Manheim, January 18.—The changes which have been effected, and which are still to take place in Bavaria, relative to the Roman Catholic religion and Clergy, have induced some writers to ascertain the number of ecclesiastical foundations in this country. From their inquiries, it appears that there are at present in Bavaria ten colleges, fifty-eight abbeys and provost marshalsies, twenty-two convents of nuns, twenty-eight monasteries, four hundred and fifty-nine benefices, fifty-nine establishments of charity, two hundred and forty-eight images of saints, considered by the people as miraculous, three hundred and ninety-two brotherhoods. In the upper Palatinate there are seven abbeys, one of which, that of Waldgassen, possesses thirteen thousand square miles of territory, a thousand farms, fifteen hundred and three houses, and has under its jurisdiction eighteen thousand four hundred and sixty-nine inhabitants. The upper Palatinate likewise possesses four convents of females and six of males, fifty-four benefices, forty-two images reputed miraculous, and forty brotherhoods. The suppression which the Elector proposes to make is the more remarkable, on account of the extent of the

domains that belong to the foundations which will be suppressed, than on account of their number, which does not exceed forty.

Hague, January 24.—The French minister, Semonville, has set off for Paris, without any audience of congé, as was usual in the time of the States General, but merely with a letter addressed to the chairman of the government.—

The Stadtholder has written the following Letter to all the members of the former government:

"Having learnt that several members of the government, ministers, and other functionaries of the province of ————, who were in office on the 18th of January, 1795, as well as before the revolutions that took place after that period, entertain scruples with respect to the acceptance of places under the present circumstances, and since the introduction of the last constitution, and refuse to take employments which have a relation to the government and administration of the country; I have thought it necessary to inform you by these presents (requesting you to make what use of them you think necessary), that according to my opinion, there are no longer any motives which should restrain you from using your efforts (considering the order of things which has lately been introduced) to procure for your country as much good as it is susceptible of, and thereby to prevent its total ruin. You may accept, without any difficulty, when you think proper, employments, and sit in the colleges which are connected with the administration of affairs of the country, and take a place in the government, co-operating with the members of the present government.

"I am, with esteem, &c. &c.

"*Guillaume P. D'Orange.*

"*Oranjestein, 26th Dec.* 1801."

West-Indies. Dominica, Dec. 4.—Lacrosse, the Capt. Gen. of Guadaloupe, was, on the 1st of November last, seized by the inhabitants of that island, and banished. He was put on board a Danish vessel, with orders to land him at Copenhagen; but, the vessel being met by an English frigate, he asked the captain thereof for protection, who gave it him, and took him into Dominica, where he, together with Lascallier, the Colonial Prefect, and Coster, the Commissary of Justice, who had just arrived from France, and who had joined him at Dominica, have issued a manifesto, protesting against the acts done by the "*rebellious usurpers*" of Guadaloupe. This manifesto, which (according to the Christian Calendar) is dated on the 3d of December, 1801, states, that, on the 14th of November, the ratification of the preliminaries of peace was notified to the "*rebellious usurpers*" by an English officer, bearing a flag of truce; but that, the said usurpers gave no credit to the notification, and insulted the officer. It further states, that the proscribed Captain General has in his possession a commission of Letter of Marque, dated at Guadaloupe, on the 15th of November, one day after the peace had been announced to the island; and that several British ships had been captured, and carried into the island, since the 14th of November. The manifesto concludes with an earnest exhortation, on the part of the *humane* Lacrosse, and his no less humane associates, to all governments, to forbid, under the severest penalties, the supplying of the said "*rebellious usurpers*" with arms, gunpowder, ammunition, or provisions, of any kind or sort whatsoever.

United States of America. New-York, January 3.—We learn from Mr. Burroughs, who came in the schr. Fox, from Cape François, that all was tranquil there when he sailed. No official news had been received of the European peace—and no knowledge appeared to be possessed by the citizens in general of the projected French expedition to St. Domingo. Toussaint might have some private information on the subject. It is believed the sable governor's power is so considerable, that it must be continued, or the most sanguinary conflicts will occur. Toussaint's means of defence are formidable, and he will employ them to the utmost, before he will descend from his elevated station.

January 7.—We understand that the Consul General of the French Republic, for the United States, has received orders to grant *French registers to American vessels* purchased and owned by citizens of the French Republic, and navigated, if necessary, by American mariners.

January 8.—Mr. Jefferson's promised abolition of internal taxes will be popular; though it is well known that three-fourths of them are paid by the wealthy, who can well afford the contribution; and who have never complained of it. But we imagine the object of the measure lies deeper than the mere extinction of these taxes:—The impost duties will probably be *lessened one-*

third by the peace in Europe; and of course the receipts of the Treasury will not be adequate to discharge all the demands thereon. To what then will Congress resort?—Certainly not to the renewal of taxes just abolished.—What then?—*The public funds.*—We must not start at this idea; but make up our mind for the event, at no very remote period. Such are our fears;—may they prove groundless!*

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

TRIAL OF GOVERNOR WALL.

The following is a brief account of this unfortunate gentleman's trial, which took place at the Old Bailey, on Wednesday the 21st ult.

The court was assembled by special commission, and the prisoner arraigned upon an indictment, which charged him with the wilful murder of Benjamin Armstrong, a serjeant under his command, at Goree, in Africa, by causing him to be flogged with a rope, in a cruel manner, on the 10th of July, 1782, in consequence of which severe chastisement, the said Armstrong had died on the 15th of the same month.

The prosecution was conducted by the Attorney-General, assisted by the Solicitor-General, and Messrs. Wood, Fielding, and Abbott. After the pleadings had been opened by Mr. Abbott, the Attorney-General entered at great length upon the charges against the prisoner. He first alluded to the length of time which had elapsed since the offence was committed: he declared that the blame of the delay rested with the prisoner alone; inasmuch as he had, when the business was in a course of trial, and he in custody, withdrawn himself from justice. He next defined the nature of the charge, and demonstrated that the prisoner must either be acquitted, or found guilty of murder. After detailing the circumstances of the case, as contained in the indictment, and explaining the rank and situation which the governor, at that time, held upon the island, he stated that the day after the punishment alluded to was inflicted upon the prisoner, he (the governor) quitted his station, and sailed for England, where he arrived in the month of August following. In March, 1784, he was apprehended under a warrant issued by order of the Privy Council, at which time most of the witnesses, who were material to prove his innocence, were living, and might have been produced. Some time previous to the governor's departure from Goree, the garrison had been subjected to short allowance; and when this restriction, in point of provisions, was found necessary, it was usual to allow a pecuniary compensation equivalent to the deduction of food. The paymaster of the forces, a person of the name of Dearing, was about to quit the island with the governor, and the men, being anxious to have a settlement of their account, before he went, repaired to the house of the former, and requested the payment of what was due to them. As the whole affair in dispute rested entirely between the paymaster and the soldiers, the Attorney-General contended that the governor had no reason for interposing. When the men were passing the house of the latter, in their way to that of the paymaster, he reprimanded them, and ordered them to return, under pain of military punishment. The men obeyed; but in an hour or two afterwards, several persons, among whom was Armstrong, again assembled; when the governor, whose whole conduct during the transaction, the Attorney-General described to be "furious and full of malice," met them, and questioned Armstrong as to the cause of the tumult. Here the Attorney-General entered into a digression as to the supposition of a mutiny, on which, he understood, the governor intended to rest his defence. He said, "if there really did exist a mutiny, "*or any appearance of a mutiny* in the garri- "son, which required the strong arm of "power to suppress it, a crime so enormous, "and so dangerous in its consequences, "*might supersede the ordinary mode of trials;*" and, "God forbid," added he, "that a man should be considered as a criminal for acting with the best intention, although some excess may have attended his conduct; for the power that is given to commanding officers, in such cases of emergency, is given to them not for their own safety only, *but for the safety of us all, which cannot be preserved, unless prompt and vigorous measures be taken for the suppression of mutiny.*" He then continued

* This article is taken from the New York Evening Post, and Mr. Cobbett requests Sir Frederick Eden to see how it agrees with his supposition of an *increase* in our exports to America. Mr. Cobbett, in opposition to the opinion of Sir Frederick, stated, in his Letters to Mr. Addington, that a *diminution* of *one-fourth* would take place in our exports to that country; but the Americans themselves think the diminution upon the whole of their impost duties will be *one-third;* and if Sir Frederick doubts the fact, Mr. Cobbett is prepared to prove, that two-thirds of that whole arose from importations from Great-Britain and Ireland.

to state, that in the evening of the above-mentioned day the governor ordered a long roll to be beaten, and a circle being formed by the men, in the midst of which were the governor and officers, as also a gun-carriage, for the purpose of flogging, Armstrong was called out and ordered to strip, when, being tied to the gun-carriage, he was chastised by blacks, brought there for the purpose. These executioners were changed at every twenty-five lashes, till the deceased sufferer had received the number of 800. The instrument used on this occasion was not a cat-o'-nine-tails, but a piece of thick rope, called inch rope. During the infliction of the punishment, the governor urged the blacks to shew no mercy to the man in their power, exclaiming, "cut him to "the liver, cut him to the heart, &c." and added that the sickly season was approaching, which, together with the punishment, would do for him. After receiving 800 lashes, Armstrong was conducted to the hospital, and soon after died. Previous to his dissolution he made a declaration, which, said the Attorney-General, is considered by the law of this realm as tantamount to an oath; in this he stated that he was punished without any form of trial, or without having an opportunity to say any thing in his defence. Here the Attorney-General again said he would admit, "that immediate and "urgent necessity may supersede the forms "of trial, in cases of mutiny and dangerous "insubordination," but on producing the letters sent by the prisoner to the Secretary of State, in 1782, as also the official returns, which he made of the state of the settlement, not a word was mentioned of the existence of a mutiny. He laid much stress on the circumstance of the prisoner withdrawing himself in the year 1784, when in custody of a King's Messenger, and on the proclamation, offering a reward of 200l. for apprehending him; after which he called the witnesses for the prosecution, the principal of whom, Edward Evans, a common soldier (who stated himself to have been a serjeant at the time, but, as it appeared from the evidence of a person in favour of the governor, was afterwards degraded to the ranks) recapitulated all the leading facts, as stated by the Attorney-General; and all positively denied the existence of any mutiny or disturbance. The surgeon who attended the deceased, also swore, that he had no doubt but his death was occasioned by the punishment of flogging.

The prisoner being called upon for his defence, stated, that perceiving symptoms of tumult and discontent amongst the garrison previous to his embarkation, he inquired into the cause, when the men, headed by Armstrong, behaved in an outrageous manner, and threatened to break open the stores, if their demands were not complied with. He then had a conversation with the officers, who all agreed that immediate punishment was necessary to stop the mutiny. At this time, being informed that a man had broken out of custody, he went to have him secured, in which, having succeeded, he was about to follow the fellow into the prison, but the centinel at the door clapped a bayonet to his breast, and refused to let him enter; Mr. Wall struck the bayonet out of his hand, and made the centinel prisoner. It was at the proposal of Captain Lacey that the punishment was inflicted by the black linguist and his assistant. On arriving at the parade, Armstrong and others were brought forward and charged with mutiny; *he ordered them to be tried by a regimental court-martial*, not having power to institute any other; and shortly after Captain Lacey reported that the prisoner had been tried, and sentenced to receive 800 lashes. Mr. Wall said that the surgeon then approved of the small rope's end, saying it was not so bad as a cat-o'-nine-tails; that none of the latter instruments could be found*; that Armstrong received the punishment with apparent indifference, and on retiring to the hospital, he became intoxicated with spiritous liquors. The reason alledged by the prisoner for withdrawing from the custody of the Messengers in the year 1784, was, that he thought it dangerous to appear at that time, as the papers were full of paragraphs against him, some of which stated, that he had blown a man away from the mouth of a cannon, &c. The governor then called on his behalf, Mrs. Lacey, widow of Capt. Lacey, who succeeded the prisoner as governor. She completely contradicted the statement of Evans, and the others, asserting that the men, to the number of 70 or 80, behaved so riotously and mutinously, that she could not think they were sober. She also stated that Governor Wall had ordered every thing to be in readiness on the parade, for the court-martial, &c. She never knew that the men were upon short allowance in Governor Wall's time, but their claims were for arrears due to them in the time of Governor Adams. Several witnesses were called to

* A witness of the name of Timms swore that he saw Armstrong and a drummer, cutting all the cats in pieces.

contradict the statements of those for the prosecution, one of whom declared that the rope produced in court was *twice the thickness* of that with which the man was flogged.

General Forbes and Mackenzie, Majors Phipps and Mall, the Rev. Mr. Clarke, and a number of the most respectable characters, appeared in behalf of the prisoner, and spoke of him as a man of the most benign disposition.

The Lord Chief Baron then delivered his charge, which lasted for two hours and a half, and the leading arguments of which preponderated in favour of the prisoner. The jury then retired for three quarters of an hour, and returned with a verdict of *Guilty.**

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

On which ever side we turn our eyes, we behold the gigantic strides, which France is making towards universal dominion. By the speech of Buonaparté to the Consulta of the Cisalpine Republic, which was delivered upon the presentation of the report of their deliberations at Lyons, it will be perceived, that, there being no one amongst the Italian republicans fit for the office, he has graciously condescended to become their president himself. Were this step taken by way of providing what the lawyers call a *collateral security*, were it a measure of personal precaution, it would discover the fears rather than the ambition of Buonaparté; but, this is not the light in which men of reflection will view it. It is another flight of French aggrandisement, another bold stretch towards the accomplishment of the great object, of which France has never lost sight—the conquest of the civilized world. —While the taking possession of a new nation was going on, it could not be expected, that a treaty with us, whom France as yet condescends to treat as, in some sort, independent, would meet with much attention: accordingly Lord Cornwallis appears to be kept at Amiens, like a lacquey in an antichamber, waiting the return of the arbiter of nations. The treaty, in which we were told, there was "nothing left to hig-"gle about," has already cost four months of suspense and anxiety; nor is there, at this time, the least prospect of its speedy conclusion. In the mean time France is taking all her measures in advance. She is daily and hourly strengthening her military and naval position. She rests not a moment from those labours, by which she will finally bring every nation in Europe to her feet. In matters of commerce she is uncommonly vigilant and active. Our hopes have been kept up by a persuasion, that she would want for ships and seamen; but those hopes will be turned to despair, if we look at the intelligence just received from the United States of America, where the French Consuls have already been authorized to *give French licenses to American vessels, and to allow of their being still navigated by American seamen.* This is a most political measure. It will furnish the republic with an immediate supply of 300,000 tons of cheap merchant shipping, and with 9000 excellent seamen (two-thirds of them British subjects), all of whom will now become *citizens of France!*—None of our intelligence from the West-Indies gives us the least reason to suppose, that any resistance to the French armament will be made by Toussaint, notwithstanding the only reliance of ministry (it is confidently asserted) is on that resistance. On the side of the Gulph of Mexico, Louisiana awaits the arrival of its new masters, who will now obtain the complete command of the Mississippi, and with it, of the fur trade, which has hitherto been confined to Canada. Of this subject we shall speak more minutely hereafter; in the mean time, let his Majesty's ministers remember, that another large portion of the dominions of their royal master will

*The prisoner, as was stated before, was executed on the 28th of January. We have already expressed our detestation of the rabble, who, at the execution of this unfortunate gentleman, testified their joy and delight by three cheers; but, we forgot to notice, that, during the whole time, between the condemnation and the execution, the metropolis was stunned with cries of vengeance on the prisoner. Garbled accounts of the trial were published, and hawked about for sale. Verses, full of exaggeration and lies, and hideous representations of the punishment of Armstrong, were insultingly bawled in the ears, and held up to the view, of every person of rank, or of genteel appearance, that passed along the principal streets of London and Westminster. On Newgate was written these words: "the *Wall* will *come* "*down*, if it does not *rise*."

now require their utmost vigilance to preserve it for only a few years longer under his sway. The Sublime Porte, has, we understand, refused to ratify the treaty, formed with France, at Paris, on the 9th of October last, by Citizen Talleyrand and Esseyd Aly Effendi. This last named gentleman was formerly the minister of the Porte in France. He was, it seems, kept in a state of durance, or, at least, he was so far shut out from a knowledge of what was passing, as to be ignorant of the surrender of Menou and his army, 'till several days after that event was known by the French government. As soon as the event came to their knowledge, they made with him the treaty above alluded to, in which treaty the French agree *to evacuate Egypt*, and, in return, the Sublime Porte agrees, to grant to France the same commercial and other advantages, as well in Egypt as in Turkey, as it grants, or shall grant, to any other power; and it further agrees, as the price of such promised evacuation, that the French commercial agents, and prisoners of war, of every degree, shall be set at full liberty immediately after the ratification of the preliminary articles; and again, that the old treaties between the Porte and France shall be renewed, and that the French Republic shall enjoy, throughout the whole extent of the Turkish dominions, the rights of commerce and navigation as formerly, and with the same immunities as will, in future, be enjoyed by the most favoured nations. These stipulations were, as we before observed, granted to the French as the price of *the evacuation of Egypt;* but, the Porte having now discovered, that the French were in possession of the news of the surrender of Menou and his army, and that the Turkish minister was artfully kept ignorant of that event, 'till after he had signed the treaty, refuses to ratify an instrument, which it looks upon as having been obtained by deception, a refusal, which is perfectly agreeable to reason, to justice, to all the established maxims of law, and particularly of the law of nations, in proof of which, authorities in abundance might be quoted. We hope, and we trust, that the Porte will persevere in its resistance, though we shall feel no small mortification at being compelled to acknowledge, that dignity and courage have fled from Christian nations to find shelter amongst Turks. No bargain has ever been held valid in law, if one of the parties held back from the other any essential circumstance relative thereto: for instance, if A. were to sell to B. a plantation in the island of Tobago, and it were afterwards to appear that A. knew of that island's being restored to France, and that B. did not know of that circumstance, at the time of the sale, the sale, and all its conditions would become void, and A. would be justly chargeable with an act of fraud. The law of nations proceeds upon the same principle, and every eminent writer on that law has maintained, that engagements, made under similar circumstances, are in no wise binding on the party who makes them. The Sublime Porte, is, therefore, fully justified in its refusal to ratify the treaty of the 9th of October, and we repeat our earnest wish, that it may persevere in that refusal.

CRITICAL NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

11. *Bread; or the Poor; a Poem with notes and illustrations, by Mr. Pratt*—It is not the *poetry*, but the *politics*, of this book that it is our duty to notice. We are bound to believe that the poem was written by Mr. Pratt with the best intentions; but the best intentions, when not under the guidance of wisdom, are frequently productive of as much evil as the worst. The inferences which a mind, even the most unused to reason, must draw from this poem, are, that all "first "establishments" were founded in "fraud "and tyranny"—indeed this is affirmed in plain terms; that the poor are oppressed by their masters; that to rebel, when they think themselves oppressed, is acting in obedience to the law of nature; that any exertion of the laws of the state to repress their licentiousness is cruelty, and that nothing should be administered to them but "lenitive and healing balm!" To the husbandman the farmer is held up as his natural enemy; as one whose riches, luxury, and pride are the sources of all the poor man's suffering: he is invidiously, and with all

poetical exaggeration, placed in every light that can shew him as an object of hatred and envy, and of *plunder* also, we will boldly add, as a natural consequence from such doctrines. "*If* revolutions bring back anarchy," they are, it is true, deprecated; but, by a strange prostitution of words, though the changes made by them are confessed to be "perilous," their *aim* is asserted to be *grand!* Mr. Pratt must know little of the first movers of revolutions, if he does not know that, to accomplish their ends, they care not in what perils they involve their country; and still less must he know of the mass of the people if, after having told them that "first establishments" "dethroned the rightful power" of equality, he thinks they will be restrained from hostility to those establishments, or, to use another of his words, "encroachments," by the slight consideration that they are "now embanked round by social order." This flimsy reasoning to the passions would be contemptible, if it were not dangerous. The *poetry* of this work we leave to more competent judges of that species of composition; but, as far as we can venture to trust our own taste and judgment, we cannot forbear to say, that, considering the *size*, and *quality* of Mr. Pratt's Bread, we think it the dearest that ever was purchased.

12. *A Vindication of the Convention, lately concluded between Great Britain and Russia, in Six Letters, addressed to* ———. The style of this pamphlet is arid in the extreme; but it is, nevertheless, written with great ability, and seems to have furnished the materials for the speech of the noble lord, whose peculiar duty it was to attend to the stipulations of the Convention. It does, indeed, contain every thing that the ingenuity of man can devise favourable to that instrument; but, those who had the good fortune to hear the speech of Lord Grenville on the subject, will be little disposed to join in the lofty encomiums, which the author of these letters has passed on the noble framer of the Convention, and will be still less inclined to justify the censure (not to say *abuse*) and the affected contempt, which he has thought proper to bestow, on all those, who regarded that convention as dangerous and dishonourable. Respecting the *rise* and *progress* of this pamphlet, an anonymous correspondent has furnished us with some facts, with which, as elucidated by the closing pages of the work, we could, were this a time for mirth, certainly give full scope for the exercise of the risible faculties of the reader.

13. *The different Effects of Peace and War on the Price of Bread-Corn. By John Duthy, Esq.*—This is a reply to the pamphlet of the Rev. Mr. Brand, in contradiction to whom, Mr. Duthy contends, that war has an inevitable tendency to augment the price of the article, which forms the subject of his inquiries. He, like his opponent, resorts to authorities, which, when taken separately, may be regarded as indubitable, but when opposed to authorities of equal weight, contribute nothing towards the termination of the dispute. Most of those, who have ascribed the high price of provisions to the war, have been actuated by factious motives; and, if the same motives have, without cause, been attributed to this author, he has no one to thank but himself. Why did he ascribe the scarcity to the war? If true, the promulgation of the fact could do no good, and might do great harm. We, for our parts, however, are fully persuaded his opinion is erroneous, of which the *present* price of bread, both in England and France, is no very weak proof. The alliterative words, *peace* and *plenty* sound well in a song, or make a pretty transparency in the window of an idiot; but the things, which these harmonious words represent, are not always in unison. During the glorious reign of Elizabeth, there were two famines, but neither of them in time of war. There was also one, during the reign of James I. who never drew the sword. Yet the opinion, of plenty being inseparably connected with peace, certainly had no small weight in producing the peace with France. What the burden of the clamour was, in the days of Elizabeth and James, we cannot now learn, a circumstance that may encourage us to hope, that our own shame, in having sold our birthright for an imaginary mess of pottage, will not be handed down to posterity, and that our great grandchildren, though they will feel the effects, will not have to blush for the cause of our baseness.

14. *The History of Helvetia; containing the Rise and Progress of the Federative Republics, to the middle of the 15th Century. By Francis Hare Naylor, Esq.*—Mr. Naylor is unfortunate. Had Mr. Planta's superior publication not appeared first, Mr. N. would have ensured deserved honours. But—he is foiled; not through his own incapacity, but through "*the unluckiness of the stars.*" Mr. P's valuable production has engrossed all our suffrages, and no man will listen to a twice told tale, where nothing new is pretended to be adduced.

STATEMENT OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE BRITISH NAVAL FORCE TO THE FIRST OF FEB. 1802.

Exclusive of the HIRED ARMED VESSELS *which are chiefly employed in protecting the Coasting Trade of* GREAT BRITAIN.

	Line.	50's.	Frig.	Sps.	Tot.
In port and fitting	24	4	58	82	168
Guard-ships	4	1	3	0	8
In the English and Irish Channels	21	0	18	29	68
On the Downs and North Sea stations	12	0	8	30	50
On the Baltic Service	0	0	0	0	0
At the West-India Islands, and on the passage thither	24	1	35	46	106
American and Newfoundland stations	0	0	2	6	8
C. of G. Hope, E. Indies, and on the passage	8	6	15	17	44
Africa and Madeira	0	0	2	2	4
On the Lisbon Station	0	0	0	0	0
Spain and Portugal without the Straits	7	0	2	3	12
In the Mediterranean	17	4	53	36	110
Hospital and Prison Ships	19	4	7	0	30
Total in Commission	136	20	201	251	608
Receiving Ships	5	0	5	1	11
Serviceable and repairing for Service	11	1	3	1	16
In ordinary	24	3	32	80	139
Building	22	2	5	0	29
Total	198	26	246	333	803

STATE OF THE ORDINARY AT EACH PORT.

	Line	50's.	Frig.	Sps.	Tot.
Portsmouth	14	0	11	28	53
Plymouth	16	0	8	16	40
Chatham	8	2	1	0	11
Sheerness	2	1	9	21	33
River	0	1	11	17	29
Total	40	4	40	82	166

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE BRITISH ARMY, FEBRUARY 1, 1802.

	Regulars. Cav.	Inf.	Fe. Inf	Militia.	Tot. Ba.	Inv. Co.
England and Wales	23	29	2	75	129	40
North Britain	2	—	4	11	17	6
Ireland	7	12	29	—	48	6
Jersey, Guernsey, &c.	—	4	2	—	6	20
Gibraltar	—	7	4	—	11	—
Minorca and Malta	—	11	—	—	11	—
Egypt, and on the passage from it	3	20	1	—	24	—
Canada, Nova Scotia, &c.	—	5	2	—	7	—
West-Indies	1	35	—	—	36	—
C. of Good Hope, Goree, &c.	1	7	—	—	8*	—
East-Indies, and on the passage thither	4	19	—	—	23	—
Total	41	149	44	86	320‡	72

* The company's troops exclusive.—‡ Exclusive of artillery and engineers, at home and abroad, independent companies, recruiting corps, volunteers, &c.

PROMOTION.

Nicholas Smith, Esq. Master in Chancery, is to be the Accomptant-General in Chancery, in the room of Mr. Walker, deceased.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

Birth.—On the 29th ult. in Harley Street, the Lady of William Gore Langton, Esq. M. P. for the County of Somerset, of a son.

Marriages.—At Edinburgh, on the 20th ult. Alexander Macdonell, Esq. of Glengary, to Miss Rebecca Forbes, daughter of Sir William Forbes, of Pitsligo, Bart.—On the 23d ult. at Exeter, Edmund Pusey Lyon, Esq. Barrister at Law, to Miss Duntze, sister to Sir John Duntze, Bart.

Deaths.—Tuesday, the 26th ult. at Mr. Coute's house, in Piccadilly, the infant and only son of the Earl of Guildford.—On the 24th ult. in the 79th year of her age, in consequence of a fright occasioned by her clothes accidentally taking fire about a fortnight since, Lady Jane Courtenay, aunt to the Marquis of Bute.—On the 27th ult. at his Lordship's house in Saville Row, the infant son of the Right Honourable Lord G. H. Cavendish.—On Thursday last, Sir Henry W. Sheridan, Bart. of Elford House, Kent.—Same day, at Fulbeck, Miss Elizabeth Fane, second daughter of the Honourable Henry Fane.—On Tuesday, at the house of Lord Auckland, in Palace Yard, the infant son of Lord Francis Godolphin Osborne.—Saturday, at his house in Stafford Place, Pimlico, J. Brenton, Esq. Rear Admiral in his Majesty's Navy.—On Sunday, at her house in Great George Street, Westminster, the Right Honourable Lady Lucy Meyrick, widow of the late Pierce Meyrick, of Bodorgan, Esq. daughter of the late, and sister of the last Earl of Londonderry.—On Wednesday, the 27th ult. at Dublin, the Earl of Clare, the Lord High Chancellor of Ireland. His Lordship transacted public business on the Tuesday, the day before his death.

PRICE OF STOCKS.

ENGLISH three per cent. consols.—Monday, Feb. 1, 68⅜ ½ ¾ ⅜.—Tues. 2d, shut.—Wednes. 3d, 68⅜ ⅞ ¾.—Thursday, 4th, 68⅞.—Friday, 5th, 68¼.——AMERICAN STOCKS. Eight per cent. 115½.——FRENCH STOCKS. Tiers Consolidé 57.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

HAMBURGH 32 3 2 ½ us.——ALTONA 32 3 2 ½ us.——BILBOA 38 ½.——CADIZ 38.——MADRID 39.——LEGHORN 52 ½.——NAPLES 44 ½.——GENOA 49.——VENICE 56 ½.——LISBON 67 ½.——OPORTO 68 ½.——DUBLIN 12.

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

CORN.—Foreign White Wheat 70 to 82s. per quarter. Foreign Red ditto 64 to 70s. Inferior ditto 45 to 60s. English Wheat 70 to 82s. Rye 38 to 42s. Barley 28 to 42s. Malt 45 to 55s. Oats 18 to 26s. Pease 36 to 44s. Beans 38 to 48s. First Flour 60 to 65s. Second ditto 56 to 60s. Bread 1s. the quartern loaf.

LONDON,

LONDON, February 6 to February 13, 1802.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

Friday, February 5, 1802.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

After much private business had been transacted, relative to petitions, appeals, &c.

Lord Holland presented a petition from the Insolvent Debtors in the King's Bench Prison, as well as from those in several of the provincial county gaols, which were ordered to lie on the table. His lordship applied to Lord Moira, to know whether that noble Lord intended shortly to bring forward certain propositions, relative to insolvent debtors, of which he had given notice.

Lord Moira replied, that his propositions were not yet perfectly matured, but they were in such a state of forwardness, that he should soon be enabled to submit them to the House. Their object was to prevent, as far as possible, the recurrence of acts of insolvency.

Their lordships then adjourned till Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

An account was brought up, shewing how the money granted for the service of last year had been disposed of.

Lord Glenbervie brought up a bill for amending so much of the act for regulating the sale of fish, as relates to eels. It was read a first time, and was ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.

Sir H. Mildmay expressed his intention of moving for leave to bring in a bill to amend the act of the 32d of Geo. II. commonly called the Lords' Act. It related to the relief of unfortunate debtors.

An hon. gentleman had also given notice of his intention to move for leave to bring in a bill to amend the same act, but he believed their views were by no means the same. He should therefore wish to bring in his bill, and afterwards, if the House thought proper, the two bills might be consolidated. The state of the unfortunate people, to whom he wished, by his bill, to extend relief, was too well known to render it necessary for him to take up the time of the House by commenting upon the subject, he should therefore move for leave to bring in a bill to amend the 32d Geo. II.

Lord Glenbervie said, that as a very large part of the community was much interested on the subject, and as the law in question had remained in force for upwards of half a century, he hoped Sir H. would not bring forward his motion too precipitately.

Sir H. Mildmay withdrew his motion till Monday.

The House in a committee on the Southern Whale Fishery Bill, agreed, on the motion of Lord Glenbervie, that it was necessary to amend the said bill.

Mr. W. Dundas expressed a desire to postpone his motion for applying the sum of 54,000l. to the purpose of building bridges and making roads, from the middle to the North of Scotland.

Mr. Vansittart brought up an account of all places held by patent, or for life, which was ordered to lie on the table.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved the order of the day for the House to resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider of a supply to be granted to his Majesty.

The order being read, and the accounts laid before the House of the extraordinaries of the army, and the navy debt, as it stood on the 31st of December last; and also certain expenses of the militia, &c. the House resolved itself into a committee of the whole House accordingly, Mr. Alexander in the chair.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, on opening the army extraordinaries, observed, that the committee was now in possession of accounts of the application of 2,500,000l. granted last session, for defraying extraordinary expenses, and of the manner in which a sum of money, raised on a vote of credit, had been expended. An account of the expenses of the army, beyond that included in the estimate of last year, was also before the House. With reference to the sum of 2,500,000l. or to the vote of credit, which was submitted to the discretion of government, he was concerned to state the excess in the army was 1,847,000l. The various articles of which this excess was composed, might be reckoned under different heads. The sums paid to Mr. Wood, Deputy Commissary General on the Continent, amounted to 260,000 but he said, that although he felt it incumbent on him,

to advert to the papers now before the committee, he felt himself also liable to be called on to give any explanation of other expenditures which grew out of these particular heads of service, although not specified in these papers. He said, that the sum of 260,000l. advanced to Mr. Wood, was a great, though unavoidable, expense; it was for discharging the subsidiary treaties with the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke of Wirtemberg, and for paying the Swiss troops under the Prince of Condé. Every measure, he said, had been taken to prevent these demands from exceeding their proper limit. The individual by whose authority the draughts were drawn was Mr. Wickham, a gentleman of undoubted honour and integrity; yet no bill was honoured without having been examined by the comptrollers of army accounts, and the auditors of public accounts. Although every precaution had been taken to ensure the proper application of this money, yet he was aware that the excess which he had stated must attract the attention of the committee, and was therefore desirous of stating the nature of the services to which the expenditure had been applied. In the Bavarian corps the estimate fell short by 10,000l. but in the three other corps the advantage was on the side of the public. Mr. Addington then observed, that there were two other heads of expenditure, on which he should say a few words. The largest was that of bills drawn from Egypt, in the spring and autumn of the preceding year. It amounted to the sum of 1,540,000l. Though this sum was far beyond his expectations, yet he would wish it to be examined with as much jealousy as if we had been disappointed in the expedition. The expenditure of the service in question was in the hands of Mr. Motz, and there was no controul over his accounts. His own disappointment, Mr. Addington observed, arose from the length of the service; but when it was considered that this great expenditure was under the immediate inspection of Mr. Motz, and had been submitted to the minute inspection of the comptrollers, the committee had as good a security as the nature of the case would admit. Mr. Addington then adverted to the expenses incurred in the West-Indies, and which were defrayed by the payment of bills drawn by the commissary there, upon which there was an excess, beyond the estimate, of 420,370l. He could not but observe that a considerable expense arose from the equipment of a force against the Danish West-India Islands, and from the enormous price of provisions there. He thought all these expenditures were proper, but a special commission had been issued for the purpose of making all necessary inquiries, as to the disbursement of the money, on the spot. It was his intention to lay before the committee the whole of the expenses of last year; but he might save them some trouble, by calling their attention to some other accounts, not connected with those before mentioned. It appeared that the debt of the navy, on the 31st of December last, amounted to 9,075,070l.—The sum voted the preceding year was 8,785,000l. The sum voted generally for the navy, was 17 millions, but out of that a great part was applied in the payment of various charges, such as the salaries, &c.—workmen in the dock yards—and the remainder to pay off bills at 90 days, for demands, under the head of victualling, &c. With regard to the navy, the committee would recollect the amount of ships of the line and the augmentation of other shipping at this period. To him it was matter of satisfaction and surprise that the difference between the balance in the hands of the treasurer of the navy, and the sum received in the Exchequer, in the year 1801, out of the surplus granted for the service of the present year, did not amount to more than 1,178,926. The excess under the head of victualling was indeed 1,598,000l. but a large proportion of it was applied to the expenses of part of the army. It was prudent at present to diminish the debt of the navy, but till it was ascertained what would be the extent of our naval establishment, the amount of our naval debt could not be calculated. For the discharge of the said debt, however, he should propose that the sum of 2,000,000l. be voted to his Majesty by the committee. As to the extraordinaries of the army, he should propose a sum to the full amount of the excess. He therefore moved, "That it is the opinion "of this committee that a sum not exceed-"ing 1,847,174l. be granted to his Majesty "towards defraying the expenses incurred "and paid by the right hon. the paymas-"ter general of his Majesty's forces, in the "year 1801, and not provided for by Par-"liament."

The question being put,

Mr. Robson said, he was under the necessity of entering at some length on this subject. In July last, when there was a vote of credit granted, he thought it would be

necessary to grant a larger sum, but he was told that the sum then granted would answer every purpose; he was, however, now surprised to find that the army extraordinaries amounted to 5,600,000l. and the time which had been given to members to consider the papers, was short beyond example. The manner in which the House had been led on, was a matter of serious alarm, for it was not long since the Chancellor of the Exchequer applied for five million of money, when there were not above ten members in the house. Notwithstanding the economy of our administration, he should expect something more than panegyrics upon the commissaries, and he wished for more correct papers than those before the House, which were almost all without dates, so that it was impossible to tell what part of expense had been incurred before or since the union. He thought we should have a dormant peace with the expense of a war; since he had seen what Buonaparté had done with regard to the Cisalpine Republic. Ministers certainly could not have known Buonaparté's intention, or they never would have made the peace; he would not have approved of the peace, if he had known them. There appeared to him to be many charges in the army extraordinaries which belonged to the civil list: what, for instance, had the money given to ambassadors to do with the army extraordinaries? There were large sums of money paid to Mr. Windham, our minister at Florence; to Sir W. Hamilton, the envoy at Naples, &c. There was a charge which astonished and alarmed him; this was, a bill drawn by a Mr. Bale, at Malta, for 67,000l. There was also a sum of half a million drawn for by Colonel Ramsay. He wished to know for what service this charge had been incurred; because there was no account of it before the House, nor any date to it. There appeared also to have been bills drawn from St. Domingo: he thought that General Maitland, by giving up the Island, had put an end to the drains from that quarter. The army extraordinaries for the Bahama Islands, amounted to no less than 26,000l. which was a most extraordinary charge, for there was but one regiment there, and that was a skeleton one. The charge of the extraordinaries for Jamaica, was 119,000l. It was very necessary to examine these accounts, and it was particularly hard upon Ireland, because that country would have two-seventeenths of this enormous sum to pay. It appeared that the bills drawn by the commissary in the West-Indies had exceeded the estimate by near half a million. In order to account for this enormous excess, the House ought to have something more than a plausible account of the good character of the commissaries; they might be very worthy men, but he knew that they generally went out poor, and came home very rich. The charges for the extraordinaries of Halifax, Nova Scotia, and Canada, also appeared enormous, considering the force we had in that quarter. There was a heavy charge also for the black corps:—he wished to know, in what state these corps were?—There was a charge of 200,000l. paid to Lord Minto. He wished to know, what that was for? There was a sum of 117,000 drawn for by Lord Elgin:—this also was without any date. Mr. Robson concluded by commenting on the charges of money paid to Foreign Princes, and on the sum paid to Captain D'Auvergne, of 15,000l.

Mr. Martin expressed his thanks to the hon. gentleman for the trouble he had taken to investigate this business. He hoped, at the approaching general election, the people would choose persons who would take care of their pecuniary interests. He hoped the nation would now be disgusted with entering into foolish and unnecessary wars, in which the public money had been scandalously squandered. He would not have troubled the House, but for the purpose of calling the protection of the chair to the hon. gentleman who spoke last; his observations had been met with laughs and sneers.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, he was convinced that every item of the accounts had been fairly applied:—he sincerely applauded a vigilant and jealous conduct on the part of that House, with regard to the expenditure of public money. He wished to have every part of the conduct of ministers investigated, particularly that part which related to the expenditure. The accounts in question had been presented by extraordinary diligence at a much earlier period than usual. He had clearly stated, that the expences were divided under these heads. It having been found impossible to raise money for the army in Egypt, communications had been opened at Constantinople and Vienna by drawing bills on England, and transmitting the money to Egypt. This was the application of the money to Lord Minto, which had no connection with his lordship's di-

plomatic character. The sums paid to the Foreign Princes had already attracted the attention of the House, and the payments were the result of positive obligations. The hon. gentleman, Mr. Robson, was in error with respect to the army extraordinaries, as it was impossible to confine the latter to charges merely military. With respect to the sum granted last year for the extraordinary expenses, he, Mr. Addington, then only expressed his hope that it would prove sufficient. He was ready to enter into any farther explanation, if the House desired it.

Mr. Jones said, Mr. Robson deserved general thanks: he agreed with Mr. Martin respecting those members who neglected their duty, and hoped that not one of them would be returned at the next general election. He condemned the profuse expenditure of the last administration; and concluded with wishing that the accounts could be rendered clearer by dates.

The Secretary at War entered upon an explanation of some of the items: of these the sum of 1500l. was paid to the Duc de Choiseul for the loss of his property, while raising a regiment for the service of this country: others were 150,000l. to the representatives of Mr. Smalley; 56,000l. for the black corps. They amounted to 12,000, and had been of great use in the reduction of the Danish Islands.

Mr. Vansittart entered into a defence of the different articles of accounts, as objected to by Mr. Robson. The sum of 67,000l. for bills drawn from Malta, was paid for the purchase of corn to send to this country. He accounted for those drawn on the continent, and those by Lord Balcarras, on account of Jamaica; the latter amounted to 119,000l. Army extraordinaries, in foreign climates, bore a large proportion to the number of troops.

Mr. Robson thought the ministers had very fairly met his remarks, and he felt satisfied with their answers. But as the Exchequer Bills, of the distribution of which a paper was before the House, bore a premium of 30 per cent. he wished to know how the money arising from that premium was disposed of.

Mr. Vansittart replied, that though the premium was great, the public enjoyed the full benefit of it.

The motions were then agreed to.

The Secretary at War moved for the sum of 114,000l. for the pay of the militia, from August to December, 1801, which was likewise agreed to. The House resumed, and the report was ordered to be received on Monday. The committee of supply was ordered to sit again on Monday. The committee of ways and means was postponed till Monday. Mr. Robson postponed his motion relative to the Bank of England, till Tuesday.

Monday, February 8.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

A variety of private business was disposed of.

Crewe's divorce bill was introduced *de novo*, and ordered to be read a second time on Thursday the 25th.

The Earl of Carlisle rose and adverted to a subject of serious importance. He alluded to the sailing of a second fleet from the ports of France for the West Indies.

Lord Hobart said, that ministers had received no official communication on the subject, and he did not know that such a fleet had sailed.

Adjourned till to-morrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

After some private business had been gone through, Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the committee of supply, which was read a first time. On the question for the second reading a debate of some length took place, but very little new matter of discussion transpired. We however consider it necessary to give a brief sketch of the observations made by

Mr. Tierney, who, in reply to Mr. Martin, said he could not give way to those jealousies of his Majesty's ministers which some gentlemen entertained, because he conceived them unfounded. Suspicion alone must not authorize any member to reject accounts that were brought before Parliament without a close and sedulous examination. The case of the army extraordinaries was now different to what it was formerly. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer had altered the mode formerly adopted, by bringing down an estimate of the extraordinaries at the commencement of the session. But he would by no means have it supposed that he was satisfied with the accounts on the table; he thought it was the duty of members to watch, with the utmost care, over the expenditure of the public money. A waste of such money seemed evident in these accounts, but particularly in respect to the charge for demurrage upon coals, going to Gibraltar, which was made at the rate of six pounds

per chaldron. He believed many of the sums in these accounts belonged to the late administration; though the estimates brought forward by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer were in general remarkably accurate. But it was now a question whether he did not keep back sums which, if they had been brought forward at a proper time, would considerably have exceeded the estimates which he formed; for now we had arrived at the happy period of a peace, the present minister was saddled with the odium of bringing in accounts, for half the sums contained in which he was not responsible. He did not know, for want of dates, when the different bills had been drawn which had been paid by the treasury: indeed, he thought that most enormous sums must have been kept back by the late administration. If gentlemen would take the trouble to reflect, they would find that 25,000,000l. of the expenditure must now be brought forward, of which no account whatever had been given. He therefore wished a commission to be appointed for investigating this expenditure, when perhaps strange things would be brought to light. He was convinced the present Chancellor was œconomical, and should therefore support him, till he had reason to alter his opinion.

Mr. Steele, in reply to Mr. Tierney, said that, with respect to the coals, he admitted that the charge was too high, but it was owing to the insurance and other incidental demands. He was bound to say, in the absence of his friend (Mr. Pitt), that the idea of concealment of the public money never entered his mind. Sums which were due in 1800 were certainly paid in 1801, as the subsidies to the King of Sardinia, &c. He advised Mr. Robson to examine the accounts of the money paid to Lord Minto, when he would find it far different from a provision for a retired minister, and concluded with saying, that no one sum before the House had been improperly paid.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer defended the charges for coals, &c. on nearly the same grounds as Mr. Steele.

Mr. Nicholls paid some compliments to the integrity of Mr. Martin, but said, that whatever profusion might appear in the accounts, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not accountable for any of it. The expedition to Egypt would have been ruined, if he had not honoured the bills of his predecessor; yet he thought, if the expense in question was unavoidable, it would have been better for this country, had Egypt remained in possession of the French. He supported the ministers, on account of the pacific system which they had adopted.

Mr. Sturges attributed to Mr. Pitt the merit of sending a commission to the West-Indies, and asserted that Mr. Tierney's imputation against the late ministers was unfounded.

Mr. W. Dundas rose, and, with much warmth, entered into a defence of Mr. Pitt, against the charges of Mr. Tierney. He said it would have been more generous in the hon. gentleman to have made his attack when Mr. Pitt had been present; he appealed to the House, whether the late minister had not always manifested the most incorruptible integrity. He hailed the return of peace, but could not agree with those who exclaimed against the necessity of the war. He admired the zeal of the minister's new allies, who were so anxious to express their political creed. An hon. member had called the present a scandalous account: it was a misapplied epithet. The items were incurred in the prosecution of a war, which was deemed necessary by ninety-nine persons out of every hundred; it was a war carried on for every thing that was dear to Englishmen; but now it was at an end, he had a right to declare himself a friend to the pacific system. Did the hon. gentleman, who had found fault with the Egyptian expedition, imagine that peace would have been obtained if that expedition had not taken place? As we were all happy at the peace, he was surprised that members should cavil at a little expence attendant on the measure that procured it.

Mr. Tierney begged leave to reply to the attack made upon him by Mr. Dundas, as his crime was only that of offering to support the present administration. He disclaimed all personalities, and did not impute any sinister view to the late minister in keeping back the public accounts.—The present was his first attempt to support a minister, though Mr. Dundas had had more experience. For a young beginner, he thought he had met with very harsh usage. If a man who supported ministers was compelled to eat his words, then he himself was not competent to such a task; and until his condemnation was pronounced by some higher authority than that of his present opponent, he should remain satisfied.

After some debate on the irregularity of

the accounts, in every respect similar to that of Friday night, the question for the second reading was carried in the affirmative.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved, that the sum of 2,100,000l. be raised by loan on Exchequer Bills. Agreed to.

Tuesday, February 9.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

At four o'clock (the Speaker not being present), the senior clerk informed the House, that he this morning received a letter from Mr. Speaker, and directing him to communicate the same to the House.

The letter was dated Palace Yard, February 9, 1802, and was nearly to the following effect:—"Sir, his Majesty having "been graciously pleased to signify his "intention of conferring upon me the office of Lord Chancellor of Ireland, it becomes, in consequence thereof, my duty "to resign the chair of the House of Commons. I have to request, Sir, that you "will communicate the same to the House "at their meeting this day. I must intreat you, at the same time, to express "in the strongest terms the regret I feel, at "quitting the high situation to which their "favour raised me, and my gratitude for "the uniform support I experienced from "them, in my humble attempts of discharging the duties of that important "office.

"I have the honour to be, &c."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that he had only to state that his Majesty, in consequence of the event mentioned in the letter which had been read, gave leave to that House to the choice of a Speaker, who was to be presented for the royal approbation on Thursday next, in the House of Peers, at two o'clock. He then moved that the House should adjourn till to-morrow.

Wednesday, February 10.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The Master of the Rolls, after passing a high eulogium on the speaker, who had just resigned the chair, and also on his predecessor, proposed *Mr. Abbott* as the successor of *Sir John Mitford*. The motion was seconded by *Mr. Baker*.

Mr. Sheridan perfectly concurred in all that had been said in praise of Sir John Mitford, and of the right hon. gentleman, who had just been proposed as his successor; but he thought, that the practice of looking into the profession of the law, for gentlemen to fill the chair of that House, was not warranted by the ancient custom of Parliament. He did not consider technical knowledge as a necessary qualification; and, in every case, he thought that no one should be chosen to fill this situation, while he held a place at the disposal of the crown; but rather, that the House should choose their speaker from amongst those, who were perfectly independant of ministerial influence. The circumstance of the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Abbott) being at a time of life, that promised his long continuance in the chair, had not much weight with Mr. Sheridan, unless, indeed, the right hon. gentleman would engage to remain there 'till death should remove him; but, it had but too often happened, that gentlemen, elected to the chair, although they uniformly declared it to be the highest object of their ambition, yet, had not, when a more convenient or advantageous office was offered them, the fortitude to resist the temptation. He concluded by proposing *Mr. Charles Dundas*, in which proposition he was supported by *Lord George Cavendish* and *Mr. Courtenay*, the latter of whom, in alluding to a former speaker, observed, that it was remarkable, that the habit of impartiality which a speaker acquired, generally stuck to him when he quitted the chair, and there had been instances of gentlemen quitting that situation in consequence of being appointed to a high office under the crown, who had afterwards acted so perfectly impartially, in a dispute between their new friends and their old allies, that it was absolutely impossible to understand whether they supported their old allies or their new friends.

Mr. Abbott said, that, when he reflected upon the learning, the talents, and the virtues, which had for so many centuries dignified that chair, he could not but be apprehensive of his own insufficiency to fill it with that dignity and ability which so important an office demanded. If an ardent zeal for the maintenance of our constitution, if the most rooted attachment to the privileges of that House, if the most sincere admiration of its admirable forms of proceeding, might be supposed to operate upon the House in the decision it was going to make, he trusted these qualifications belonged in common to all its members. If the House should be pleased to give its indulgent support to any member in that office, he might accomplish much,

but, without that support, every effort would be unavailing.

Mr. Charles Dundas expressed his desire to remain a private member, and, after paying some compliments to the talents and virtues of Mr. Abbott, concluded by requesting Mr. Sheridan to withdraw his motion.

After some observations from Messrs. *Ormsby*, *Archdale*, and *J. H. Browne*, all of whom supported the motion of the Master of the Rolls, and concurred in all the praises which had been bestowed on Mr. Abbott, who was unanimously elected.

Thursday, February 11.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

The commission having been read, appointing Lords Eldon, Walsingham, and Hobart, to approve of Mr. Abbott, as Speaker of the House of Commons,

Mr. Abbott (who came at the head of the members of the House of Commons) addressed the Lords Commissioners as follows: "In obedience to his Majesty's commands, his faithful Commons of the United Realm of Great-Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, have proceeded to the election of a speaker, and in consequence of which, it becomes my duty to acquaint your lordships, that the high and distinguished honour of their choice has fallen upon me.—Impressed as I fully am with the deepest sense of the very arduous and important duties of that high and honourable trust, I have necessarily to regret that their choice has not been better made, and I am fully persuaded, that his Majesty's faithful Commons would have ample cause to express their gratitude to the Throne, were it his Majesty's royal pleasure to command them to proceed to another election."

The Lord Chancellor replied, that his Majesty being perfectly satisfied with his experience of the prudence and wisdom manifested by his faithful Commons in repeated former elections, of persons to fulfil the arduous duties of the great and important situation to which their choice had elevated the member now presented for the royal approbation, his Majesty entertained no doubt of his (Mr. Abbott's) talents, diligence, and sufficiency to discharge the arduous and important duties of that situation. Then, addressing Mr. Abbott, on the part of the Lords Commissioners, the Lord Chancellor proceeded thus: "Considering the election made by his Majesty's faithful Commons, we cannot but deem you as the person best qualified to fulfil these duties; we are impressed to a certain degree with the sentiments which you have expressed, but, at the same time, reflecting how great is the encouragement to be derived from the wisdom and temper always manifested by his Majesty's faithful Commons, in their parliamentary functions, notwithstanding the arduous and important nature of these duties which you are elected to discharge, it is with the highest satisfaction we see, that the choice made by the Commons, has been followed by the approbation of his Majesty. We, therefore, Sir, have it in command from his Majesty to notify and declare, that his Majesty is graciously pleased fully to allow, and highly to approve, of the choice made by his faithful Commons of a Speaker. We hereby, by virtue of his Majesty's commission, and in his name, and by his Majesty's authority, allow and confirm their said choice."

The Speaker then replied to the following effect:—"My Lords, I humbly submit to his Majesty's royal pleasure, and beg to return my most grateful thanks for the high and distinguished honour of his royal approbation. It will become my duty to assert and maintain the ancient and undoubted rights of the Commons House of Parliament; and should I, in the discharge of my various important and arduous duties, commit any involuntary error, I entreat it may be imputed to *me* alone, and not laid to the account of his Majesty's loyal and faithful Commons."

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The Speaker having taken the chair, said, it was his duty to acquaint the House, that the Lords, authorized by virtue of his Majesty's commission, had signified his Majesty's most gracious approbation of his (Mr. Abbott's) election to be Speaker of that honourable House. It was also his duty to return his most sincere and grateful acknowledgements to the House for the honour it had done him in making him the object of its choice. As the best proof of the sincerity of his gratitude, he hoped the House would always find in him the most unremitting exertions in the discharge of the arduous duties of that office in which their kindness had placed him, the most prompt obedience to the collective sense

of the House, and the strongest disposition to afford every assistance to their labours individually. But to render these exertions really serviceable, he had most earnestly to entreat the assistance of the House, which alone could enable him to support their authority, to maintain their ancient and undoubted privileges, to uphold the regularity of their proceedings, and to preserve their inestimable forms of proceeding, because these forms were the best safeguard for their privileges, and their privileges were the rights of the People.

After the presenting of certain petitions, the House adjourned, having previously resolved to go into a committee of ways and means, and of supply, to-morrow.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

Italian Republic.

One must be condemned to live under a republican government, to have courage sufficient to read the discussion of the voluminous and complicated, though incomplete, constitution, which the supreme arbiter of nations has just bestowed upon Italy. But men who are strangers to this political farce, have, as yet, the privilege of enquiring what new degree of power, and consequently what fresh instrument of conquest and destruction, this constitution puts into the hands of the disturber of the universe. We have connected these two ideas of conquest and destruction, because the French Republican Government, under whatever name it has existed, has never separated them; but has ever followed up the conquest of a country by the total destruction of every thing which anteriorly existed in it. Let us, therefore, examine into the additional power which France derives from this new acquisition.

The following are the attributes which Buonaparté has conferred upon himself, and which will, of course, be claimed by his successor.

By section VIII, he has the privilege of arranging all the laws and diplomatic negotiations. He *exclusively* exercises the executive power, by means of ministers whom he may choose or revoke. He cannot, indeed, dismiss the minister of justice, but he can deprive him of all but his title, and entrust his functions to another. (Sect. X.) Besides the ministers, he also appoints the diplomatic and civil agents, the chiefs of the army and the generals. He appoints the vice-president, who should remain in office as long as the president who appointed him. But as a corrective, this vice-president only represents him in such things as the former thinks proper to confide to him. (Sect. VIII.) In other respects, he is a dwarf placed in the great chair of the president, when the latter is absent. Lastly, he appoints the members of the *legislative council*, who are only a kind of secretaries, and these he may revoke at the expiration of three years. (Sect. XI.) Such is the authority that Buonaparté has personally conferred upon himself for ten years, over the Italian Republic.

The following are held out as checks to the above. The college of proprietors of the funds, consisting of 300 members; those of commerce and education, each of 200. The first of these three colleges elects its own new members itself; all are elected for life; but in order to annul their influence, the president alone may convoke them every two years. They are only assembled once a fortnight; can only determine, without discussion, and by a secret scrutiny, doubtless rather for the purpose of concealing their shame than for strengthening their courage. In short, all the three colleges proceed from a censorship of 21 members, the existence of which is still more ephemeral than that of the colleges, for it is of ten days only in every two years. This censorship, which is too small in point of number to suffer an individual to escape the observation of the president, makes appointments to all the places under government (the gift of which he has not reserved to himself), out of lists that have been formed by the colleges, which have scarcely any other employment than the forming of these lists of eligibility. The censorship appoints, in particular, the legislative body. This body, which ought to be the principal bulwark of public liberty, is, in fact, only an emanation from the will of the president. It is moreover dumb, like the other bodies, and, for the same reasons, it votes by a secret scrutiny. It short, to obviate every kind of connection and understanding between these different bodies, one of the colleges is to assemble at Milan, another at Bologna, and the third at Brescia, while the censorship is established at Cremona.

To complete this edifice of despotism, there was still wanting a body to bear all the odium that might arise from the acts of the president. It was for this pur-

pose that the legislature wisely created the consulta of state, consisting of eight members. By articles 58, 59, and 61, the consulta may keep in prison, beyond the term fixed by the law, for proceeding to trial, or may banish from the capital, any individual whatever; it may declare out of the protection of the law either an officer of state, or a whole department, upon the request, or rather at the command, of the president; for, to be perfectly the master in this new inquisition, he is to be the first mover of all the affairs which are brought forward in the consulta, where also he has a casting voice. In short, such is the inertness of all this political mass, that none of its parts, without exception, can make the least movement, without the authority of the president; and what completely ensures the absolute dominion of Buonaparté is, that all the numerous elements of this complicated government have been chosen conformably to his will.

If the object of the First Consul be not to add another state to the territory and power of France, without deigning to communicate the information to Europe, otherwise than by the French gazettes, what can it be? Let us suppose that the King of Prussia were to invite the Elector of Hanover to Berlin, to extort from him the cession of the country of Hanover, I ask whether the whole of Europe would not take up arms to resist such an attack? What, then, can suppress the general indignation which ought to break forth against such audacity as the present? If it be fear, it must at last be avowed, that Europe is enslaved! If it be the small importance that is attached to the new state which Buonaparté has just adopted, those who are so easily reconciled to the passing events should be informed what this Cisalpine Republic really is. It is the richest and most fertile country of Europe; and its population is at present upwards of four millions of souls. Its frontier next to Austria is as well prepared for the defensive, as it is formidable for the offensive. One side, extending along the Adriatic, threatens the most remote possessions of the Emperor. It borders upon all Switzerland, from St. Bernard to the Tyrol. The other states of Italy either tremble before it, or aspire to be united with it. The Dutchy of Parma has already been sold to it for 80 millions of livres of Milan, or nearly 2,600,000l. sterling. Who does not see that the provisory government of Lucca, and probably that of Genoa, or at least as far as that city, will very shortly be united to it? For what an absurdity would be the existence of republics in Italy distinct from the Italian Republic. This immediate accession would increase the population of the Cisalpine Republic to nearly five millions, and would give it, in the Mediterranean, the excellent port of Spezzia. Such is the state which Buonaparté has just acquired, and over which he has, in his own name, an acknowledged authority, more absolute and more complete than that which the Emperor of Russia possesses over his own immense Empire.

Others are reconciled, because the evil being already accomplished, and because the ascendancy which the preponderance of France gives to the Consul over the Italian Republic cannot be augmented by any proceeding of the Cisalpins. To perceive how defective this reasoning is, we need only examine whether in the present, and certainly extreme state of dependance of Holland upon France, the French Government will not be in want of more address, longer time and greater discretion, to obtain what it may wish to obtain from the Dutch Government, than Buonaparté is in need of, to acquire what he will from the Cisalpine Republic. Buonaparté may speak in a menacing tone to Holland, in the name of France; but there will follow objections, remonstrances, and perhaps refusals; and when he has overcome these difficulties, he will still experience delays, and perhaps great inaccuracy in the execution of his wishes. The president of the Cisalpine Republic, on the contrary, will command and cause to be executed by his immediate creatures in the Cisalpine territory, whatever he may have planned as Consul of France, or simply as Buonaparté: to his direct authority he will join his influence as chief of the great nation, and who will dare to disobey or evade his orders?

This same appointment increases and strengthens the dominion of Buonaparté over France. After having subjected the Cisalpine Republic, as Consul and as President, if an extraordinary effort should become necessary against any party in France, all the forces of the Cisalpine may be brought over Mount Canis, the Simplon, and St. Gothard, into all the eastern provinces of ancient France, from the Rhine to the Mediterranean.

One word more on the metamorphosis

of the Cisalpine into the Italian Republic. The French Government has insisted upon the renunciation of the obliterated title of King of France, which was taken by the Kings of England. His Majesty renounced it himself, in the time of war, that a frivolous obstacle to a conclusion of peace might be previously removed. Are there then two codes of laws of nations, the one for France, and the other for the rest of Europe? If the Italian Republic pretends to no authority over the other states of Italy, why has she assumed this title against the very principles, which the French Government has supported against England? If she does possess it, whence has she derided it, but from her own arrogance and the pusillanimity of those, by whom that arrogance ought to be repressed? Surely, since the reign of Charles VII, no Frenchman has ever imagined that he owed, even secretly, any allegiance to the King of England? But who is there that does not see that the Italian Republic is the centre to which all the factious and malcontent Italians are invited to unite? Should they previously ask, "what shall we do when we have proscribed our sovereign!" an answer is ready. We shall become members of the Italian Republic. Those powers which have acknowledged the *Cisalpine* Republic, have, then, the right of refusing to acknowledge the *Italian* Republic, and nothing but the rankest folly or the rankest cowardice can deny, that it is their interest and their duty to make such refusal.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Constantinople, December 24.—The English ambassador, Lord Elgin, has concluded in the name of his Court, a separate Convention with the *Porte*, in which the latter, on account of the services rendered by the English in *Egypt*, has granted them certain privileges with regard to the *Levant* and *East-India* trade, for three years. It is feared, however, that the French Government will not agree to this Covention, as *France* expects the same privileges as *England*, in that quarter.

Ratisbon, January 19. — The Elector of Mentz, before he gave in his resignation, invited his Chapter to renounce their Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over that part of the Archbishopric which is on the left bank of the Rhine. The Chapter assembled at *Wurtzburg*, and complied with his request. In consequence of which, the Archbishop gave in his resignation: it was sent to the Count de Benst, at Paris.

Paris, February 5.—Citizen Sebastiani is arrived from Constantinople. He was presented yesterday to the First Consul, to whom he delivered a letter from Sultan Selim.

Citizen Sebastiani has made known to the First Consul the distinguished manner in which he was received by the Sultan and the chief officers of the Porte.

The Grand Seignior presented to Citizen Sebastiani a superb snuff-box, on which is designed, in diamonds, the seraglio, and a dove coming from France with peace. The Reis-Effendi gave him several fine p lisses, and the Captain Pacha made him a present of some superb schams. All expressed a desire for a long and sincere peace. The First Consul has sent a Prefect of the Palace to Ali Effendi, ambassador from the Porte at Paris, to make known to him that he is satisfied with the reception which Citizen Sebastiani received at his court.

February 6.—At the audience yesterday, Mr. Jackson, Minister Plenipotentiary from his Britannic Majesty, presented to the First Consul, the Earl of Aberdeen, Lord Cahir, Lord Coleraine, Lord Henry Petty, Major General Money, Sir Elijah Impey, and M. O'Byrne.

Amiens, February 1.—The Chevalier Azzara, Minister Plenipotentiary from the King of Spain, to the Congress at Amiens, arrived in this town the day before yesterday at 5 *p. m.* His arrival was announced by the firing of cannon.

February 2.—The conferences are carried on with the greatest activity between Citizen Joseph Buonaparté, Plenipotentiary of the Republic, Lord Cornwallis, Plenipotentiary from England, the Chevalier d'Azzara, Plenipotentiary from Spain, and Citizen Shimmelpenninck, Plenipotentiary from Batavia. There are no other Ministers at the Congress at Amiens.

An unprecedented degree of toleration has been granted by the Grand Seignior to the Catholic Mission at Constantinople, *viz.* the principal, a Jesuit, is permitted to erect a chapel and a dwelling-house in the suburb of Galata, and to take as many assistants as he may choose.

A new loan for a million of florins has been lately opened at Frankfort, at 4½ per cent. and an uncommon exportation of

goods from Lyons to Russia, by way of Frankfort, has lately been noticed.

From Upper Saxony it is stated, that the spouse of Louis XVIII. is preparing to leave the Castle at Wildungen, and remove to Warsaw, at which place part of her retinue had arrived.

Amsterdam, January 30.—The finances of this city being in a most deplorable situation, a plan for negotiating a loan for its relief has been submitted to the Government of the State, which, however, as yet, has been attended with no success. A commission from the Intermedial Common Government, lately dispatched to the Hague for urging this business, has returned with the simple promise of the Treasurer General, that considering the pressing necessity of our city, he would lay the matter before the Government of State without delay.

Stutgard, January 17.—From Munchen, we hear, that, by virtue of a new ordinance, the tenth part of all the incomes of the Ecclesiastics, the churches, and religious institutions, must be thrown into the Treasury chest of the State.

Constantinople, Dec. 30. — The following particulars are now known as to the murder of the Pacha of Belgrade. The Janissaries who detained him prisoner, had discovered a correspondence which that unfortunate old man had contrived to carry on with his son, in which he excited him to leave no means untried for the deliverance of his father, and the recovery of the fortress for its lawful governor. In the interim, it seems that the chiefs of the Janissaries did not consider this as a sufficient cause to treat their prisoner with additional rigour, and they contented themselves with redoubling their vigilance, in cutting him off from all exterior communications. But this sentiment of compassion was not sufficient to save the Pacha's life. The report of the secret correspondence soon raised murmurs among the inferior Janissaries. The 27th of December, at two o'clock in the afternoon, three of them, who made a part of the guard, rushed into his apartment, compelled him, with their sabres at his breast, to make a discovery of his treasures, and afterwards dispatched him. The chiefs, however, who either could not, or would not, prevent this inhuman act, took every necessary precaution for securing the quiet of the city. And the next day the Pacha was peaceably interred. From the conduct of the Janissaries, since this event, it seems that they are divided into two parties, one of which appears to desire a closer union with Paswan Oglou, the other, perfect submission to the Turkish court. The Porte, it is expected, will shortly redouble its efforts against the rebellious Pacha, and also direct the military operations against Belgrade, should it be found necessary. The Captain Pacha, lately returned from Egypt, has already received orders to put himself at the head of a numerous land force, which will be aided by a respectable armed flotilla on the Danube, to which service the High Admiral has invited several English officers.

Extract of a Letter from Cadiz, dated 18th January, 1802. " The French troops em-
" barked this day on board the ships of
" war now in the harbour. The division
" consists of three sail of the line, and as
" many frigates, under the command of
" Admiral Linois. They are destined for
" St. Domingo, to assist in the reduction of
" Toussaint. This is the opinion given out
" here; but it would not surprize me, if
" they were bound to Louisiana."—On the authenticity of this article our readers may depend.

Milan, Jan. 21.—Yesterday arrived here the remains of our late Archbishop. They will be exposed for several days in the archiepiscopal palace. His obsequies will be solemnly performed in the metropolitan church.

Berlin, Jan. 16. — The cotton machines which have been brought to such perfection in England, and which have been introduced into France with so much advantage to her manufactures, begin also to make some progress in this country. The house of Bernhouds and Cohen have formed, with the aid of an English merchant, and of that excellent Prussian mechanic Zacharias, a machine of more than one thousand spindles, which is worked with extreme ease, and of every part of which the workmen are made to preserve exact models, in order to facilitate the multiplication of these machines. Three hundred thousand crowns are appropriated to the purposes of this establishment, which is under the special protection of the King. The perfection of the machine induces us to hope that we shall be able to enter into a competition with England.

Berne, January 28.

Head Quarters, 7th Pluviose, 10th Year.

The General of Division, Montrichard, Commander of the French Troops in Helvetia, to the Minister of War.

I have the honour to inform you, Citizen Minister, that having been informed that the inhabitants of several Communes of the Canton of Zurich had assembled in arms, I marched out the Garrison of this place with a piece of cannon. These insurgents, who had met under the pretext of the payment of certain duties, and the nomination of certain public functionaries, dispersed themselves on the approach of our troops, and these Communes are restored to order. Though this event is of very small importance, yet I thought it my duty to inform you of it, as malevolent reports have already been circulated that the rebels had got possession of the town of Zurich.

Health and Respect,
Montrichard.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

The court-martial which dismissed the gallant Sir Edward Hamilton from the service, was grounded on the report of a previous court of enquiry; and it is somewhat extraordinary, that Vice Admiral Sir Andrew Mitchel, the president, and Rear Admiral Collingwood, two of the officers who signed the report, should sit as members of the court-martial. It appears, that Sir E. Hamilton's objections to their incompetency to sit as judges at his trial were over-ruled! A question therefore arises, whether this court-martial was legally constituted? It is laid down, on unquestionable authority, by our writers on military law and naval courts-martial (namely, by *Adye and Tytler on Military Law*, and by *M'Arthur on Naval Courts-Martial*) that the members composing a court of enquiry are incapacitated to sit as judges of the court-martial, upon a similar principle as laid down by Blackstone, that the members of the grand jury are not competent to be impanelled into the subsequent petty jury, on the same cause. So jealous is the law, of the perfect impartiality of jurors, that it is allowed to be a good challenge that the juror has been heard to give his opinion beforehand that the party is guilty. On a similar ground of challenge against the member of a court-martial, it ought, on every sound principle, surely to be sustained. Courts of enquiry in the navy, as well as in the army, are only recognized by usage, and are not, strictly speaking, founded on law. No oath is administered to the members, or to the witnesses; hence, even should the officers on the previous enquiry not sit as members of the court-martial, there may be an impropriety in reading and putting upon record the opinion of a court of enquiry, as tending to prejudge and make unfavourable impressions on the minds of the members of such court-martial.

Six deputies have arrived from Malta, bringing a memorial, the object of which is, *to solicit His Majesty to keep possession of that Island.* The Deputies are, the Marquis Testaferrata, of a very noble family, grandee of Spain; Lieut. Governor Castagna, deputy of the two cities Bormolo and Seaglia; Mr. Cachia, the representative of Zictura; Mulia, Lieut. Governer, and first Senator of Gozo: and two Maltese priests. The memorial has been laid before Government, but as to the result, nothing has yet transpired.

A court martial was held on board the Cambridge, of 84 guns, Admiral Sir Thomas Pasley, Bart. Captain Lane, in Hamoaze, on the 4th inst. on Lieutenant Hicks, one of the Lieutenants of the Cambridge, for repeatedly sleeping out of the ship, contrary to orders. After hearing the evidence against Lieut. Hicks, and his defence, they adjudged him to be dismissed His Majesty's service. He has a wife and five children.

It is confidently stated, that Denmark has acceded to the convention formed between England and Russia in June last.

The Gazette of last Saturday contains an account of a very gallant exploit performed by two boats with eighteen men in each, belonging to the Lark, lying off Port Antonio. On Sept. 17, they attacked a Spanish schooner, lying close in shore, and after a severe contest, boarded and captured her. One of the men was killed, and thirteen wounded.

Three thousand guineas for a service of plate have been voted in the handsomest manner, by the House of Assembly of Jamaica, to his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, in testimony of the gratitude of the Assembly for his exertions in Parliament in favour of their interests.

The account received some days ago, of the loss of His Majesty's sloop Utile, of 18 guns, Capt. P. Canes, is confirmed by intelligence brought by the Prince Adolphus Packet from Lisbon. She was bound to Minorca and Malta, with money to pay

the troops, and unfortunately overset in a violent gale of wind, in the Gut of Gibraltar. It was feared that all the crew had perished.

Letters from Gibraltar, dated the 22d ult. mention, that Rear Admiral Sir J. Saumarez, K. B. had dispatched the Warrior, of 74 guns; Zealous, 74; Defence, 74; and Bellona, of 74, after Gantheaume's squadron, which passed the Gut the 20th ult. in the night, but their destination unknown.

Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Brownrigg, of the 3d Foot, is appointed Deputy Quarter-Master-General to the forces in Ireland, vice Crawford, appointed Adjutant-General to the King's troops in India.

Sir John Mitford is to be created a Baron before his departure to take upon him the Chancellorship of Ireland.

There are no less than six editions of Shakspeare now printing in Paris, and many other distinguished productions of English literature are also in hand. So many Englishmen are now at Paris, who have no other resource but as editors of English works, that we have reason to be alarmed at the progress of the Gallic press, particularly as it can afford to send its labours into the world at much cheaper rates than those of this country.*

* We have extracted this article from a daily print, in order to remove the "alarm" which it expresses. English books have, for fifty years past, been printed at Paris, at Basle, at Frankfort, at the Hague, and at Hamburgh, much cheaper than they could possibly be printed in this kingdom. In fact, we have long since had no market for books on the Continent, except it be to supply those who will have *London editions*, be the price what it may. This market we shall still preserve. As to the King's dominions, it is always in our power to prevent any part of them from being supplied with books printed in foreign countries. There remains, then, only the market of the United States of America to be disputed with us, and in that country we can have no rival but the *American press*, which *now* turns off books at a lower price than they can be printed and shipped from France. We send no books to America, except such as are quite new, and such as are exclusively calculated for England and America, Dictionaries and Law books, for instance, neither of which would be worth printing in France merely for the sake of supplying America. Instead, therefore, of being alarmed at the present employment of the Paris press, we sincerely wish it may never have any thing more mischievous in hand than the diffusion of English literature. In reference to the *duty on printing paper*, we shall just observe, that the only question for the consideration of the minister, is, whether the continuation of the new duty will, upon the whole, render the tax *more productive* than it would be if that duty were taken off. If it will, it ought to be continued; if it will not, it ought to be taken off.

A munificent benefaction has been sent to Greenwich Hospital and the Chest at Chatham by an unknown gentleman. It is noticed in the Gazette of Tuesday night in the following manner: — "A gentleman, who will not permit his name to be known, having by a confidential friend sent to Lord Hood, Governor of Greenwich Hospital, the amount of the sale of ten thousand pounds in the Three per Cent. Consols for the use and benefit of the said Hospital; the Governors and Directors take this method of returning their most grateful thanks for the very generous gift. This truly benevolent gentleman has also given the like sum to the Chest at Chatham."

The Arethusa frigate arrived at Portsmouth on Wednesday, with Brigadier General Clinton and suite, from Madeira. Before the Arethusa left the Island, the greater part of the British troops there had embarked on board the De Ruyter and Calcutta for the West-Indies.

It is generally believed, that Mr. Wickham will be appointed Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

After reading the volumes of treatises, which French generosity has, since the month of September last, distributed amongst the nations of Europe; after having witnessed twelve years of aggressions, encroachments, invasions, pillage, and massacre, it is no weak proof of the imbecility and perverseness of the human mind, that Englishmen should seem astonished at the scene which has lately been exhibited at Lyons, and that they should feel alarm at the fate of the Italian Republic, while they illuminate their houses to celebrate the deed, by which Belgium and Holland, by which the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, by which Surinam, Demerara, Berbice, and Essequibo, by which Guiana and Louisiana, the Amazons and the Mississippi, are placed for ever in the hands of France, and by which the commerce of the world is shifted from us to our most powerful rival, and most malignant and implacable foe. The Italian Republic is, indeed, by this last act of Buonaparté, rendered totally at the disposal of French government, and most persons in France regard the formality as extremely impolitic; but no one, who is acquainted with the character and views of the rulers of that country, can possibly be astonished

at the measure. The character which Mr. Pitt, in his famous speech of the 3d of February, 1800, drew of Buonaparté, is perfectly just; but it is not more applicable to the Corsican, than it is to his French coadjutors, who, however they may hate one another, are, with respect to foreign nations, all animated by the same spirit, and whose ambition is such, that, after having conquered and desolated the earth, they would, were it in their power, scale the walls of Heaven, and dispossess the Almighty.

The exhibition at Lyons is but a sort of prologue to other and more serious encroachments. The new kingdom of Etruria, Naples, the States of the Church, Switzerland, Holland, and, in short, all the mock governments, with which France has surrounded herself, will, one after another, be chained to the chariot wheels of their conqueror. When this scheme is accomplished, the much-boasted system of representative government, and all those liberties which have, indeed, never existed but in name, will lose even that name. Were we to judge from the language of the Moniteur, which, on such a subject, is no bad criterion, we should think, that the rulers of France are already endeavouring to prepare the minds of the people for such a change. That print has lately, in speaking of a house demolished in the Rue St. Honoré, taken occasion to quote a fable of La Mothe, on elective government, which fable, after describing the folly of those animals which, in climbing up to gather the fruit of a tree, shook it down into the mouth of a wise monkey that lay waiting underneath, concludes thus:

"Le peuple décerna la puissance à son bon sens,
"On n'est roi que par la prudence."

On the other hand, we cannot help remarking with what derision the same print treats this sort of government in Holland, where, it observes, that citizen Gockinger, having been named as a member of the council, "le gouvernement est, donc, *au complet*," a phrase never used in French, except it be applied to a regiment or company of soldiers, or a ship's crew. If we add to this the incessant care, which is taken to produce changes in the governments of these little subaltern republics, and the address which is used to keep them in a state of continual discord, in order to furnish the people with a pretext for calling in the superior wisdom and virtue of Buonaparté or his successor, the intention of France becomes too evident to admit of doubt; and, it is strongly conjectured, that Lyons has been chosen, on the present occasion, in pursuance of a project, which has been formed for making that city the capital of the new empire of the Gauls. This conjecture is strongly corroborated by the device of a medal, which has just been struck at Lyons, and which, doubtless, was not struck without the approbation of Buonaparté. The device is in these words: "Auspice Buonaparté inter Gallos Gallo-"rum nepotes Cisalpini antiquum fœdus "renovantes gentem suam legibus condi-"derunt Lugduni Anno X. Reip. Gal." That is, *Under the auspices of Buonaparté, the Cisalpins, descendants of the Gauls, renewing an ancient connection, have formed their national constitution, in the bosom of Gaul, at Lyons, in the tenth year of the* REPUBLIC OF THE GAULS. The object of this medal, (for the French do nothing without an object) is to prepare men's minds for the adoption of the proposed plan, and, on this occasion, we cannot but call to mind, that when one of the adulatory prefects praised Buonaparté for having extended the empire of France, the latter replied, that it was not *yet* nearly so extensive as in the time of Charlemagne.

It is in vain to hope, from the powers of Europe, any resistance to this gigantic scheme. They are all at the feet of Buonaparté. From England, indeed, one might have expected something like energy, when the liberties of the world were at stake; but, if we were now to talk of an interposition of that shield, under which Europe has so often found safety, the French would bid us remember, that they have now a fleet and army in the neighbourhood of Jamaica. Russia, too, might have afforded some foundation for hope; but what have we to expect from that power, after having witnessed the abandonment of Naples and Sardinia, in direct contradiction to its positive, solemn, and public declarations.

The French armament in the West-Indies has drawn out another detachment of our fleet. We heartily applaud this part of the measures of His Majesty's Ministers, and as heartily reprobate the senseless cavillings of those, who affect to be disappointed at the continuance of our warlike preparations. Every successive article of news, which reaches us from the West-Indies, does but confirm our opinion of the non-resistance of Toussaint. We have before us, another proclamation of this negro-chief, issued on the 12th of December, in which we find the following sentence: "The sad experience I have just had, "shall not be useless to me; and on "account of the misbehaviour of Gen. "Moyse, no other general of division shall

"be appointed, *till new orders from the "French government.*" It is impossible to say what further evidence may be necessary to convince our economists of the necessity of keeping up our force in the vicinity of Saint Domingo; but, for our parts, we are well assured, that a powerful English fleet and army are, in that quarter, much more necessary than at any former period of our history, and we hope, that no paltry considerations of popularity will induce ministers to relax in their laudable measures of precaution. It is not a question of *expence*, but a question of *preservation*, which they have to discuss, and, in this instance, at least, we hope, that their councils will be marked with vigilance and vigour. The French, though well assured of the willing obedience of Toussaint, continue to add to their armament; and it will be perceived, by turning to our foreign intelligence, that, on the 18th of January, they dispatched a fresh supply of troops from Cadiz, with an additional squadron of frigates and ships of the line. Notwithstanding these mighty preparations, on the part of France, the Moniteur, which always speaks the language of its masters, has the impudence to represent the suspicions, expressed in the British Parliament, as the dreams of fools and barbarians, and as *contrary to the law of nations*, on which latter point, an English ministerial print has the baseness to concur in its opinion, though the ministers themselves have confirmed the justness of the suspicion by no less an act than that of sending out a fleet and army.

The Maltese deputation, of which our readers will see an account under the head of *domestic occurrences*, will hardly succeed in its object; and, though we would fain hope the contrary, we are much afraid, that the Turks will, by our pusillanimity, be compelled to ratify their treaty with France, which is to snatch from us all the commercial advantages, which were tendered to us by the gratitude of the Porte.

CRITICAL NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

15. *New Political Balance of Europe; or Thoughts on the Conditions of the General Peace about to be concluded.* This is a French work, by C. Bertolio, late ambassador from the French to the Roman republic, and is worth notice on no other account, than as it clearly discovers the opinions and designs of the rulers of France. The author contends, that no government is lawful but that of republics, and that France had not only a right to destroy her own monarchy, but that she had, and still has, a right to destroy all other monarchies. He applauds the seizure of Belgium, and the territory of the German Princes, and strongly urges the necessity of extending the limits of France to what they were in times of old. He, doubtless, looks back to the reign of Charlemagne, which is an object that seems to be constantly in the view of those, without whose express permission his book could not have been published. All kings he styles tyrants, all kingdoms despotisms; and against the King of Naples, in particular, he takes occasion to utter a most bitter and blasphemous execration. The object of the work, which, as we observed before, could not have been published without the knowledge and consent of the rulers of France, certainly is to keep alive a hatred of the remaining monarchical governments, and to prepare the minds of the people of Europe for submission to those further aggrandizements which France has in contemplation.

16. *Substance of the Speech delivered by Lord Grenville, in the House of Lords, November* 13, 1801, *on the Motion for an Address approving of the Convention with Russia.* In noticing the "Vindication of the Convention with Russia," (see p. 93) we observed, that those who had had the good fortune to hear the speech of Lord Grenville on the subject, would not be disposed to justify the abuse, and the affected contempt, which the author of the Vindication had thought proper to bestow on all those who regarded that convention as dangerous and dishonourable. That Speech is now printed, and, with the Notes and Appendix, which his Lordship has added to it, it is unquestionably the most able performance that ever has appeared on the question of maritime rights, a question which has been so often revived, and which must ever be so intimately connected with the interests and honour of this country, as long as it shall continue to be an independent naval power. We wish not to make invidious comparisons; but, feeling as we do the warmest attachment to our country, we cannot help lamenting that it was deprived of those talents, that wisdom, and that experience, which are so abundantly displayed in this Speech, and which would have effectually guarded against the perplexities, the disputes, and the dangers, which must inevitably arise from those unskilful negotiations that produced the convention with Russia.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

At the Court at the Queen's-House, the 3d of Feb. 1802, Present, the King's most Excellent Majesty in Council.

This day his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge was, by his Majesty's command, introduced into the Privy Council for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by his Grace the Duke of Portland, K. G. Lord President, and his Royal Highness took his place at the Board on his Majesty's left hand.

At the Court at the Queen's-House, the 3d of Feb. 1802, Present, the King's most excellent Majesty in Council.

SHERIFFS APPOINTED BY HIS MAJESTY IN COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1802.

Bedfordshire.——John Higgins the younger, of Turvey, Esq.
Berkshire.——The Hon. Thomas Windsor, of Braywick.
Buckinghamshire.——James Oldham Oldham, of Missenden-Abbey, Esq.
Camb. and Hunt.——Thomas Aveling, of Whittlesea, Esq.
Cheshire.——Lawrance Wright, of Mottram St. Andrew, Esq.
Cumberland.——Edward Hasell, of Dalemain, Esq.
Derbyshire.——Thomas Princep, of Croxall, Esq.
Devonshire.——Postponed.
Dorsetshire.——Edmund Morton Pleydell, of Whatcombe, Esq.
Essex.——Robert Raikes, of Great Ilford, Esq.
Gloucestershire.——James Musgrave, of Barnsley-Park, Esq.
Herefordshire.——Thomas Debits, of the Apostles, Esq
Hertfordshire.——Jacob Bosanquet, of Broxborn-Park, Esq.
Kent.——Thomas Jull Godfrey, of Ash, Esq.
Leicestershire.——Postponed.
Lincolnshire.——Henry Dalton, of Naith, Esq.
Monmouthshire.——Thomas Morgan, of the Hill, Esq.
Norfolk.——Robert Wilson, of Didlington, Esq.
Northamptonshire.——Robert Cary Elwes, of Great Billing, Esq.
Northumberland.——Charles William Bigge, of Benton-House, Esq.
Nottinghamshire.——Robert Lowe, of Oxton, Esq.
Oxfordshire.——Thomas Toovey, of Nettlebed, Esq.
Rutlandshire.——William Gilson, of Barleigh, Esq.
Shropshire.——William Ferriday, of Dawla-Parva, Esq.
Somersetshire.——Benjamin Greenhill, of Stone Easton, Esq.
Staffordshire.——Robert Parker, of Park-Hall, Esq.
County of Southampton.——Sir Edward Hulse, of Breamore, Bart.
Suffolk.——Thomas Cocksedge, of Ingham, Esq.
Surrey.——Edward Hippin, of Walton-Lodge, Esq.
Sussex.——Sir William Ashburnham, of Broomham, Bart.
Warwickshire.——Heneage Legg, of Aston, Esq.
Wiltshire.——Sir Andrew Bayntun, of Spye-Park, Bart.
Worcestershire.——Thomas Newnham, of Broadwas, Esq.
Yorkshire.——Sir William Foulis, of Ingleby-Manor, Bart.

SOUTH WALES.

Brecon.——Joseph Sparkes, of Penyworlod, Esq.
Carmarthen.——Postponed.
Cardiganshire.——Postponed.
Glamorganshire.——Richard Mansell Phillips, of Sketty-Hall, Esq.
Pembrokeshire.——David Lewis, of Hen-Lan, Esq.
Radnor.——John Sherburne, of Llandrindod, Esq.

NORTH WALES.

Anglesey.——Postponed.
Carnarvon.——Robert Wynne, of Llannerch, Esq.
Denbigh.——Edward Lloyd Lloyd, of Penyllan, Esq.
Flint.——Sir Stephen Glynne, of Broad-Lane, Bart.
Merioneth.——John Meredith Mostyn, of Clegir, Esq.
Montgomery.——David Edward Lewis Lloyd, of Farm, Esq.

PRINCE OF WALES'S COUNCIL.

County of Cornwall.

At a Council of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, held at Carlton-House, the 4th day of February 1802, Thomas Carlyon, of Tregrehan, Esq. was appointed Sheriff of the County of Cornwall, for the year 1802. by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in Council.

Promotions.—Colonel Alexander Mackenzie, of the 36th foot, to be Brigadier-General in the Army serving in the Mediterranean only. Thomas Asten Coffin, Esq. to be Commissary of Accompts in British North America,

His Majesty has appointed Alexander Frazer Tytler, Esq. to be a Judge of the Court of Session, in the room of the late Lord Stonefield.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

Birth.—At Drum House, on the 30th ult. Lady Mary Hay, of a daughter.

Marriages.—At Edinburgh, on the 1st inst. John Stein, Esq. M. P. to Miss Bushby, daughter of John Bushby, Esq. of Tinwald Downs.—On the 29th ult. at the Lord Justice Clerks, James Boyd, Esq. to Miss Douglas, eldest daughter of the late Lieutenant General Douglas, of the 5th Dragoon Guards.—At Stitchel House, on the 1st inst. Archibald Tod, Esq. of Drygrange, W. S. to Miss Elizabeth Pringle, second daughter of Sir James Pringle, of Stitchel, Bart.

Deaths.—At Edinburgh, on the 30th ult. Mr. Geo. Maclaurin, writer, second son of the late Lord Dreghorn.—Tuesday, the 2d inst. at his house at Twickenham, in the 89th year of his age, the Right Honourable Welbore Ellis Agar, Lord Mendip.—At Bath, after a few minutes indisposition, the Earl of Belmore, of Castle Coombe, in the County of Fermanagh.—On Thursday, the 4th inst. the Countess of Leicester.—On Tuesday last, at his house in Mansfield Street, Portland Place, the Duke of St. Alban's.—Same day, Admiral Graves.

PRICE OF STOCKS.

ENGLISH three per cent. consols.—Monday, Feb. 8th, 68⅞ 69.—Tues. 9th, 69 68⅞ 69⅛ 69.—Wednes. 10th, 69⅛ ⅜ ⅜ ⅜.—Thursday, 11th, 69 ¾ ½.—Friday, 12th, 69½ ⅛ ⅜.——AMERICAN STOCKS.—Eight per cent. 12th Jan. 115¼.——FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidés, 8th Feb. 55 francs, 58 cents.

LONDON.

LONDON, February 13 to February 20, 1802.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

Friday, February 12, 1802.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

THE proceedings of this day were confined to the receiving of certain accounts from the Commissioners of the Customs and the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, and to a motion for postponing the consideration of the appeal of Johnfon v. Scotts. Upon this latter case the Lord Chancellor said, that he was not then perfectly decided as to the form of varying the interlocutor, but he hoped their lordfhips would excufe him for taking up fo much of their time, his principal motive for which, in the present instance, was to relieve the parties in the case, as far as was practicable, from that anxiety which necessarily was attached to a state of suspense in a case of such importance. He would therefore propose, that the farther consideration of the case be deferred till Wednesday next; which proposal seeming fully to meet the sense of their lordships, he moved to that effect, and it was ordered to take place accordingly.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Accounts were received from the Commissioners for the Reduction of the Naval Debt; the Exchequer Bills Bill was read a first time; the committee of the whole House relative to the American Treaty was postponed; the Southern Whale Fishery Bill was read a second time; the Eel Bill was postponed.

PRIVILEGE.

Lord Folkestone rose to call the attention of the House to a circumstance materially affecting its dignity and privileges. His lordship said, that, he wished the introduction of this subject had fallen to the lot of some member of greater experience than himself, as he was aware, if the House should concur with him in opinion, some further proceeding thereon would be necessary. Of the breach of privilege, daily committed in publishing the debates of that House, he did not mean to complain, though he by no means justified it, and could not agree with those gentlemen, who apprehended evil consequences from a suppression of the practice. The news-papers, however, not content with giving reports of the proceedings of that House, had taken upon them to insert disquisitions on the parliamentary conduct of its members, which was a direct and daring attack upon the privileges of the House, and, as such, called loudly for reprehension. He held in his hand, he said, a news-paper, called the *True Briton*, dated the 10th of February, in which were several paragraphs, referring to the debate of Monday evening last, and containing remarks on the character and conduct of two members of that House, which, he trusted, would not pass unnoticed. The paragraphs, which he had mentioned, alluded to the debate of Monday last, relative to the army extraordinaries, and spoke of two of the members, who delivered their sentiments on that subject, in language so gross, that he would not intrude the reading of it upon the House.—[A loud cry of "read, read."] His lordship then read the paragraphs,* and observed, that

* *Extract from the True Briton, 10th Feb.*

"The only step that could have been taken by the present government to avoid discharging the expense thus incurred, must have been, to stop the payment of the bills drawn by different commissaries or envoys, when presented at the Treasury. Such a measure it might well suit the *wise head* of a M—t—n, or a R—s—n to recommend.—These bills always come accompanied by proper explanations of the expenses which they were to defray, and supported by regular vouchers, which, with the accounts, undergo the most minute investigation, first, by the Comptrollers of Army Accounts, and afterwards by the Auditors. Any reports made by them to the Treasury may of course be called for by any member of Parliament who has any doubts about the correctness or propriety of any one charge. On the part of the minister, there has not only been a readiness to give an explanation on any charge, but he has courted and challenged investigation."

"It must have afforded very great satisfaction to the public to find, that, notwithstanding the vastness of our marine establishment, and the great and expensive naval operations which were carried on in the course of the last year, a very considerable saving in that branch of the public expenditure had actually been effected even during that period. We were not ignorant, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with his able coadjutor, the First Lord of the Admiralty, had particularly exerted themselves to introduce economy into that department."

"That every article of public expenditure should be closely scrutinized by the representatives of the people, the people have a right to expect. It is their first duty. But a discerning public will have no difficulty in discriminating between the *frivo-*

he was convinced he was only doing his duty in bringing this subject before the House. Personally he was not interested in it; he had taken no part in the debate, to which the paragraphs referred, nor had he even the slightest parliamentary acquaintance with the gentlemen alluded to in them. He did not mean to make any motion on the subject, but would leave it to the House to take such measures as its wisdom should dictate.—*Mr. Martin* expressed his contempt of the aspersions contained in the paragraphs, which had attracted the noble lord's attention, and was proceeding to make some further remarks, when he was interrupted by the *Speaker*, who reminded him, that, as there was no motion before the House, any further conversation on the subject would be irregular.

SLAVE TRADE.

Mr. Wilberforce reminded the House of the notice, which, towards the close of the last session, he had given, respecting the Slave Trade. He now understood, that Mr. Canning meant to bring forward a motion on the subject, and wished to know what were the nature and object of that intended motion, as also when it was intended to be brought forward.—*Mr. Canning* replied, that he certainly had it in contemplation to bring forward such a motion; but, that he apprehended it would not extend so far as that contemplated by Mr. Wilberforce; its object would be, not to abolish, but to prevent the increase of, the slave trade. The motion, which he had to propose, was not intended to militate against, but to strengthen and confirm, the interests of the West-India planters. With respect to the time of making his motion, he was not prepared to fix on that at present; because he was not as yet fully apprized of the intentions of ministers on the subject, and because, as his motion would refer principally to Trinidada, he entertained some doubts of the propriety of discussing any measure relative to the internal management of that island, till the island itself should be definitively in our possession.—*General Gascoyne* wished to know if the gentlemen intended to unite their respective motions, as at present neither of them had given any notice.—*The Speaker* observed, that, as there was no motion before the House, further conversation on the subject would not be regular.

Monday, February 15.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

A message (which will be found under the head of the Commons) was delivered from his Majesty, relative to the civil list, which their lordships agreed to take into consideration on the 22d of February.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

A new writ was ordered for Heytsbury, in the room of Lord Clifden, now Lord Mendip; also for East Looe, in room of Sir John Mitford, Knt. now Lord Redesdale.

BOOKSELLERS AND PRINTERS PETITION.

Mr. Shaw Lefevre said, he held in his hand a petition, signed by upwards of 200 Booksellers and Printers, stating the injuries, which their trade suffered from the additional duty upon paper, which fell immediately upon their capital, and but slowly upon the public. He stated, that booksellers were obliged to print great numbers of every work, in order to render the price as moderate as possible, and, as a considerable proportion of each edition remained a long time on hand, the duty on paper was so much money withheld from the uses of trade. To attempt to avoid this by printing a small number of copies, would enhance the price, and, of course, make a proportionate diminution in the demand, with respect to the export, if what was stated in the petition was correct (and the petitioners were ready to give proof of its being so), the trade was nearly annihilated; and, it was a serious fact, that editions of the best British authors had been printed abroad, and were selling for half the price, at which they could be afforded here. Under these circumstances they prayed for a repeal of the additional duties, or such other relief as the House should think proper. He concluded by moving for leave to bring up the petition, which being granted, and the petition having been read, the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that he hoped the matter would become a subject of full discussion in the House. He was aware of the disadvantages, which the Booksellers

lous cavilling of *half-witted Senators*, and the laudable vigilance of the statesman or the patriot.—To the sacred character of the latter, let not that individual *presume* to aspire, who dares to bring a charge of *scandalous profusion*, from the proof of which he shrinks; and who by a *disgusting cant* about candour and *honesty*, perhaps, but *vainly, hopes* to *impose* upon a public, in whose estimation professions will not constitute worth, on the one hand, nor vague unproved charges, demerit, on the other."

and Printers laboured under, and he thought them fairly stated in the petition; but he doubted as to the effect of the remedy suggested by the petitioners, though he was sure the House would yield them all practicable relief.—*Mr. Sheridan* said, he had been almost the only one, who had opposed the imposing of the additional duty, which, if not repealed, would entirely annihilate the exportation of books, which, with respect to America, to France, and other parts of the world, was, indeed, already nearly at an end; and he understood that no less than six editions of Shakespeare were now printing at Paris, whence they could be exported for one half the price that they could be afforded at in this country, a certain proof, that, if the duty were continued, our export trade in books must fall entirely into the hands of France. He concluded by observing, that the tax was a barbarous one, as it struck at the very root of literature.—*The Chancellor of the Exchequer* repeated his opinion with respect to the inefficacy of the suggested repeal, and his thorough conviction, that the disadvantages complained of, arose from causes widely different from the duty on paper.—*Mr. Lefevre* gave notice, that, on Monday next, he should move that the petition be referred to a committee.—The petition was then ordered to lie on the table.*

MESSAGE FROM THE KING.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer presented a Message from his Majesty, which was as follows:

G. R.

"His Majesty feels great concern in acquainting the House of Commons, that the provision made by Parliament for defraying the expenses of his household and civil establishment, has been found inadequate for their support, and that a considerable debt has been unavoidably incurred, an account of which his Majesty has given directions to be laid before Parliament. His Majesty relies with confidence on the zeal and affection of his faithful Commons, to take the same into their early consideration, and to adopt such measures as the same may appear to them to require."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, he should do no more at present than what had been uniformly done upon similar occasions, namely, to move that his Majesty's Message should be referred to the committee of supply. His Majesty's Message was then ordered to be referred to the committee of supply *nem. con.*

PRIVILEGE.

Lord Folkstone said, he would trespass upon the indulgence of the House for a few moments, to recal to their attention a subject, which, it would be recollected, he had thought it his duty to bring forward on Friday last. He had then stated what appeared to him to be a gross breach of their privileges, but he had not then thought proper to prosecute the subject, and for two reasons: the one was, that he hoped some gentleman better qualified than himself would have undertaken it; the other was, the hopes he entertained that the persons connected with this kind of publication, would have taken the hint from the observations, which he then made. In both these hopes he had been disappointed. With regard to the first, he found that delicacy had prevented other gentlemen from interfering in what he had taken up. In the second hope also he had been disappointed, but in a different way, and it was with great surprize that he found in the same paper of the next day, instead of an apology, a justification, on grounds in which was claimed the right of doing it as the right of Englishmen. The Privileges of the House were then come to an issue, and the question now stood on a different ground. He conceived that if no notice had been taken of it, it might have been supposed, that the House had overlooked the offence; but now that notice had been taken of it, and these persons had attempted to justify their conduct,* he thought it

* The *additional* duty on *printing* paper only is spoken of in this petition. The old duty was 2½d. per lb. the additional duty is also 2½d.

* *Extract from the True Briton of Feb.* 13.

"It will be seen, in our parliamentary proceedings, that notice was taken last night in the House of Commons of part of a paragraph which appeared in this paper of Wednesday last. We flatter ourselves we know too well what is due to the dignity and privileges of Parliament, to make any comments upon the proceedings there, which are inconsistent with the just and acknowledged freedom of the press; but at the same time we feel no disposition to abate any particle of the right of the latter. Keeping within the limits of the law, which we have never intentionally transgressed, we shall assert the rights of British subjects; and we conceive that the conduct of public men is a very fit subject for temperate discussion with the people of England. If such is not the law of this country, and the recognized liberty of the subject, we have much misunderstood both, and we have been contending, for many years, for what we have not only not understood, but what, if the contrary doctrine is admitted, does not exist."

was necessary in defence of the privilege, which the House had always claimed and maintained, to proceed farther. He therefore proposed to move a resolution upon the subject, and he believed the regular way, upon such occasions, was, to give in the paper to be read at the table, after which he should make a motion thereon.—*Lord Sheffield* moved that the gallery should be cleared.

Tuesday, February 16.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Hearing council on the bill to dissolve the marriage of George Hoare, Jun. with Elizabeth Cooke, was the principal part of the business of this day. The *Lord Chancellor* and *Lord Thurlow* spoke on the subject, and the consideration of the case was deferred, upon the motion of the former.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS.

A petition was presented, from the county of Galway, respecting a new county gaol;—from the London Dock Company, praying for an extension of the act passed last session;—from the inhabitants of Liverpool, stating the necessity of erecting a new town-hall; — from the merchants of Grenada and St. Vincents, praying for a postponement of the payment of those Exchequer bills, which they would otherwise have to discharge in March next; — from the *Board of Agriculture*, setting forth the *success of its labours*, and praying for such *grant of money* as Parliament might think proper to allow;—from the inhabitants of Turso, stating the advantages which would arise from making a harbour to that port;—from the mayor and aldermen of London, stating the necessity of making an addition of 50,000l. to the former 72,000l. granted for the purpose of making docks, canals, &c. in the Isle of Dogs;—from the mayor and aldermen of London, praying for a law for enlarging the market of Smithfield;—from the same, praying for an enlargement of the act for improving the access to Temple Bar. These several petitions were ordered to lie on the table.

CIVIL LIST.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that the papers now presented, and those already before the House, formed a complete statement of the receipt and expenditure of the civil list, from the year 1786, to the present time. He should now only move, that the accounts should lie on the table for the perusal of the members, and to-morrow he should move to refer them to the consideration of a select committee.—*Mr. Sheridan* wished to ask the right hon. gentleman, whether he expected to have it in command from his Majesty to make any communication to the House, respecting the situation and rights of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales: he wished it to be understood, that this question proceeded entirely from himself, without any communication with any person whatever. — *The Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he had it not in command to make any such communication, nor had he any reason to suppose he should receive any commands to that effect. —*Mr. Nicholls* said, that when these papers were referred to a committee, he should move as an instruction to the committee, to inquire what sums of money had been received for grants of lands in the Dutchy of Cornwall, made in pursuance of an act of the 8th Geo. III. authorizing the granting of lands, &c. in that Dutchy.

Wednesday, February 17.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Private business and the forwarding of bills occupied the day.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Petitions were presented, for improving the streets and making new docks at Liverpool; and for obtaining parliamentary aid for the Veterinary College.—The Eel Bill, and the Southern Whale Fishery Bill, were read a third time and passed.

CIVIL LIST.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved "that "a committee be appointed to take into "consideration the several accounts pre- "sented yesterday to this House by Mr. "Chancellor of the Exchequer, by his "Majesty's command, relative to the civil "list; that they do examine the said ac- "counts, and report the same, as it shall "appear to them, together with their ob- "servations thereupon, to the House." He prefaced this motion, by observing, that he wished for a full examination of the several accounts relating to the civil list, and by throwing out some hints, tending to shew the causes, from which the debt of that branch of expenditure had arisen; but reserving himself for a more ample explanation, when the committee should have

reported thereon.—On the question being put, *Mr. Manners Sutton* took this opportunity of referring to the revenues of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. He quoted law authorities to prove, that his Royal Highness, as Duke of Cornwall, was, from the moment of his birth, fully entitled to every thing belonging to that Dutchy. Having established this point, he stated, that, the Ducal revenues, which arose during the minority of his Royal Highness, had not been secured to him, but had been applied by his Majesty, for the purposes of assisting to defray the expenses of the civil list, the whole of which expenses, if such application had not taken place, must have been defrayed by the public, and, therefore, his Royal Highness had now an undoubtedly just claim on the public for a reimbursement of both the principal and the interest of the revenues so applied, the amount of which Mr. Sutton stated thus: the revenue from 1762 (the time of the birth of the Prince) to 1783, amounted to 400,000*l.* which, with the interest up to this time, would amount to nearly 900,000*l.* Deducting, therefore, the sums advanced his Royal Highness previous to the establishment of a separate provision for him, which did not take place 'till 1781, and giving credit for every other allowance made his Royal Highness, there would now remain due to him, from the public, from 600,000*l.* to 700,000*l.* Mr. Sutton next entered into a comparative statement of the allowances, which had, at different epochs, been made to the different heirs apparent, from which it appeared, that the expenses attending the establishment of his Royal Highness had not, when all circumstances were considered, been greater than those of the establishments of his predecessors. Mr. Sutton concluded by observing, that, however great the expenses of his Royal Highness had necessarily been, they had been defrayed by himself, and that he was, in fact, a creditor, and not a debtor to the public.—*Mr. Fox* went over the same ground, with regard to the revenues and expenses of the Prince, to whom he expressed a most fervent attachment; but, as to the question before the House, he observed, that it had been the wise practice of our ancestors, to fix the amount of the civil list, at the beginning of each successive reign, and that such amount ought never to be liable to increase for two reasons; first, because such liability might greatly influence the king in the choice of his ministers; and, second, because it might render the King dependent upon the Parliament. Mr. F. did not object to the present motion; but he said, that, if the present application for aid to the civil list was agreed to, and the concerns of his Royal Highness passed unnoticed, it would be neither just towards the Prince, honourable to the House, nor creditable to the country.—*Mr. Pitt* agreed that the claims of his Royal Highness ought to be put into a train of enquiry, and, whatever opinions he might have entertained, founded upon the knowledge, which the situation he formerly held enabled him to obtain, no prejudice would remain in his mind, if the House should think proper to enter on the subject. With respect to the matter now before the House, he agreed with Mr. Fox, that the granting of the civil list for life was the best mode that could be devised; but he could not agree, that the amount of it never ought to be augmented, however necessary such augmentation might be rendered by the peculiar circumstances of the times.—The motion was then agreed to, and a select committee was appointed to examine into the papers and accounts laid before the House.

TREATY WITH AMERICA.

The House having resolved itself into a committee to consider the American Treaty Act, *Mr. Vansittart* said, that there having been a duty imposed in America upon British shipping, it had been thought necessary to impose a countervailing duty, in this country, on American vessels. The United States of America had now, however, agreed to take off the duty on their part, if Great-Britain would, on the other hand, abolish the countervailing duty. As, however, the treaty containing this agreement might not arrive in time to allow of an Act of Parliament being passed for the express purpose of abolishing the duty, he thought it would be expedient that his Majesty should be empowered to take it off whenever the treaty did arrive. He therefore moved, "That the chairman should "be directed to move the House for leave "to bring in a bill to enable his Majesty, "for a time to be limited, to cause the "countervailing duty on American shipping to cease."—The committee agreed to the motion, and the House having resumed, the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.*

* This is a master-stroke of policy, on the part of the American Government, which, at a very early period, imitated other nations, in laying such duties

Thursday, February 18.

None but private business in the Lords; and, in the Commons, nothing occurred but mere matters of routine, except, that, upon the motion for bringing in a bill for removing the countervailing duties on American shipping, *General Gascoyne* said, that he wished the bill not to be hurried through the House, as he wanted time to make some previous enquiry on the subject. Leave was given to bring in the bill, but, at the same time, an order was moved for, and granted, to lay before the House, accounts relative to the shipping from America, for some years past.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Madrid, January 12, 1802.

Circular Letter to the Ministers of Finance, and the Directors of Customs.

" His Majesty having ordered that in " the Royal Custom-House, Merchandizes, " being the manufacture of the *North* and " the *Pas de Calais*, shall not be acknow- " ledged as such, unless accompanied by " an original certificate, signed by the " Commissary of Foreign Commerce in the " said Departments, or by the Under Com- " missary, and sealed with the arms of " Spain; I have given the proper orders " to the Directors of the Royal Customs, " in conformity to these orders of his Ma- " jesty, to *prevent in future any other Mer-* " *chandizes than those of France, from enjoy-* " *ing the same advantages on their importation* " *into Spain.*

" You will give the greatest publicity to " this order, in order that such Merchan- " dizes, on their arrival in Spain, shall not " experience any difficulty in their intro- " duction into the Kingdom, for want of " being accompanied by the proper Cer- " tificates.

(Signed) " *Miguel Cayetano Soler.*"*

---

as would discriminate between American and foreign tonnage. This measure tended to promote an increase in the shipping of America, which had not shipping at that time, adequate to the carrying of one half of her produce to the foreign market. Other nations, particularly Great-Britain, feeling the fatal effects of the success of this regulation, enacted such countervailing laws, and imposed such duties on American tonnage, and on goods imported in American bottoms, as effectually removed the evil. The shipping of America had, however, greatly increased, during peace, and, during the war, though new countervailing duties had been laid by Great-Britain, the American ships, which were not subject to the high war-insurance, increased in an astonishing degree. America, having now no need of more shipping, and having, indeed, a superabundance of it, she perceives, that Great-Britain (who will also now want employment for a vast portion of her increased tonnage) will be able to land American goods in Europe as cheap as herself, unless these countervailing duties are taken off; she, therefore, now does away her discriminations, and calls upon us to remove our countervailing duties, leaving the navigation of the two countries to a rivalship *in cheapness of freight*, in which she is sure to surpass us. Never, from the day that our countervailing duties cease, will there be a single shipment, from America to Europe, in a British bottom. The spirit, if not the letter, of our treaty with America, (vide Porcupine's Works, vol. ii. p 251) obliges us to pass the law now proposed; but, what becomes of the calculations of Sir Frederick M. Eden, respecting an *increase of navigation* to the American States?

* This regulation, which has been adopted from compulsion, will be extremely injurious to Spain; but, it will be injurious to England also, and will essentially promote the interests, and gratify the malice, of France. When the people of Norwich, whose goods, even during the war, found their way to Spain; when these people were dragging about the mail-coach which brought them the news of the peace, they little imagined, that that peace would be productive of regulations such as are here announced to the world. While the war lasted, it was out of the power of France to profit from the abject servitude of Spain, in this way. Belgium and the North of France were not in a state to invite the employment of capital in reviving their manufactures; but now they are in that state; and therefore France extorts from Spain an exclusive right of supplying her with those articles which Belgium and the North of France are capable of producing, and which, if left to a fair and restrained competition, England would still supply, as she hitherto has done.

This is what was foretold at the moment of the publication of the ominous Preliminaries of Peace; but we have, as yet, seen but a small part of those commercial regulations, which France has prepared for the abject powers of Europe. From all the states of Italy she will exact the same, or similar terms. She will prohibit the exportation of Spanish wool to England, and she will also prohibit the exportation of raw-silk from Italy to England. She will draw a chain round the Continent, from the Baltic to the Gulph of Venice, and cut off our communition therewith, as completely as she cuts us off from a communication with one of her interior departments.

The consequence of these measures will be, a rapid decline in our manufactures of every sort. It is said, by men, who are too lazy to think, or too cowardly to look danger in the face, that other nations will have our manufactures, *some how or other*. They will, indeed, have manufactures of the *same sort*, and if the French cannot make them, Englishmen and English capital will go to the dominions of France for that purpose.

But, it will be asked, why did not France *formerly* injure us in this way? Simply, because she could not; because she dared not; because the powers of Europe were independent; and because she would have had to fight us, if she had attempted to exclude our goods from any port in Europe, except her own.

Report of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States of America, laid before Congress, on the 24th of December, 1801.

The permanent revenues of the United States, according to the laws now in force, consist of:—1st, Duties on merchandize and tonnage. 2d. Internal duties on stills and domestic distilled spirits, refined sugar, licenses to retailers, sales at auction, and pleasurable carriages. 3d. Proceeds of the sales of public lands. 4th. Duties on postage. 5th. Dividends on shares in the bank of the United States. 6th. Incidental, arising from fees, fine and penalties, repayments in the treasury, and sales of public property other than lands.

Duties on Merchandize and Tonnage.

The receipts in the treasury, arising from that source, amounted, for the year ending on the 30th September, 1801, to dollars 10,126,213,92; but, calculating upon a considerable diminution in the produce of the imports, in consequence of the European peace, the Secretary makes his calculations upon averages drawn from the produce of former years. He divides the preceding nine years into two distinct periods; the first, from the first day of Jan. 1790, to the 31st day of Dec. 1792, includes the three years which immediately preceded the European maritime war; the second includes the six first years of that war, *viz:* from the commencement of 1793, to the close of 1798. In order to obtain a distinct view, for each of these two periods, of the annual average revenue which at the rate of the present duties, would have accrued thereon, he shews that the nett *annual* revenue, which would, at the present rate of duties, have accrued during each of those two periods, amounts to an average, for the years 1790 to 1792, to 6,163,000 dollars: and for the years 1793 to 1798, to 8,350,000 dollars. These sums constitute, not the receipts in the Treasury, but the revenue which would have accrued during the respective years to which they refer. The first may be considered as the revenue accruing during the year 1791; the last as that accruing during the year, ending 30th June, 1796; and as on account of the credit given for the payment of duties, the revenue accruing during one year, constitutes nearly the receipts of the year ending nine months later, those two sums, and the receipts of the year ending on the 30th of September, 1801, as above stated, may, without material error, be considered as the receipts of three distinct years, four years and a half distant from the other, *viz.*

	Dollars.
For the year ending 30th Sept. 1792 -	6,163,000
——————— 30th March, 1797	8,350,000
——————— 30th Sept. 1801 -	10,500,000

The ratio of increase during the whole period of nine years, exceeds seventy per cent. whilst that of population, during the same time, was hardly more than thirty per cent.

The ratio of increase during the first period of four years and a half, is near 35½ per cent. and during the last more than 25½ per cent.; whilst that of population, for each period, was only at the rate of 14 per cent. The greater ratio of increase during the first, than during the last period of four years and a half, is owing to the comparison, in the first, being between a period of European peace, and a period of European war, and the last, between two periods of European war.

The ratio of increase of population, being ascertained by the census to be at the rate of 34 per cent. for ten years; if the increase of consumption shall be supported to be hereafter precisely the same as that of population, the annual receipts of the eight years, 1802—1809, may be estimated as nearly fifty per cent. greater than those of the years 1790—1792, or at a sum of near 9,250,000 dollars, if that period be assumed as the basis on which to predicate the estimate. But if the calculation shall be grounded on the revenue of the years 1793—1798, the annual receipts of the years 1802—1809 should be estimated as about 30½ per cent. greater than those of that period, or at about 10,900,000 dollars.

It seems that those two respective sums may reasonably be considered as the two extremes, which the *average* annual receipts of the eight ensuing years will not exceed. The first calculation of 9,250,000 dollars, appears to be below the probable result, since, being predicated on the consumption of the three years preceding the European maritime war, without any other addition than that resulting from the ascertained increase of population, it rests on the supposition, that the permanent wealth of the United States has not, during that war, increased in any greater proportion than their population; and that the whole of the external commerce acquired during the same period, must necessarily be lost by the return of peace amongst foreign nations.

Although, therefore, it be presumable that the receipts of some of these years will, from temporary causes, fall below that sum, it is believed that, taking the whole period of eight years, the duties on merchandize and tonnage may safely be averaged at a sum not less than 9,500,000 dollars.

Permanent Internal Duties.

The annual statement prepared by the commissioner of the revenue, and which will be completed in a few days, precludes the necessity of exhibiting here all the details pertaining to this branch of revenue.

The statement [M] is an abstract of its amount for the year 1800, during which the duties on spirits and stills, refined sugars, licenses to retailers, sales at auction, and pleasurable carriages, produced a nett sum of 576,881 dollars and 80 cents. The duties on stamps, which, as under the existing laws they will cease after the 4th day of March, 1803, are not included amongst the permanent revenues, amounted for the same year to 209,853 dollars and 32 cents; both together constitute an item of dollars 786,742 12-100ths.

The receipts in the Treasury from all the internal revenues, have amounted for the year ending on the 30th September, 1801, to 919,719 dollars and 16 cents: deducting from this sum, 65,000 dollars, being the estimated amount of drawbacks, paid during that year, out of the proceeds of the external revenues, on the exportation of domestic distilled spirits and refined sugar, leaves a nett sum of about 854,000 dollars, and an increase of near 70,000 dollars beyond the revenue of 1800.

Sales of Public Lands.

Under this head the secretary, after having enumerated the several tracts and districts, which yet remain to be disposed of as the public property of the United States, concludes by observing that, after allowing for every deduction, the lands already sold or to be sold during the eight years, ending with 1809 inclusive, will, for those eight years, on an average, amount annually to 400,000 dollars.

Postage, Dividends on Bank Shares, Incidental.

The annual proceeds of the duties on postage may not be estimated at less than 50,000 dollars. The dividends on bank shares, at the rate of 8 per cent. dividend, amount to 70,040 dollars; but as the shares themselves may eventually be wanted, as a resource to meet certain contingent demands against the United States, those dividends, although constituting a part of the revenue, unless it shall be found necessary to sell the stock, and the incidental or temporary revenues shall be omitted in this estimate of the permanent revenues.

Recapitulation.

	Dollars.
Duties on merchandize and tonnage	9,500,000
Internal duties, stamps excepted -	650,000
Proceeds of the sales of public lands	400,000
Duties on postage - - - - -	50,000
Total of the average permanent resources for each of the eight years, from 1802 to 1809 inclusive - -	10,600,000

The secretary, after enumerating several sums, arising from balances in the Treasury and from taxes, which are proposed to be abolished, concludes his report with the following comprehensive account of the resources, expenditure and debt of the United States.

The permanent expenditures of the United States relate, either to the current expenses of government, domestic or foreign, civil and military, or to the payment of the interest and principal of the public debt.

The estimates of appropriations for the ensuing year, amounting to 3,448,147 dollars 18 cents, include all the expenses of government, other than those in relation to the public debt, with the exception of those incident to the intercourse with the Barbary powers, estimated after the ensuing year, by the Secretary of State, at 70,000 dollars; of those which may be incurred for the purchase of arms, estimated by the Secretary of War at 55,000 dollars; and of a part of the Indian annuities, amounting to 11,000 dollars: these items having been omitted in the estimates of the ensuing year, because the balances of unexpended appropriations have been considered as sufficient for those objects by the Secretaries of State and War, respectively. On the other hand, a sum of about 70,000 dollars, in relation to the census and quarantine laws, which is included in those estimates, is a temporary expense.

The particular sums which, under existing laws, seem necessary to defray each particular authorized expense, being detailed in the annual estimates, will not be

repeated here: and it appears sufficient to recapitulate the gross amount of the general heads of expenditure, viz:

	Dollars.
For all domestic expenses of a civil nature - - - - - - - - -	780,000
For all the expenses of intercourse with foreign nations - - - -	200,000
For the military establishment - -	1,420,000
For the navy department - - -	1,100,000
	3,500,000

This sum, deducted from the estimated revenue of ten millions and six hundred thousand dollars, leaves a sum of seven millions and one hundred thousand dollars, annually applicable to the payment of interest, and redemption of the principal of the public debt.

It must be further observed, that the sums assigned to each head of expenditure, being deduced from the estimates of appropriations necessary for the ensuing year; and these have been calculated before the re-establishment of peace in Europe was known, they are predicated for every item which relates to supplies on the then existing prices. A considerable reduction will take place in every item which depends on the price of provisions, freight, transportation, and even wages. Although the saving thence arising cannot yet be correctly ascertained, it may not be estimated at less than 200,000 dollars annually. It is therefore believed, that after defraying every expense necessary to support every civil, military, or naval establishment, to the extent now authorized by law; the annual surplus applicable to the debt, may be confidently estimated at seven millions and three hundred thousand dollars.

He next exhibits the amount of the unredeemed principal of the public debt as it will be on the first of January next, and of the annual interest and charges payable thereon, including the annual reimbursement on the six per cent. and deferred stocks. By the printed statements of receipts and expenditures for the year 1800, transmitted to Congress the first week of the present session, it appears, that the unredeemed principal of the public debt (exclusively of the sums passed to the credit of the commissioners of the sinking fund, which are only a nominal debt due by the United States to themselves; and after deducting the reimbursement of the principal of the six per cent. stock, operated by the annual payment of 8 per cent. on the nominal amount of that stock) amounted, on the first January, 1801, to 80,161,207 dollars and 60 cents.

From another statement it appears that the unredeemed principal will, on the 1st January, 1802, amount to 77,881,890 dollars and 29 cents; the difference of 2,279,317 dollars and 31 cents being the amount of principal paid during the year 1801.

During the same year 1801, more than eight hundred thousand dollars shall have been remitted to Holland, in part of the interest and instalments on the Dutch debt, falling due next year, which sum is not included in the amount of principal, thus stated to have been paid during the present year. The sums which, on the 1st January, 1801, had been remitted to Holland, in part of the interest and instalments due in the course of this year, and which were not deducted from the amount of public debt on the 1st January, 1801, did not exceed five hundred thousand dollars. The amount of debt actually paid, or for the payment of which provision shall have been made during the present year, will not therefore be less than two millions five hundred thousand dollars. And it is believed, though it cannot at present be precisely ascertained, that the balance of specie in the treasury, which, on the 1st January, 1801, was 2,557,895 dollars and 33 cents, will not be diminished on the 1st January, 1802.

The treasury accounts being settled to the 30th day of September last, the amount of public debt paid during the half year, commencing on the first of April, and ending on the 30th September, 1801, as well as the comparative view of the treasury at the commencement, and end of that period, may be precisely stated.

The payments in part of the principal of the debt, made during those six months, exclusively of certain parts of the unfunded debt, which have been reimbursed, have been,

	Dol.	*Cents.*
1st. To the commissioners of the sinking fund, and to be by them applied, on the first of January next, to the reimbursement of the six per cent. stock - - - - -	129,048	33
2d. To the bank of the United States, on account of the principal of sundry temporary loans, formerly obtained from that institution - - - - - - -	500,000	
3d. For remittances to Holland, on account of the Dutch debt, 782,665 dollars and 79 cents; from which deducting 245,980 dollars and 50 cents; being the interest and commissions for one		

	Dol. Cents.
half of the year 1801, on that debt; leaves paid on account of the principal - - - - - - -	536,685 29
4th. Evidences of public debt paid for lands - - - - - - - -	21,282 66
	1,187,016 78

Amounting altogether to one million, one hundred and eighty-seven thousand and sixteen dollars and seventy-eight cents.

The balance of specie in the Treasury, amounted on the first of April, 1801, to 1,794,044 dollars and 85 cents, on the first of October, 1801, to 2,946,038 dollars and 73 cents. making a difference in favour of the Treasury of 1,151,995 dollars and 88 cents; which last sum, added to the above stated payments on account of the principal of the debt, makes an actual difference in favour of the United States of 2,339,010 dollars and 66 cents, during those six months.

The principal of the public debt unredeemed on the first of January, 1802, is arranged under four heads, viz.

1st. Six per cent. and deferred stocks. The nominal amount of this debt is 41,879,525 dollars 23 cents, and the eight per cent. annuity, applicable to its interest and reimbursement of principal, amounts to 3,350,362 dollars and one cent. As by the effect of this annuity 5,027,740 dollars and 57 cents of the principal shall have been reimbursed on the first of January, 1802, the unredeemed principal of that debt will on that day be only - - - - - - - - - -	Dol. Cents. 36,851,784 66
The interest, at the rate of six per cent. on which sum is - - - -	2,211,107 08

The part of the 8 per cent. annuity at present applicable to the redemption of the principal is, therefore, 1,139,254 dollars and three cents, and increasing each year at compound interest, shall, without any further provision, have discharged the whole of the 6 per cent. in the year 1818, and the whole of the deferred debt in the year 1824.

2d. Three per cent. stock amounts to - - - - - - - - - -	Dol. Cents. 19,079,705 63
And the interest on the same to -	572,391 16

No provision has been made for its redemption, occasional payments for lands excepted.

3d. All the other domestic debts created under the present government of the Union, in order either to discharge other debts, or to meet certain extraordinary expenses. Those include the 4½, navy six, 1796 six, and eight per cent. stocks, and the temporary loans obtained from the bank, and amount together to -	Dol. Cents. 12,035,400
The interest on all these constitutes an item of - - - - - - - -	828,350 30
4th. The foreign debt due in Holland, and at Antwerp, amounts, including premiums and gratifications, to - - - - - - - -	9,915,000
The interest on which, commissions and charges included, is for the year 1802 - - - - - -	476,931

This last debt being payable in instalments, at certain fixed dates, and it being necessary to purchase remittances in America, near six months before the payments are made in Holland, the statement has been added, to shew the payments, both on account of principal and interest, which become annually due in Holland, until the final redemption of the debt in 1809; and the sums which it will be necessary every year to provide in America, in order to meet those payments. The greater part of this debt becomes due in the course of the five next ensuing years; and the annual payments, on account of principal and interest for that period, exceed, on an average, two millions of dollars. The inconvenience and difficulty of procuring remittances to that amount, and the real injury arising from such heavy disbursements abroad, render an extension of the terms of payment, by partial reloans, a desirable object; and measures have been taken to ascertain its practicability. All that seems wanted is, that the gross amount of payments which are to take place during the eight next years, should be more equally apportioned amongst those years; and any greater surplus of revenue which might be freed by that operation, would be applicable to the redemption of those species of the domestic debt which it may be thought most eligible to reimburse.

Whether this operation shall be effected or not, no difficulty is apprehended from want of resource, to discharge every instalment as it shall become due; the sum payable in 1803, in which year the largest payments must be made in Holland, amounting, including both those, and all other actually due, on the account of the interest and reimbursement of the domestic debt, to only 7,100,000 dollars, or to 200,000 dollars less than the annuity of 7,300,000 dollars, which has been estimated as the surplus of the revenue applicable to that object.

If that surplus does exist, and if it will be sufficient to meet all the engagements

of the United States as they become due, the only remaining objects of enquiry seem to be: what impression will, during the next eight years to which these estimates refer, be made on the public debt, by the annual application of that surplus? In what time would the same annuity discharge the whole of the public debt?

He next exhibits the effect produced at the end of the year 1809, on the debt, by the annual application of that sum (7,300,000 dollars) to the payment of both principal and interest, and shews that at the end of those eight years it shall have paid the whole of the Dutch debt; of the temporary loans due to the bank; of the navy six per cent. and of the five and a half per cent. stocks; 5,525,300 dollars and 38 cents of the eight per cent. stock; 150,387 dollars and 26 cents of the four and a half per cent. stock; and 11,399,263 dollars and 6 cents of the principal of the 6 per cent. and deferred stocks, amounting altogether to 32,289,150 dollars and 70 cents.

The public debt would, therefore, on the 1st January, 1810, be reduced to 45,592,739 dollars and 59 cents, viz. 954,899 dollars and 62 cents of the eight per cent. stock; 25,612 dollars and 74 cents of the four and a half per cent. stock (both of which would be discharged during the four first months of the year 1810;) 80,000 dollars of the 1796 six per cent stock; 25,452,521 dollars and 60 cents of the six per cent. and deferred stocks, and the 19,079,705 dollars and 63 cents, three per cent. stock.

It is true that this statement is predicated on the supposition that the whole of the remittances to Holland may be purchased at par, which is not probable; but, on the other hand, it is calculated on the principle of a yearly, instead of a quarter-yearly payable annuity; or, as if all the payments made in one year, on account of the principal of the debt, took place only at the end of the year, instead of being made, as will be the case, in the course of the year, and stopping the interest from the end of the quarter in which they may be made.—The supposed extra cost of bills on Holland is at least partly covered by that difference, and cannot materially affect the general result.

It may in the same manner be shewn that the same annual sum of 7,300,000 dollars, applied to the payment of the principal and interest of the public debt, would, on the supposition that the whole of the six per cent. and deferred stocks may be redeemed at par, and that the whole of the three per cent. stock should be reimbursed at its nominal value, discharge the whole of the public debt in seven years and a half after the year 1809, or within the year 1817.

The only part of the preceding estimates which is liable to any material error, is what relates to the probable annual revenue derived from the impost and from the sales of land. Should these prove to have been correct, it will result that the present revenues of the Union are sufficient to defray all the expenses, civil and military, of government, to the extent authorized by existing laws; to meet all the engagements of the United States, and to discharge, within eight years, 32,000,000 of dollars of the principal, and, within fifteen years and a half, the whole of the public debt; that any increase of expense will, probably, either render an increase of taxes necessary, or retard the ultimate payment of the debt: and that any reduction in the present rate of expenditure, may permit a reduction of the present taxes, or be the means of accelerating the redemption of the public debt.

All which is most respectfully submitted.

ALBERT GALLATIN,
Secretary of the Treasury.

Treasury Department,
18*th Dec.* 1801.

DUTY ON PRINTING PAPER.

A petition has been presented to Parliament, for the repeal of the act, by which an additional duty was, last year, imposed on this article. I, who purchase no inconsiderable quantity of printing paper, have refused to sign the petition, and I therefore, think it not altogether improper for me, on the present occasion, publicly to state the reasons on which that refusal was founded.

The grounds of complaint, as stated in the petition, are: 1. the additional capital, which the high price of paper keeps dead in the warehouse of the bookseller; 2. the diminution in the home demand for books; 3. the diminution, and the threatened annihilation of the export trade; and 4. the injury done to literature by increasing the expenses of publishing its productions.

1. I am ready to acknowledge, that the duty on paper may, possibly, demand *an increase of capital in the hands of the bookseller:*

I am not, however, sure of this, for the books in store, if they are dearer than they would be, without the duty on them, are fewer in number, or else the plea of diminution, as well as that of the injury to literature, are totally unfounded; and, even supposing the necessity of an increase of capital to exist to a very considerable amount, I am yet to learn, that that circumstance is calculated to diminish either the profit or the respectability of the bookselling trade. The truth is, that the comparative profits and respect arising from different trades, are generally in a due proportion to the *value*, and not to the *quantity*, of the articles traded in. The hucksters of old iron and broken glasss sell infinitely more articles than the silversmith or the jeweller, yet, I believe, no one would exchange the profits or the respect, attached to the latter, for those, which may possibly be attached to the former. Why is the trade of a banker more respectable and more profitable than that of a bookseller? only because he deals in paper which requires *a superior capital*.

2. *The diminution in the home demand for books*, with which I may couple the 4th proposition, *the injury done to literature*. All our books may be fairly reckoned amongst the luxuries of life, except those for the use of the established churches of England and Scotland; and these are exempted from duty. Whether, therefore, books are dear or cheap, precisely the same sum of money will be expended in the purchase of them; if paper be high priced, there will, indeed, be a less number of books; there will also be a less number of items in the bookseller's account; but its *total* will be the same, and the profits will be somewhat greater, because fewer hands will be employed in the reception and emission of the goods. If it should be admitted, then, as I persuade myself it will, that the duty on paper produces no diminution in the amount of the bookseller's sales and profits, it necessarily follows, that it will produce none in the products of the labour of the *author*. Authors, male and female, will, probably, be somewhat diminished in number; but of this, I imagine, few persons, *particularly booksellers*, will have cause to complain. It will hereafter be seen, that, if the duty be taken off, it will take only 5d. from the present price of a common octavo volume, a deduction which cannot possibly be considered as an object worthy of the attention of any one, who has money to expend in the purchase of books. In contradiction to this, I shall be told, that many works are, at this moment, with-held from the press, 'till the effect of the petition be known. So far am I from denying this, that I am ready to acknowledge, that I myself have a large work in this very situation; but, if a reduction in the duty had never been talked of, this work would have been *already in the press*.

3. *The diminution, and the threatened annihilation of the export trade*. If any man in his Majesty's dominions be immediately interested in this part of the question, if any one will severely feel the effect of this supposed diminution, it is myself. In proportion to our small capital, nobody exports so many books as my partner and myself. Supposing me, therefore, to be under the guidance of common sense, and a common portion of what is very properly called the first law of nature, I should have been the first man in the kingdom to be alarmed at the danger, to which, it is said the duty on paper has exposed the export trade of books. Yet, I have felt no such alarm, and I am fully convinced, that, when the petitioners give themselves time to reflect, they will laugh at their own apprehensions. Of this part of the subject, I may, without any great degree of presumption, pretend to some knowledge, and, therefore, as Ralpho says, "I shall enlarge upon the "point."

The export trade of books, in which the diminution is dreaded, the petitioners divide into two parts: the exportation to the *Continent of Europe*, and exportations to the *United States of America*.

On the Continent of Europe we have never been able to support a competition with Paris, Basle, Frankfort, the Hague, Hamburgh, &c. &c. The cheap rate, at which the standard English works have long been printed at those places, has left us no market on the Continent, except for the supply of those, who preferred London editions, be the price what it might, and this market we shall still retain, let the duty on paper be what it may. It is stated in the petition, that many of the works of the best English authors are now printed at Paris, and sold for *one half* of what the same works, in the same style, can be afforded for in this country. Now, if this be correct, and, I believe, it is perfectly so, how is it possible for a repeal of the new duty to enable us to rival the Continental booksellers? The new duty is 2¼d. per pound weight; the average weight of an octavo volume (Johnson's Works, for in-

stance) is a pound, and the average price of such a volume, in sheets, is 7s. so that, by consenting to the prayer of the petition, the Parliament would enable the English bookseller to export such a volume $\frac{1}{33}$ cheaper than he now can export it; and this is to countervail the $\frac{6}{33\frac{1}{2}}$, which he has now to contend with!!! I am aware, that it will be urged, that the duty swells as it goes through the hands of the paper maker and stationer; agreed: but I cannot allow that it swells to more than double its original amount; if, therefore, both the new and the old duty were to be taken off, and if they are both estimated at double their amount, there would be a deduction of only 10d. in an octavo volume, which would thereby be brought no lower than 6s. 2d. while the Parisian booksellers can furnish it at 3s. 6d. It is useless to say any thing more on this point; for, from the statement of the petition itself, it is evident, that all *competition*, as to cheapness, with the Continental booksellers, is, if it ever existed, now at an end.

In the book trade with the *United States of America* the Americans themselves have supplanted us: nor, can any act of our government enable us to contend against our rivals (if, indeed, we ought to call them so), in that country. To establish this fact, I have only to make a very simple statement of prices, taking for my criterion a ream of demy printing paper, of a middling quality. Such a ream of paper costs, in England, 1l. 14s. It weighs about 28lb. *all* the duty on which amounts to 11s. 8d. If this duty were taken off, it would cost 1l. 2s. 4d. to which must be added for freight, insurance, and shipping expenses, 5 per cent.; for duty in the American port 16½ per cent. and, for profit to the American importer, 12 per cent. at least, which would bring the ream up to 1l. 9s. 7d. while paper, full as good, can be purchased at Philadelphia for three dollars and a half, which is 15s. 9d. Thus, then, if the *whole* of the duty were taken off, instead of the half, which is prayed for by the petition, paper from this country would be nearly as dear again as that which is to be found, in great abundance, in the warehouses of the American stationers. If I am asked, how it happens, then, that we export any books at all to America? I answer, that we export only such books as are not called for in America in a sufficient number to enable the booksellers there to print an edition for their own country, and such new books as stand a chance of being sold before an American edition can be got out, neither of which description of books can, either now or hereafter, be supplied by any country but England. That some few of the copies of the ornamented Parisian Shakespeares (if, indeed, they are ever printed) will reach America, I have no doubt; but the Americans have printed Shakespeare long enough ago; if they purchase foreign editions it will be for the sake of the ornaments, the comparative value of which ornaments will, in nowise, be affected by the duty on English paper.

All that the government can possibly do, in this case, to serve the booksellers and printers, is to yield efficient protection to our domestic and colonial trade, which it can do by making the duty on all foreign printed books so high as to amount to a prohibition, which is not, at present, the case. Books can now be imported from France, and, after paying all the duties and charges, can be sold much cheaper than English printed books of the same size and quality; nay, books *are* so imported and sold, in great abundance, and, at the very moment that I am writing, I know that there are 500 copies of a Grammar (of which I myself am the author, and which I now have in the press here) actually on the way from Paris to London. This is a Grammar for Frenchmen to learn English by, and is, of course, in the French language. Two editions of it have been published in France, from an American copy. It cannot be sold here, because I have the copy-right; but, were it not for that circumstance, it could be sold in London for not much more than one half of what I shall be able to sell my edition for. The taking off the duty on paper would, therefore, yield me no sort of protection; nor is the present duty on foreign books sufficient to answer that purpose; it should be, at least, 3s. on each pound weight, both here and in the colonies.

It will be perceived, that I have all along proceeded upon the supposition, that there is *no drawback* on exported books; but, the fact is, that Mr. Pitt, in imposing the duty, in both instances, took care to provide a drawback to the full amount of the duty imposed; and, though this allowance does not make up for the whole of the bookseller's disbursements, on account of the duty, yet it does much towards removing the ground of complaint, as far, at least, as relates to the branch of exportation.

As the result of these statements, I am decidedly of opinion, that the present duty upon paper is injurious neither to the interests of the bookseller, the interests of lite-

rature, nor the interest of commerce, and, under this persuasion I could not set my hand to the petition, especially when I considered, that I should thereby join in a prayer for the diminution of those resources which are now more than ever necessary to the preservation of that government, to which, I trust, the petitioners bear an attachment equal to my own, and on the credit and the energy of which, the prosperity, the happiness, and the the safety of us all so essentially depend.

The distresses of the bookselling trade have arisen merely from the increase of that trade, which has, of late, been bloated to an unnatural bulk. It has, for some time, been upon the wane; it has declined much, and this decline will be hastened by the peace, which will diminish the profits of commerce in general, which profits furnished the means of purchasing books. No act of the legislature, no measure that can be adopted, whether of a public or private nature, will stop this decline, which must and will continue, 'till the manufacture of books be reduced to a level with the demand.

Wm. Cobbett.

Pall Mall, 16 *Feb.* 1802.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Constantinople, *Dec.* 28.—We have just received news from Egypt, by a vessel from Alexandria, that General Hutchinson caused to be buried, with great funeral pomp, the bodies of the five Beys who were killed in attempting to resist the detachment which was conducting them on board the fleet, by order of the Captain Pacha. The difference which arose between the Captain Pacha and the English Admiral and General, had at one time become serious.

Madrid, *Jan.* 12.—His Catholic Majesty has issued an order (which will be found in a preceding page of this work) "to prevent, in future, any other merchandizes than *those of France*, from enjoying the same advantages on their importation into Spain."

Petersburgh, *Jan.* 15. — The Petersburgh Gazette, which had hitherto borne at the head of it the arms of Malta, united with those of the empire, has, in the first number of the present year, discontinued them.

Zurich, *Jan.* 28. A spirit of insurrection reigns in this Canton, highly alarming, which arose from the disgust of the people at the appointment of certain Public Functionaries, who were the objects of general detestation. The few French troops that were here, were compelled to retreat in the greatest disorder by a considerable body of armed peasants, who likewise arrested many of those Functionaries who were obnoxious to them. The news, however, of the approach of a large body of French troops, has put an end for the present to the revolt.

Frankfort, *Jan.* 28.—It is said that an union will be formed between the ecclesiastical Princes of Germany, for the purpose of acting in concert, relative to the affairs of the Secularizations. M. de Dalbey, Bishop of Constance, and Coadjutor of Mayence, is the main-spring of this confederacy.

Jan. 29.—The Elector of Bavaria has fixed a day for the payment of the arrears of imposts due in that country, under penalty of military execution in case of non-payment, which is regarded as a proof of the approaching cession of the right bank of the Inn.

Paris, *Feb.* 10.—A patent for the term of 15 years has been granted to Alexander Sagniel and John Milne, residing at Marley, for a spinning machine for the making of cottons.—*Feb.* 11. The Pope has appointed M. Arezzo, Apostolic Nuncio to the King of Etruria.—Accounts from Berlin remove all apprehensions occasioned by the indisposition of Prince Henry.—*Feb.* 14. The hall for receiving the General Congress, at Amiens, is in great forwardness.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

The Royal Family will come to town every Tuesday, and remain at the Queen's House till Friday. Every fortnight the Queen will hold a Drawing-Room; and on the alternate Thursday their Majesties will honour one of the Theatres with their presence.

From Madras, under the date Sept. 9th, intelligence has been received of the capture of the French Frigate La Chiffronne, of 42 guns, by his Majesty's ship La Sybelle, Captain Charles Adam. It is stated, that

the engagement took place at Sychelles, on the 19th of August; that the loss of the Sybelle was very trifling, notwithstanding her gallant commander pushed into the harbour, in spite of the dangers arising from the narrowness of the channel, until he came within musket-shot of the enemy, who was moored across, and defended by a battery of four 12 pounders on shore, from which red-hot shot were fired during the action. The Chiffronne had 26 men killed, and 30 wounded. The Captain, who has performed this last of the glorious exploits, all which have been rendered fruitless by the treaty of peace, is the son of Wm. Adam, Esq. the King's Council.

The Emperor of Germany has issued an edict, prohibiting the entrance of sugar into the Austrian dominions, which prohibition, if continued, will be very injurious to England, as we imagine it is aimed at English sugars only.

Advices from Sierra Leona, dated 12th Dec. 1801, give an account of an insurrection in that settlement. Several fights have been the consequence, and it is stated, that every white person, the governor not excepted, have been wounded.

William Miller, another of the Hermione's crew, has been tried by a court martial at Portsmouth, and condemned.

On Saturday last came on for a final hearing, before the Court of Exchequer, the important insurance case of the Dutch sequestrated property, which involves the amount of 480,000l. The Barons of the Exchequer and Judges of the Common Pleas delivered their opinions *seriatim*; the result of which was that the opinion in favour of the plaintiffs in the original action were as six to one. Thus the judgment of the Court of King's Bench stands affirmed, and the plaintiffs, (the Commissioners of Dutch Property) will immediately receive the immense sum of money insured, unless the underwriters think proper to appeal to the House of Lords.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The definitive treaty, that treaty, in which, it was asserted, "that nothing was "left to higgle about," drags heavily by the way. The objection, which Spain makes to the cession of Trinidada, is said to be one obstacle, and another is thought to arise from a disagreement with respect to the guarantee of the independance of Malta. Whatever objection Spain may make, are suggested by France, who may, possibly, upon reflection, not wish to place Trinidada in the hands of England, though, for our parts, we can give no credit to the report, that she is willing to yield us Martinique as a compensation. As to Malta, it is very probable, that Russia may decline the expensive and useless charge of yielding that island an efficient guarantee, which can only be done by keeping up a Russian garrison in it. If Russia refuses, the French will certainly propose the King of Naples, and then we shall repeat Mr. Cobbett's question to Lord Hawkesbury: "who "is to guarantee the King of Naples?" This prince is himself a tenant at will under the Consul of France and the President of the Italian Republic (offices which are now happily united in the person of Buonaparté), and who can be weak enough to confide to his hands the preservation of Malta from the power of France? Yet, will France strenuously contend for this point, nor should we be at all astonished if our ministers were to give it up; for, after having consented to the sailing of the French, Dutch, and Spanish armaments, while they felt the necessity of sending out a British fleet to watch their movements, there is no act of condescension, which the enemy may not expect at their hands. By referring to page 140, it will be perceived, that Spain has adopted such commercial regulations, as will shut out from her ports all merchandize except that of France; and by a careful attention to the very valuable report of the American Secretary of the Treasury, which we have inserted at great length, it will be found, that his calculations are predicated upon the presumption of a great diminution in the imposts of the United States, which imposts chiefly arise from the imports of British manufactures, in which he of course, counts upon a considerable diminution.

A Letter to Sir Frederick M. Eden, on this subject, will be inserted hereafter; in the mean time we request our readers to compare the statements and calculations of the American Secretary with those of Mr. Cobbett, in his Letters to Mr. Addington, and we are assured they will agree with the latter, that a very great diminution must take place in our exports to America, in consequence of the peace. A fearful falling off has already marked the business and the receipts of the Custom-House. Some of the merchants, with an impatience, which may very well be excused, in their present circumstances, have

pressed Mr. Addington with anxious inquiries about the conclusion of the definitive treaty, as if that would once more enliven their affairs. That some part of the present stagnation of trade proceeds from the uncertainty, respecting that treaty, is evident; but the far greater part of it is to be placed to the account of the *regular decline*, which began on the fatal first of October, and which will never stop 'till the tonnage of Great Britain is reduced to one half of its present bulk. We know, that, on this point, our opinions are in direct opposition to those of Mr. Pitt, and, for the sake of our country, we sincerely wish that events may prove him not to be less our superior in commercial knowledge than he is in eloquence and in rank.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

Promotions.—The King has been pleased to grant (Feb. 13, 1802) the dignity of a Baron of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland unto the Right Hon. Sir John Mitford, Knight, and to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, style, and title of Baron Redesdale, of Redesdale, in the county of Northumberland.—The King has also been pleased to order Letters Patent, containing a Grant unto the said Right Hon. John Baron Redesdale of the Office or Place of Chancellor and Keeper of the Great Seal of Ireland, in the room of John Earl of Clare, deceased.—The honour of Knighthood has been conferred on Alexander Mackenzie, Esq.

SHERIFFS.

Anglesey.——William Bulkeley Hughes, of Bryndda, Esq.
Carmarthen.——Thomas Owen, of Glassoult, Esq.
Denbigh.——Daniel Leo, of Llannerch-Park, in the room of Edward Lloyd Lloyd, of Penyllan, Esq.

Amendments upon the Roll.

Kent.——Thomas Jull Godfrey, to be Thomas Godfrey, Esq.
Suffolk——Thomas Cocksedge, of Ingham, to be Thomas Cocksedge, of Bury St. Edmund's, Esq.

Mr. J. Kirby is appointed by Lieutenant-Governor Nugent, Chief-Justice of Jamaica, in the room of the late Hon. J. Henckell.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

Birth.—At Rose-Castle on the 8th instant, the Lady of the Hon. and Right Reverend the Bishop of Carlisle, of a daughter, being her Ladyship's thirteenth child.

Marriages.—At Inverneil, on the 2d inst. Roger Pocklington, Jun. Esq. of Wintworth-house, Notts, to Miss Jane Campbell, daughter of Sir James Campbell, of Inverneil.—On Saturday, in Portland-place, by special license, the Right Hon. Lord Sinclair, to Miss Chisholme, only daughter to James Chisholme, Esq.—On Tuesday the 16th instant, at the parish-church of St. Mary-le-bone, by the Lord Bishop of London, Thomas Law Hodges, of Hempstead-place, Esq. to Miss Twisden, only daughter of the late Sir R. Twisden, Bart. of Bradbourne-park, in the county of Kent.

Deaths.—On the 1st instant, at Brereton, Staffordshire, the Hon. Mrs. Talbot.—On Sunday morning, at two o'clock, in the 88th year of his age, at the Deanery-house, in the city of York, the Rev. John Fountayne, D. D. and Dean of York. He was appointed Dean in the year 1745-6.—At Ayr, the 3d of February, aged 65, Lady Hamilton, widow of the late Sir Henry Hamilton, Bart. of Castle Cunningham, in the county of Donegal, Ireland.

PRICE OF STOCKS.

English three per cent. consols.—Saturday, Feb. 13th, 69⅝ ¾.—Monday, 15th, 69¾ ⅞.—Tues. 16th, 69⅞ ⅝ ¾.—Wednes. 17th, 69½ ⅜.—Thursday, 18th, 69⅜ ⅝ 69¼ 69.—Friday, 19th, 69 68⅝ ½ ⅝ ——American Stocks.—Eight per cent. 114½.——French Stock.—Tiers Consolidés, 56 francs, 75 cents.

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Corn.—English Wheat 65 to 80s. per quarter. Foreign 44 to 80s. Rye 38 to 42s. Barley 35 to 44s. Malt 45 to 55s. Oats 16 to 24s. Pease 34 to 40s. Beans 30 to 45s. Flour 55 to 60s. per sack. Seconds 45 to 53s. Coals 34 to 40s. per chaldron. Hops 62 to 84s per cwt. Hay 60 to 99s. per load. Bread 11½d. the quartern loaf. Beef, per stone, 4s. 6d. to 6s. 2d. Mutton 5s. to 6s. 8d. Veal 5s 6d. to 7s. Pork 5s 8d. to 7s. 6d. Tallow 4s. Average of Sugar 39s. 8d. per cwt.

Observations on the Weather, near Guildford, in Surrey, in the Month of Feb. 1802.
(Morning at 9 o'Clock—Afternoon at 2 o'Clock.)

Days.	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barometer. Inches. M.	Barometer. Inches. A.	Thermometer. Degrees. M.	Thermometer. Degrees. A.	Days.
11	Snow 1 In. A. M.	NW	WNW	29,4	29,5	33	34	11
12	Fair.	NE	NE	29,8	29,85	33	39	12
13	Frost—Fair.	N	NE	30	29,9	33½	37½	13
14	Frost.	NNE	NE	29,95	29,9	31½	35	14
15	Frost and Snow.	N	N	29,73	29,7	31	34½	15
16	Snow last Night—Fair.	NW	WNW	29,5	29,4	34	38	16
17	Frost—Rain.	SW	S	29,2	29,1	40	45	17

Days.	Noon's Age.
11	
12	
13	
14	
15	
16	
17	☾

LONDON,

LONDON, *February 20 to February 27*, 1802.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Treaty of Peace between Spain and Portugal, concluded at Badajos, June 6th, 1801.

[Preamble in the usual form.]

Article I. There shall be peace, amity, and good understanding between his Catholic Majesty the King of Spain, and the Prince Regent of Portugal and Algarve, as well by sea as land, through the whole extent of their kingdoms and possessions; and all captures which shall be made by sea after the ratification of the present treaty, shall be faithfully restored with all their goods and effects or their respective values paid.

Article II. His Royal Highness will shut the ports of his whole territories to the ships of Great Britain in general.

Article III. His Catholic Majesty will restore to his Royal Highness the fortresses and places of Junemena, Arronchis, Portaligree, Castel, Davide, Barbauma, Campo Mayor, and Auguela, with all the territories hitherto conquered, by his arms, or which may hereafter be conquered, with all their artillery, fire-arms, or other warlike stores; and in the same condition in which they were when surrendered to him. And his Catholic Majesty will take, as a conquest, the fortress of Olivenza, with its territory and inhabitants, from the Guadiana, and unite the same for ever to his own territory and subjects; so that the river above-mentioned, shall be the boundary of the respective kingdoms in that part.

Article IV. His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal and Algarve will not permit any depôts of prohibited and contraband goods, which may be prejudicial to the interests of the crown of Spain, to be formed on the frontiers of his kingdom, exclusive of such as appertain to the revenues of the crown of Portugal, or are necessary for the consumption of the respective territories in which they are established. And if this or any other article shall not be maintained, the treaty which is now concluded between the three powers, including the interchangeable guarantee, shall be null and void, as is expressed in the articles of the present treaty.

Article V. His Royal Highness will immediately repair and make good all damages or injury which the subjects of his Catholic Majesty may have sustained, during the present war, from the ships of Great-Britain, or the subjects of the Court of Portugal, and for which they can rightfully claim indemnification; and in like manner his Catholic Majesty engages to make suitable satisfaction for all captures which may have been made by the Spaniards before the present war, in violation of, or within a cannon-shot of the Portuguese territory.

Article VI. Within the space of three months, reckoning from the ratification of the present treaty, his Royal Highness will pay to the treasury of his Catholic Majesty the expenses left unpaid when they withdrew from the war with France, and which were occasioned by the same, according to the estimate given in by the ambassador of his Catholic Majesty, or which may be given in anew, with the exception, however, of any errors that may be found in the said estimates.

Article VII. As soon as the present treaty shall be signed, all hostilies shall cease on both sides, within twenty-four hours, without any contributions or requisitions being laid, after that time, on any of the conquered places, except such as may be allowed to friendly troops in time of peace; and as soon as this treaty shall be ratified, the Spanish troops shall leave the Portuguese territory within six days, and shall begin their march within six hours after receiving notice, without offering any violence or injury to the inhabitants in their way, and they shall pay for whatever may be necessary for them, according to the current price of the country.

Article VIII. All prisoners which may have been taken by sea or land, shall within fifteen days after the ratification of the present treaty, be set at liberty and delivered up on both sides; and at the same time all debts which they may have contracted during their imprisonment shall be paid.

The sick and wounded shall remain in the respective hospitals, there to be taken care of, and in like manner delivered up as soon as they shall be able to begin their march.

Article IX. His Catholic Majesty engages to guarantee to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal the entire possession of all his states and possessions, without the least exception or reserve.

Article X. The two high contracting parties engage to renew the treaty of defensive alliance which existed between the two monarchies, but with such clauses and alterations as the connexions entered into by the Spanish monarchy with the French Republic may demand; and in the same treaty shall be regulated what aid shall be mutually afforded, should necessity require.

Article XI. The present treaty shall be ratified within ten days after it is signed, or sooner, if possible. In witness of this, we, the undersigned ministers plenipotentiary, have subscribed the present treaty with our own hands, and sealed it with our arms.

Done at Badajos, June 6, 1801.

(L. S.) *The Prince of Peace.*
(L. S.) *Louis Pinto di Souza.*

Preliminary Articles of Peace, between his Britannic Majesty and the French Republic. Signed at London [In English and French,] the 1st of October, 1801; *the 9th Vendemiaire, Year 10 of the French Republic.*

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, and the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, being animated with an equal desire of putting an end to the calamities of a destructive war, and of re-establishing union and good understanding between the two countries, have named for this purpose; namely, his Britannic Majesty, the Right Honourable Robert Banks Jenkinson, commonly called Lord Hawkesbury, one of his Britannic Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, and his principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, Citizen Lewis William Otto, Commissary for the Exchange of French Prisoners in England; who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers, in good form, have agreed on the following preliminary articles:

Article I. As soon as the preliminaries shall be

signed and ratified, sincere friendship shall be re-established between his Britannic Majesty and the French Republic, by sea and by land, in all parts of the world; and in order that all hostilities may cease immediately between the two powers, and between them and their allies respectively, the necessary instructions shall be sent with the utmost dispatch to the commanders of the sea and land forces of the respective states, and each of the contracting parties engages to grant passports, and every facility requisite to accelerate the arrival, and ensure the execution of these orders.—It is farther agreed, that all conquests which may have been made by either of the contracting parties from the other, or from their respective allies, subsequently to the ratification of the present preliminaries, shall be considered as of no effect, and shall be faithfully comprehended in the restitutions to be made after the ratification of the definitive treaty.

Article II. His Britannic Majesty shall restore to the French Republic and her allies; namely, to his Catholic Majesty, and to the Batavian Republic, all the possessions and colonies occupied or conquered by the English forces in the course of the present war, with the exception of the Island of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions in the Island of Ceylon, of which island and possessions his Britannic Majesty reserves to himself the full and entire sovereignty.

Article III. The Port of the Cape of Good Hope shall be open to the commerce and navigation of the two contracting parties, who shall enjoy therein the same advantages.

Article IV. The Island of Malta, with its dependencies shall be evacuated by the troops of his Britannic Majesty, and restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem. For the purpose of rendering this island completely independent of either of the two contracting parties, it shall be placed under the guarantee and protection of a third power, to be agreed upon in the definitive treaty.

Article V. Egypt shall be restored to the Sublime Porte, whose territories and possessions shall be preserved entire, such as they existed previously to the present war.

Article VI. The territories and possessions of her most faithful Majesty shall likewise be preserved entire.

Article VII. The French forces shall evacuate the kingdom of Naples and the Roman territory. The English forces shall in like manner evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and generally all the ports and islands which they may occupy in the Mediterranean, or in the Adriatic.

Article VIII. The Republic of the Seven Islands shall be acknowledged by the French Republic.

Article IX. The evacuations, cessions, and restitutions, stipulated for by the present preliminary articles, shall take place in Europe within one month; in the continent and seas of America and of Africa, within three months; and in the continent and seas of Asia, within six months after the ratification of the definitive treaty.

Article X. The prisoners made respectively shall, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the definitive treaty, all be restored, and without ransom, on paying reciprocally the debts which they may have individually contracted. Discussions having arisen respecting the payment for the maintenance of prisoners of war, the contracting powers reserve this question to be settled by the definitive treaty according to the law of nations, and in conformity to established usage.

Article XI. In order to prevent all causes of complaint and dispute which may arise on account of prizes which may be made at sea after the signature of the preliminary articles, it is reciprocally agreed that the vessels and effects which may be taken in the British channel and in the North Seas, after the space of twelve days, to be computed from the exchange of the ratifications of the present preliminary articles, shall be restored on each side; that the term shall be one month from the British channel and the North Seas as far as the Canary Islands inclusively, whether in the ocean, or in the Mediterranean; two months from the said Canary Islands as far as the Equator; and lastly, five months in all other parts of the world, without any exception, or any more particular description of time and place.

Article XII. All sequestrations imposed by either of the parties on the funded property, revenues, or debts, of any description, belonging to either of the contracting powers, or to their subjects or citizens, shall be taken off immediately after the signature of the definitive treaty. The decision of all claims brought forward by individuals of the one country against individuals of the other for private rights, debts, property, or effects whatsoever, which, according to the received usages and the law of nations, ought to revive at the period of peace, shall be heard and decided before the competent tribunals; and in all cases prompt and ample justice shall be administered in the countries where the claims are made. It is agreed, moreover, that this article, immediately after the ratification of the definitive treaty, shall apply to the allies of the contracting parties, and to the individuals of the respective nations upon the condition of a just reciprocity.

Article XIII. With respect to the fisheries on the coasts of the island of Newfoundland, and of the islands adjacent, and in the gulph of Saint Lawrence, the two parties have agreed to restore them to the same footing on which they were before the present war, reserving to themselves the power of making, in the definitive treaty, such arrangements as shall appear just and reciprocally useful, in order to place the fishing of the two nations on the most proper footing for the maintenance of peace.

Article IV. In all the cases of restitution agreed upon by the present treaty, the fortifications shall be delivered up in the state in which they may be at the time of the signature of the present treaty, and all the works which shall have been constructed since the occupation shall remain untouched.

It is farther agreed, that in all the cases of cession stipulated in the present treaty, there shall be allowed to the inhabitants, of whatever condition or nation the may be, a term of three years, to be computed from the notification of the definitive treaty of peace, for the purpose of disposing of their properties, acquired and possessed either before or during the present war; in the which term of three years they may have the free exercise of their religion and enjoyment of their property.

The same privilege shall be granted in the countries restored, to all those who shall have made therein any establishments whatsoever during the time when those countries were in the possession of Great Britain.

With respect to the other inhabitants of the countries restored or ceded, it is agreed that none of them shall be prosecuted, disturbed, or molested in their persons or properties under any pretext, on account of their conduct or political opinions, or of their attachment to either of the two powers, nor on any other account except that of debts contracted to in-

dividuals, or on account of acts posterior to the definitive treaty.

Article XV. The present preliminary articles shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged in London, in the space of fifteen days for all delay; and immediately after their ratification, plenipotentiaries shall be named, on each side, who shall repair to Amiens for the purpose of concluding a definitive treaty of peace in concert with the allies of the contracting parties.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majesty, and of the First Consul of the French Republic, by virtue of our respective full powers, have signed the present preliminary articles, and have caused our seals to be put thereto.

Done at London the first day of October one thousand eight hundred and one, the ninth Vendémiaire, year ten of the French Republic.

(L. S.) *Hawkesbury.*
(L. S.) *Otto.*

Treaty of Peace between France and Russia, concluded at Paris, Oct. 8, 1801.

[Preamble in the usual form.]

Article I. There shall be in future, peace, friendship, and good understanding between the French Republic and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias.

II. In consequence, there shall not be committed any hostility between the two states, reckoning from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; and neither of the contracting parties shall furnish to the enemies of the other, internal as well as external, any succour, or contingent, in men or money, under any denomination whatever.

III. The two contracting parties wishing, as much as is in their power, to contribute to the tranquillity of the respective governments, promise mutually not to suffer any of their subjects to keep up any correspondence, direct or indirect, with the internal enemies of the present government of the two states, to propagate in them principles contrary to their respective constitutions, or to foment troubles in them; and as a consequence of this concert every subject of one of the two powers, who, during his residence in the states of the other, shall make any attack upon its security, shall immediately be removed out of the said country, and carried beyond the frontiers without being able, in any case, to claim the protection of his government.

IV. It is agreed to adhere, with respect to the re-establishment of the respective legations, and the ceremonies to be followed by the two governments, to that which was in use before the present war.

V. The two contracting parties agree, till a new treaty of commerce be made, to re-establish the commercial relations between the two countries on the footing in which they were before the war, as far as possible, and with the exception of the modifications which time and circumstances may have produced, and which have given rise to new regulations.

VI. The present treaty is declared to be common to the Batavian Republic.

VII. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged in the space of fifty days, or sooner if possible.

In faith of which we, the undersigned, in virtue of our full powers, have signed and sealed the said treaty.

Done at Paris, the 16th Vendémiaire, 10th year of the French Republic (8th October 1801).

Ch. M. Talleyrand.
The Count De Markoff.

Preliminary Treaty of Peace between France and the Ottoman Porte, signed at Paris, 9th Oct. 1801.

[Preamble in the usual form.]

Article I. There shall be peace and friendship between the French Republic and the Sublime Ottoman Porte, in consequence of which hostilities shall cease between the two powers, from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the present preliminary articles; immediately after which exchange, the entire province of Egypt shall be evacuated by the French army, and restored to the Sublime Porte, the territory and possessions of which shall be maintained in their integrality, as they were before the present war.

It is understood that after the evacuation of Egypt, the concessions which may be made in that country to other powers, on the part of the Sublime Porte, shall also be common to the French.

II. The French Republic acknowledges the constitution of the Republic of the Seven United Isles and the Ex-Venetian countries situated on the Continent. It guarantees the maintenance of the constitution. The Sublime Ottoman Porte acknowledges and accepts to that effect the guarantee of the French Republic as well as that of Russia.

III. Definitive arrangements will be made between the French Republic and the Sublime Ottoman Porte, relative to the property of the respective citizens and subjects which may have been confiscated or sequestrated during the war. The political and commercial agents, and the prisoners of war of every degree shall be set at liberty immediately after the ratification of the present preliminary articles.

IV. The treaties, which existed before the present war between France and the Sublime Porte, are all renewed. In consequence of this renewal, the French Republic will enjoy throughout the whole extent of the States of his Highness, the rights of commerce and navigation as formerly, and with the same immunities as will in future be enjoyed by the most favoured nations.

The ratifications will be exchanged at Paris in the space of eight days.

Done at Paris the 9th of October, in the 10th year of the Republic, or the 1st of the month Gemasyul-Ahir, in the year one thousand two hundred and sixteen of the Hegira.

(Signed) *Ch. M. Talleyrand.*
Esseyd, Aly-Effendi.

Treaty of Peace between France and Portugal, concluded at Madrid, September 29th, 1801.

[Preamble in the usual form.]

Art. I. There shall always in future, be peace, amity, and good understanding between the French Republic and the kingdom of Portugal. All hostilities shall cease, by land and sea, on the ratification of the present treaty, viz. In 15 days, on the seas near its coasts, and those of Africa; in 40 days from the ratification, hostilities shall cease, by land and sea, in America and Africa, beyond the Equator, and in three months after for the countries and seas to the west of Cape Horn, and to the east of the

Cape of Good Hope. All the prizes made after any of these periods shall be restored. The prisoners of war taken on either side shall be restored, and the political connexions between the two countries shall be put upon the same footing as they were before the war.

II. All the ports and roads of Portugal, in Europe, shall be shut against all English vessels of war and of commerce, and shall remain so till the conclusion of peace between England and France; but the ports, &c. shall be open to the vessels of the French Republic and her allies. As to the ports, &c. of Portugal in the other parts of the world, the present article is to be obligatory in the terms fixed for the cessation of hostilities.

III. Portugal engages not to furnish, during the course of the present war, to the enemies of the French Republic and her allies, any assistance in arms, vessels, troops, ammunition, provisions, or money, under any denomination or pretence whatsoever. All prior acts, engagements, or conventions which are contrary to the present article, are to be regarded as null and of no effect.

IV. The limits between the two Guianas (French and Portuguese) shall, in future, be determined by the river Carapanatuba, which falls into the river Amazons, at about a third of a degree to the north of the Equator, above Fort *Macapa*. These limits are to follow the course of the river up to its source, whence they shall turn towards the great chain of mountains, which divide the rivers. They shall then follow the windings of the chain, to the point where it comes the nearest to Rio-Branco, about two degrees and one-third north of the Equator.

[This clause being of very great importance, it may not be amiss to subjoin it here in French, in order to show that the translation is faithful:

"Les limites entre les deux Guyanes Française et "Portugaise, seront déterminées à l'avenir par la "rivière Carapanatuba qui se jette dans l'Amazone "à environ un tiers de degré de l'équateur, latitude "septentrionale, au-dessus du fort *Macapa*. Ces "limites suivront le cours de la rivière jusqu'à sa "source, d'ou elles se porteront vers la grande "chaine de montagnes, qui fait le partage des "eaux; elles suivront les inflections de cette chaîne "jusqu'au point où elle se rapproche le plus du Rio-"Branco vers le deuxième degré et un tiers nord de "l'équateur."]

The Indians of the two Guianas, who, during the war, have been carried from their habitations, shall be mutually restored.

The citizens and subjects of the two powers, who are comprized in the new demarkation of limits, may retire into the territories of their respective States. They are also to be allowed to dispose of their property, real or personal, within two years after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

V. A treaty of commerce shall be negotiated between the two powers, to establish in a definitive manner the commercial relations between France and Portugal: in the mean time it is agreed upon,

First, That the communications shall be re-established immediately after the exchange of the ratification, and that the agents and factors of commerce shall, on each side, be restored to the possession of the rights, immunities, and prerogatives which they enjoyed before the war.

Secondly, That the citizens and subjects of the two powers shall equally and reciprocally enjoy in the states of both, all the rights which those of the most favoured nations enjoy.

Thirdly, That the commodities and merchandize produced from the soil or manufacture of each of the two powers, shall be admitted reciprocally without restriction, and without being liable to any duty which would not equally affect the commodities and merchandize of a similar nature imported by other nations.

Fourthly, That the French cloths may be immediately imported into Portugal, on the footing of the most favoured merchandize.

Fifthly, That in other points all the stipulations inserted in the preceding articles, and not contrary to the present treaty, shall be provisionally executed until the conclusion of the treaty of definitive commerce.

Sixthly, The ratification of the present treaty shall be exchanged at Madrid within the term of twenty days at farthest.

Executed in duplicate the 7th Vendémiaire, in the 10th year of the French Republic, (29th September, 1801.)

(Signed) *Lucien Buonaparté.*
Cypriano Bibiero Freire.

Treaty of Peace concluded between the French Republic and the Regency of Algiers, Dec. 17, 1801.

[Preamble in the usual form.]

Art. I. The political and commercial relations are re-established between these two powers, on the same footing as before the rupture.

II. The ancient treaties, conventions, and stipulations are renewed, from the day on which this treaty is signed by the Dey and the Agent of the Republic.

III. The Regency of Algiers restores to the French Republic the same concessions in Africa, on the same footing as France enjoyed before the rupture.

IV. The money, effects, and merchandize, which the agents of the Regency seized in the factories, shall be restored, a deduction being made of a sum sufficient to discharge the duties due at the declaration of war, Dec. 2, 1799.

V. The duties shall not be exacted but from the day on which the French shall be re-established in their factories.

VI. Counting from that period, the Dey, in order to indemnify the African Company for their losses, shall grant them a general exemption from duties for one year.

VII. Frenchmen shall not be detained in slavery at Algiers under any pretext, or under any circumstances whatsoever.

VIII. Frenchmen taken under a flag at war with the Regency, shall not be made slaves, even though the ships in which they may be found shall have made resistance, unless they have been taken with arms in their hands acting as part of the ship's company.

IX. French passengers or residents within the kingdom of Algiers, shall be entirely subject to the agent of the French government. The Regency, or its delegates, shall not interfere with the internal administration of France and Africa.

X. The captains of French ships, whether belonging to the state or to individuals, shall not be constrained, contrary to their inclinations, to take any article on board, or to go where they are not inclined.

XI. The Agent of the French government is not responsible for the debts of any individual of his nation, unless he has engaged in writing to discharge them.

XII. If any dispute shall arise between a French-

man and a subject of Algiers, it can only be judged by the supreme authorities, after the French commissary has been summoned to be present.

XIII. His Excellency the Dey engages to make all the sums due by his subjects to the French to be discharged, as Citizen Dubois Thainville engages, in the name of his government, to see payment made of all the just claims preferred by Algerines.

XIV. The goods of all the French who die in the kingdom of Algiers are at the disposal of the French Republic.

XV. The Chargé-d'Affaires and Agents of the African company chuse their Dragomans and Overseers.

XVI. The Chargé-d'Affaires and Commissary-General of Commercial Relations of the French Republic shall continue to enjoy all the honours, rights, and immunities stipulated by ancient treaties. He shall retain the precedence over the agents of all other nations.

XVII. The asylum of the French Commissary is sacred. No public force can enter there, unless he himself has requested it of the Algerine government.

XVIII. In case of a rupture (which may God for ever avert), the French shall have three months to settle their affairs. During this time they shall enjoy the full extent of liberty and protection accorded them by treaty, in full peace. It is understood that the ships who may enter the harbours of the kingdom during these three months shall participate in the same advantages.

XIX. His Excellency the Dey, names Salah Khodjie, to repair to Paris in quality of Ambassador.

(Signed) *Mustapha Pacha,*
Dey of Algiers.
Dubois Thainville,
Chargé-d'Affaires, and Commissary-General of Commercial Relations of the French Republic.

Proclamation of the Italian Republic, issued by a Committee of the Government, at Milan, on the 6th of February, 1802.

"The treaty of Luneville established the independence of the Italian Republic: at the moment when that treaty was signed, this country was held by right of conquest, and was ruled by a provisionary government, entirely under the direction of the general of the French army.

"It was necessary to proceed to organize this country; and this was the object of the Consulta at Lyons.

"Two kinds of organization were in our choice: the one of that sort which this country obtained in 1796.—This might have been imposed by force, but would never have been submitted to by the inhabitants.—It would have produced disorder and civil dissensions.— It would have rendered the Cisalpine the centre of anarchy, and consequently a perpetual object of terror to her neighbours.

"The second organization nearly corresponded to that proposed by the inhabitants, with a strong and central government.

"All the places have been easily filled up, for few countries abound in citizens so distinguished both by their information and their probity.

"But the first place, owing to circumstances, was not so easily filled up. On this account, that line of conduct was followed, which the interest of the country dictated, and we may say, the interest, well understood, of her neighbours.

"The government is fixed at Milan. The principal laws necessary to set the constitution in motion are framing: and the country, without effort, in a short time, will find itself completely organized.

"Those who imagine that nations may be organized in one day, in one hour, simply by digesting a paper, must find something extraordinary in accomplishing such a measure.

"But such as are convinced that a people really possesses no constitution except when it is effective, and that among all nations, the moments of organization are a terrible crisis, will readily be convinced that the steps which the Consulta at Lyons has taken, are both wise and natural; and whatever may be said to find more in its conclusions than is really to be found there, is but idle prating.

"But it may be said, that France combines to its thirty millions of inhabitants, the accession of influence attached to four millions which inhabit the Italian Republic!!! An alarm is excited on this account—an outcry against the power and ambition of France.

"Let us compare the influence of France in different parts of Europe since the treaty of Luneville; with that which she possessed in 1788. In 1788, France possessed a considerable influence over the King of Sardinia, the King of Naples, and the Republic of Venice. Over the Republic of Venice, because she was, by her situation, the enemy of France; over the King of Naples, on account of the family compact; over the king of Sardinia—for he was bound to France, by his inability to defend Savoy and Nice, by double alliances, and still more, by the prentensions of Austria to Montserrat. Thus France possessed an influence in the system of Europe over three great states, containing twelve millions of men.

"At the present period, Venice belongs to the Emperor: with regard to Naples, the family compact no longer exists. The Italian Republic must, therefore, compensate both of these losses.

"Thus France has made no addition to her influence.—The cession of Venice has given the Emperor a marked ascendant in the Adriatic, and over Italy; and if the Italian Republic languished in disorganization—if she did not become the sure and faithful ally of France, the political state of Europe would be at the disposal of Austria; the equilibrium would be lost, and the result of a war, during which we have conquered in a hundred battles—during which we have twice found peace under the walls of Vienna, would be to place us in a situation worse than before the war.—France ought not to exercise an inordinate power over the neighbouring countries; but she ought carefully to watch over the equilibrium, the true guardian of peace.

"In the system of Germany, Poland, Turkey, and Sweden united themselves with France. Poland is no more: it has been employed to augment the power of our neighbours. Turkey, a prey to civil war, is just able to retain the consistence necessary to continue to exist: she can no longer have any weight in the affairs of Germany.

"The acquisitions which Russia has made in Poland; the degree of civilization and power to which that state has attained in modern times, and time which changes every thing—all these circumstances have excited the descendants of Charles XII. to maintain the equilibrium of the Baltic, but have left them no real power in the affairs of Germany.

"The accession which France has acquired in the four departments of the Rhine, does not compensate the accessions which her neighbours have acquired by the partition of Poland. This partition has rendered France a double loser; because she has not only seen a natural ally, of considerable population, annihilated in the balance of Europe, but even gone to enlarge those whom she should have assisted to keep within bounds.

"In the equilibrium of the affairs of Germany, France has rather lost than gained; and if she had been obliged to acquiesce in the partitions of Poland, without obtaining, as a compensation, neither Belgium, nor the four departments of the Rhine, she would have ceased to be, what she has always been, *a power of the first rank*.

"We will not continue this parallel further, nor demonstrate how different the situation of France was in 1788, and after the preliminaries of London. Tippoo Saib, like Poland, has disappeared from the system of India, and his territories have gone to increase the immense possessions of the English.

"No nation ever shewed so much moderation as France. All that she conquered in war, she has restored at peace. But it is proper she should restrict herself to certain limits, beyond which the government must fall into weakness.—Equilibrium in the affairs of Germany, equilibrium in the affairs of Italy—such is the system of France: she does not desire to give the law, but she does not choose to receive it.

"On considering the political situation of Europe in every point of view, we see that France has gained no new accession of influence: she has only maintained her former rank."

TO SIR FREDERICK M. EDEN, BART.

Sir,

In your defence of the peace, you have stated, that the most valuable part of our trade is the exportation of goods of our own manufacturing; and, with a desire to inculcate an opinion, that this branch of trade will not be diminished by the peace, you have stated, that "we may reasonably expect that the export of our manufactures "to the United States of America will *increase*." In contradiction to this opinion, Sir, I have stated, in my Letters to Mr. Addington, that our exports to that country, in 1802, will be *one-fourth* less in amount than those of 1801. Here we are at issue, and it must be left to time to decide between us. Yet, if either of us can find a strong corroboration of our opinion, drawn from respectable authority, it seems in nowise improper to bring it forward. Such a corroboration I have just received in the official report of the secretary of the treasury of the United States, which report you will find by referring to pages 141 to 150 inclusive of this work.

In my letters to Mr. Addington, above alluded to, I remarked, that, according to the parliamentary statement of Lord Hawkesbury, our exports (always speaking of British manufactures) to the United States had *doubled* since the year 1793, and that his lordship seemed, with you, to imagine, that an *increase*, instead of a diminution, in these exports, would be produced by the peace. In refuting this error, I observed, that the increase in our manufactures exported to the United States, had arisen from four causes, 1. from the regular increase of population and consequent wealth of the United States; 2. from the decline in the manufactures of Holland, and the suspension of those of France and the countries now annexed to her empire; 3. from the emigration to the United States, occasioned by the war; 4. from the re-exportation of our manufactures from the United States to the Colonies of France, Holland, and Spain. I next stated, that, 'till our connection with America should be interrupted by the rivalship of France, or by the hostility of the American government, we should retain all the increase in our exports, which had arisen from the *regular increase in the population and consequent wealth of the United States*, and that we should lose whatever had arisen from the other three temporary causes. Having laid down this as a basis for calculation, I shewed, that there had, since 1790, been an increase of little more than *one-fifth* in the population (excluding emigrants) and *permanent wealth* of the United States; whence I concluded, that there would, even in 1802, be a diminution of *one-fourth* in our exports to that country, on the correctness of which opinion I expressed my readiness to stake my life.

Now, Sir, by turning to the report of the secretary of the treasury, you will, doubtless, be astonished to see how exactly his statements concur with this opinion. In speaking of the imports on merchandize and tonnage, he proceeds in his calculations upon the position, "that the *permanent wealth* "of the United States, has, during the "war, increased in no greater proportion "than their *population*," and that, therefore, all the increase in the imposts, during the same period, beyond this proportion, will *now cease*. The imposts of 1801 amounted, he says, to dollars 10,500,000, and he calculates, that the annual amount of those imposts for the next eight years will be 9,500,000; and, by comparing the imposts of 1792 with those of 1801, and determining the ratio of increase, you will find, that he calculates upon a diminution

of nearly *one third* in the impost of the year 1802. The positions of this part of his report, the reasoning thereon, the conclusion he draws therefrom, and even the words he makes use of, so exactly correspond with my own, that, were his report not dated at the very time that my letters were in the press, you might be tempted to believe, that the statements of the latter were borrowed from those of the former. He, indeed, speaks of American *imposts*, and I of British *exports*, but if there be a decrease in the former, it must arise from a previous decrease in the latter, which always have been, and yet are, the principal source of American imposts.

To *my* opinion, Sir, I could not suppose, that either you or the ministry, or the people, would pay much attention; and, even backed with such authority as that which I have here cited, I have very little hope of producing much effect. *Peace* is the word. Peace and plenty is, and will be, the cry, 'till our manufacturers are starving for bread, and 'till our merchantmen are rotten in our ports.

I am aware, Sir, that you are not singular in your notion respecting an *increase* of commerce to be produced by the peace. A right hon. gentleman, whose opinion has, for many years past, been a law with the people of this country, concurred with you in sentiment, on this point; whether he concurs with you *now*, I do not know; for, he has already had occasion to hear of the stagnation of trade, in *all* its branches, and of the alarming falling off in the receipts of the customs. There is no longer that crowd and bustle at the Custom-House, which prevailed previously to the peace and plenty. Merchants may now get their business dispatched with great ease and comfort to their clerks; nor will there be any occasion to tear down houses, to build wharfs, and erect iron bridges, for the purpose of "enlarging the port of London." There are men, Sir, who imagine, that this stagnation of trade is but *temporary*; that it will be done away by the definitive treaty; and, upon this presumption it is, that the minister has been teazed with the anxious enquiries of merchants and manufacturers respecting the concluding of that compact. This is, however, a gross error. That the present state of uncertainty adds to the diminution, which has already commenced, I can readily believe; but, the trade has begun to depart from us, and the definitive treaty, though it will unfurl a few yards of canvas, which are now reefed up in the port of London, will, in the course of two years, reduce our two millions of tonnage to less than a million and a half, every particle of which loss will go to aggrandize our already too powerful rival and enemy.

You begin to feel the force of these truths; I know you do; but, your reply will be: "Would you, then, have continued the war for ever to prevent this "loss of trade?"—No, Sir; but I would, had I been minister, have continued the war, 'till I could have brought the enemy to such terms of peace *as would have enabled me with safety to diminish the expenses of the country in proportion to the diminution of our commerce*. Without effecting this object, peace is not only as bad, but it is worse, than war. If it shall be found, that, contrary to my opinion, this object is effected, there are few people, who will rejoice more sincerely than I shall; but, if time should confirm my apprehensions, I shall think myself fully justified in complaining of the conduct of those, who, by their ill-timed and indecent manifestations of public joy, furnished the ignorant admirers of peace with an excuse for demolishing my house, because I refused to join in their swinish exultation.

I am,
Sir,
Your most humble,
and most obedient Servant,
Wm. Cobbett.

LETTER I.

To the Reverend Mr. Abercrombie, of Philadelphia.

Dear Sir,

The few scraps, which I have hitherto written you, in reply to the many letters, with which you have honoured me, since my departure from America, have, in their topics, been confined to those private concerns, in which you are so kind as to take an interest. Your many and anxious inquiries, relating to public affairs, have remained unanswered; and, as I have incurred similar debts to divers others of my American friends, who have an equal claim to my attention and my gratitude, I have, in imitation of other insolvents, resolved to reply to all at once, through the channel of a public print, selecting you as the immediate object of my address, for this amongst other reasons, that your inquiries have been the most numerous.

The public matter here, which seems to have most particularly engaged your atten-

tion, is, that which has been lately agitated in the West of England, and which, as you justly fear, has *discovered*, but not *made*, an alarming schism in the Church of England. I lament, with you; I most sincerely lament, that a lady, who has laboured so zealously in the cause of virtue and religion, should have been made the instrument in proceedings, which certainly tend to the utter subversion of the established Church of this kingdom. But, Sir, of the designs of those, who attempted to crush the innocent and meritorious Mr. Bere, you will be able to form but a very faint idea, even after having read all the pamphlets, which I have sent you: nor would you be hardly able to give credit to the relation of a friend, whose word, I hope, you have never yet doubted, were I to attempt to detail to you the arts that have been employed to effect this shameful and cruel purpose. Of these, and of the parties concerned, I shall, hereafter, have an opportunity of speaking in a manner more ample and explicit, than my time will, at present, allow of.

The sect, Sir, who have engendered all this disturbance, mischief, and disgrace, are not, as you seem to imagine, mere misguided fanatics, newly born, and destined soon to die. They are cool, of consummate cunning, of great industry, and perseverance, and supported by men of no little wealth; and, they possess all the influence, which coolness, cunning, industry, perseverance, and wealth, united, can give. They are of long standing, and, I greatly fear, will not, in conformity with your pious wish, soon be converted from the error of their ways.

They are the offspring, but not the open imitators, of the methodists. They discovered, that, to accomplish their ambitious objects, it was necessary to dissent from that wild rant, and that beggarly itinerancy, which, though they serve to extort pious groans from the lowest of the ignorant, finally expose the operators to general derision and contempt. Profiting from this discovery, the chosen vessels of the sect assumed a more placid appearance, a deportment less austere, and a language less vulgar and insolent. They no longer thundered out their impious anathemas on the Clergy of the Church, whom, on the contrary, they affected to regard as labourers in the same vineyard, claiming for themselves the precedence in piety alone. That the world is very apt to take professions upon trust, especially when garbed in the veil of worldly humility, did not wait for a proof in the success of this sect, who having, little by little, worked themselves into countenance and favour, have, at last, succeeded in scaling the walls of the Church, which is now tolerably well stocked with *Gospel-Ministers*, an appellation which the vessels of the sect have exclusively assumed.

The mention of Gospel-Ministers will certainly recall to your mind the "*Gospel-Preaching-Ministry*," so loudly clamoured for by the apprentices and chimney-sweepers of London, in their petitions to the regicide Parliament; and, my dear Sir, painful as is the acknowledgement of the fact, I am fully persuaded, that the puritans of the present day are very little better than those of the disgraceful era, to which I have alluded. Those of that day were destitute of many of the specious pretexts, and many of the other advantages, which their more fortunate successors enjoy. Legislative solicitude for bettering the condition of Negro-slaves had not then made an opening for the intrusion of their hypocrital compassion, nor had the philanthropic title of citizen of the world sanctioned indifference to country, and broken the more sacred bonds of allegiance.

In one point, and that too of more importance than is generally attached to it, the puritans of the two epochs bear a critical resemblance, namely, their hostility to rural and athletic sports: to those sports, which string the nerves and strengthen the frame, which excite an emulation in deeds of hardihood and valour, and which imperceptibly instill honour, generosity, and a love of glory, into the mind of the clown. Men thus formed are pupils unfit for the puritanical school; therefore it is, that the sect are incessantly labouring to eradicate, fibre by fibre, the last poor remains of English manners. And, sorry I am to tell you, that they meet with but too many abettors, where they ought to meet with resolute foes. Their pretexts are plausible: gentleness and humanity are the cant of the day. Weak men are imposed on, and wise men want the courage to resist. Instead of preserving those assemblages and those sports, in which the nobleman mixed with his peasants, which made the poor man proud of his inferiority, and created in his breast a personal affection for his lord, too many of the rulers of this land are now hunting the common people from every scene of diversion, and driving them to a club or a conventicle, at the former of which they suck in the delicious rudiments of earthly equality, and, at the latter, the no less delicious doctrine, that there is no lawful king but King Jesus.

Before I conclude this letter, which is intended merely as an introduction to those which are to follow, I think it right to mention to you, that my reason for discontinuing to send the British Critic is, that that work has, in its criticism on the pamphlets, relative to the Blagdon Controversy, abandoned the Church, for the defence of which it was originally established. I well know what influence produced this shameful abandonment, and, though it will give me great pain to trace it to its lofty origin, and expose it to the world, yet the cause of the injured and oppressed Mr. Bere, the cause of truth, the cause of the Church and of true religion, demand this exposure from some one, and from no one more loudly than from me, who have hitherto acted as a forlorn hope to more powerful and less adventurous writers.

Having now given you an earnest of my intention to discharge my long arrears, I shall, for the present, take my leave, with encouraging you to expect a letter, as often as I am able to look across the Atlantic.

I am,
Your faithful friend
And most humble Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

Pall-Mall, 24th Feb. 1802.

FRENCH MORALS, &c.

The following statement of the births, marriages, divorces, and deaths, in Paris, during the year 1801, is taken from the Moniteur of Feb. 18, 1802.

Born in wedlock	14,829
Bastards	4,841
Total births	19,670
Marriages	3,826
Divorces	720
Died in their own houses	12,510
Died in the poor-houses and hospitals	8,257
Found dead in the streets	201
Total deaths	20,968

The births in Paris, for the year 1784, were estimated at 20,500, and the population at 680,000 souls. They are, then, diminished only 800 in number, and we may, therefore, conclude, that the population is now 650,000. The divorces and bastards exhibit a horrid total; and when we perceive, that more than one-third of the whole of the persons who die, expire in poor-houses and hospitals, we may form some judgment of the prosperity and happiness of the people. Another item in the above statement will convey a tolerably correct notion of the degree of personal safety enjoyed in the metropolis of Jacobinism, that is, the number of persons *found dead in the streets;* during the year, this number is 201, to which, if we add all the deaths arising from the acts of assassination and suicide, committed in the houses, the picture is enough to make the stoutest heart tremble.—This is the scene of gaiety, and the emporium of the fine arts, to which English fools are flocking for pleasure and refinement! Feeling, as we do, that it is the bounden duty of every one (who has it in his power) to expose such facts as those above stated, we cannot refrain from expressing our indignation at the attempt, which has lately been made, by persons high in office here, to stifle every inquiry, and to suppress every exposure, respecting the wickedness of persons in France. Such attempts are so flagrantly immoral, so detestably base, and of a tendency so baneful to our own country, that we would fain hope the authors of them will desist. Should they not, however, they may be assured, that we shall not fail to discharge our duty, in contrasting their present conduct with their former public and *written* professions, and in exposing the motives, from which they now act.

DUTY ON PRINTING PAPER.

In page 154 of this work, I stated, that the only means, in the power of government, to protect the trades of bookselling and printing, was, to lay on a heavier duty than that now existing, on books imported from abroad. I there observed, that, without some such additional duty, books might be imported from France, and, after paying all the charges, be sold here, much cheaper than books of the same description, printed in Great-Britain. Since the article, now alluded to, was written, a few books have been sent me from *America*, which circumstance enables me to speak with accuracy on the effects, which may be apprehended from importations from that country. The books sent me are ten sets of the *Records of the Congress*, from the commencement to the

late revolution; they weigh 124lb. and the Custom-House charges on them amount to no more than 3*l.* 4*s.* which is little more than 6*d.* per lb. If no higher duty than this be laid on books from America, I would undertake to supply this country with all the standard British books at a price one-third lower than they can be printed for here, even if *all* the duty on paper be taken off. I think it right to add, further, that I am well informed, that one Byrne, lately a bookseller in Dublin, and now at Philadelphia, has actually conceived, and openly avowed, a project for furnishing this kingdom with books printed in America. Parliament has it in its power effectually to mar the success of projects of this sort; but it is only to be done by *duty on importation*. Taking off the duty from domestic paper will not contribute towards it in the smallest degree.

Wm. Cobbett.

Receipt for effecting the Ruin of a Great and Independent Country.

In order to prepare the body politic, and put it into the best order for taking the following dose—it must be kept for some time previous to the administering of it in considerable heat and agitation.—This will be greatly promoted by keeping the spirits in a ferment by exciting opposite and contending passions. The different sentiments and views of different friends, some strongly urging one line of conduct, others proposing one diametrically opposite;—one party preaching patience and submission, the other rouzing the spirits and exciting to revenge—and all urging their opinions with zeal, with vehemence and with obstinacy—these circumstances will greatly contribute to put the patient into the desired state. Hence will ensue a certain restlessness and disquietude, yet accompanied by indolence and love of ease, an inclination to change, in hopes that some favourable circumstance may thence ensue, yet an aversion to personal exertion in our own behalf, an expection and reliance that fate will do for us, that, which we are unwilling to do for ourselves. If all these circumstances could be superinduced on the same patient at an age and season when riches abound, and luxury and effeminacy pervade all ranks of life, when all complain of poverty, yet all are enjoying every comfort and every gratification that refinement of arts, extended commerce, exquisite taste, and consummate love of pleasure, can require and supply, so much the better. If all this happens, the receipt will be administered under the most favourable circumstances. No knight of the lancet, nor of the pestle and mortar, need ever hope to find a patient more prepared for his operations, than our patient is now for complete and entire ruin.

The Receipt.

Take 6 oz. 5 penny wt. 19 gr. of self-sufficiency.
8 oz. 10 penny wt. 23 gr. of ignorance or inexperience.

N. B. These two drugs, though of different appearance and taste, produce so precisely the same effect, that they may always be used indiscrimina ely.

3 oz. 16 penny wt. 9 gr. of doubt.

N. B. This medicine made up of diffidence, integrity, and love of good fame on the one hand, of procrastination, fear of censure and overscrupulous prudence, on the other, is to be found in the greatest perfection at a certain apothecary's, not a hundred miles from Bedford-square.

Mix these three ingredients carefully together till they are completely amalgamated and incorporated with each other. Then pour them into a quart of a mixture, one part milk and three parts water, and let it boil well on a slow fire for eight hours. In the mean time you must carefully fling into the liquor, every half hour, one quarter of an ounce of a powder made up of the following ingredients all in equal quantity, viz. Pomp, flippancy, slovenliness, passion.——After this mixture has boiled some time it will be reduced to a thin poor jelly of weak substance.—Let it be well sweetened by a proportionate quantity of places, pensions, and reversions of places, and ornamented *on the surface* with painted emblems of candour, flattery, and smiles,—openess of conduct, and gentle manners.

This jelly, though thus sweetened and decorated, will suit but few palates; it must therefore be forced down the throats of unwilling patients by great and high-sounding professions and assurances. Even then it will not always be quietly taken. In that case it must be reduced to the shape of pills, and covered with a double coat of leaf gold.

The dose, when administered at a proper season (such as the one above directed), is sure to take effect, at least several emi-

nent physicians have assured me, they never knew it fail. It operates first gently and kindly, it spreads itself over the whole frame, soothing its cares and assuaging its pains. But at the same time it weakens and enervates prodigiously. Soon, however, its effects grow quick, painful, and terrible.—Colics and gripings ensue, and the strength of the frame being already impaired, the constitution is unable to make any effectual resistance; till at last a violent dysentery succeeds, which soon brings our patient to the grave.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Constantinople, December 28.—Citizen Sebastiani had, before his departure for France, an interview with Lord Elgin, the English Ambassador, with whom he dined. He likewise several times assembled the French merchants in this city, and imparted to them the intentions of the Chief Consul, who proposes to accelerate, by all the means in his power, the re-establishment of the Commercial relations between France and Turkey.

St. Petersburgh, January 26.—The Danish Ambassador, Lowendahl, has received from the Emperor of Russia a snuff-box valued at 10,000 roubles, and inclosing a picture of his Majesty, on account of the share which his court took in the Convention between Russia and England.

Florence, January 29.—On the 24th of this month, the Citizen G. C. Tassoni, Chargé-d'Affaires from the Cisalpine Republic to the King of Etruria, presented his credentials to his Majesty, and was received by him and the Queen in the most gracious manner. The Cisalpine minister, in the name of his government, expressed the sincere attachment of the Cisalpine people for their Majesties. The King replied in terms equally flattering, and expressing sentiments of reciprocal regard for that Republic.

New-York, January 30.—The American Consul at the Havannah has informed the Collector of the Port of New-York, that all American vessels, as well as all foreign vessels sailing from American ports, are prohibited from entering the Havannah.—The Order of Prohibition is dated the 25th of December, but no cause is assigned for this unexpected regulation.—By a ship from Jamaica, arrived at Norfolk, we learn that five sail of the line of the Channel Fleet had arrived there, and seven more were momentarily expected with 7000 troops. Barracks were preparing at Spanish Town for 4000 men. It is supposed that they were to act in concert with the French troops in the reduction of St. Domingo.—A Letter from Richmond, Virginia, to a gentleman in Philadelphia, dated January 10, 1802, says, "We have been alarmed "by an express which arrived from Peters-"burgh last Thursday to the Governor of "this place, with information that the ne-"groes of the County of Norway had risen "in a body of 500, with an intent to destroy "all the whites. Happily they were dis-"covered in time, otherwise I fear we "should have been in a bad way. The "troops and citizens are patroling the streets "every night in this city. Some of the con-"spirators are taken: the rest are dispersed "in the woods."

Milan, February 1.—We learn from Calabria, that the Bishop of Cattazaro was killed by a shot as he was returning to the convent where he lodged: the author of this horrid assassination is not known. This respectable prelate was a particular friend of Cardinal Ruffo. The body of Pius VI. arrived on the evening of the 24th ult. at Genoa; next morning it was landed, and conducted by the light of flambeaux, and under the escort of grenadiers, to the church of the Dominicans, where divine worship was performed in honour of the deceased pontiff, which will be continued till the departure of Monsignior Spina for Rome.

Ratisbon, February 1.—It is now decided, that the three Ecclesiastical Electorates are to be preserved, notwithstanding the projects by which the Electoral dignity was to be conferred on the Landgrave of Cassel, the Prince of Orange, and the Prince of Wirtemburgh. The Elector of Hanover has taken every possible measure to prevent Prussia from possessing herself of the country of Wildesheim, as he would then be entirely surrounded by the Prussian states.

Vienna, February 3.—The Grand Vizier intends next summer, as soon as the affairs of Egypt are settled, to go into the Provinces of Syria and Natolia. The Captain Pacha will also set out against Passwan Oglou with a flotilla, and has requested that a considerable number of English officers shall accompany him on this expedition.—

His Imperial Majesty has appointed Baron von Crumpipen as his Ambassador to the Helvetic Republic, with a salary of 18,000 florins.

Extract of a Letter from Switzerland, dated February 6.

" How does it happen that you are so ill informed with respect to Switzerland? There has been no talk about the *rouge et noir* nor *d'ours* (the armed forces of the Canton of Berne.) The unfortunate Bernese alone, always ready to ruin or to flatter themselves, imagined they were to be put upon the former footing, because they desired such a regulation: but their hopes were soon destroyed. The Landamman Reding brought nothing but a letter from the First Consul, *which threatened the Helvetic independance, if the people did not remain quiet.* The different parties are secretly tampered with in every manner, in order to excite them to rise. The present government, being in high spirits, is as vigilant as possible, and the upright and virtuous individuals have agreed, by a concordat, to vote for none but learned men at the first elections. After that, they are careless of what may follow. They hope, that if there be a Congress at Amiens, some pity will be shewn to poor Switzerland, and that it will not be left a prey to the pretended protection of France, by whom we are massacred.

" General Thureau (formerly the murdering General of La Vendée) comes, in the name of Buonaparté, notwithstanding our representations, to overturn all the authorities of the Valais, and he already treats them like dogs. He inspects all letters which are conveyed by post, and commits every outrage imaginable. These are the preliminaries of our union with France. ——— has set off for Vienna; but is it there that Switzerland may expect to find friends?

" The Cisalpine Deputies have returned home overcome with rage and disappointment. All the inns resound with their exclamations, in consequence, it is said, of the vexations they have experienced at Lyons. These new republicans are not sensible of their happiness.—There is no talk of war; on the contrary, no doubt is entertained here that all the powers are inclined to let France do whatever she pleases, and that ere long Spain, Prussia, Vienna, and England, will be equally complaisant. The retinue and dependants of Buonaparté hold in equal contempt all the cabinets of Europe. The First Consul has provided handsome establishments for his brothers,—you may be assured that he will recruit his armies by force. I reside near the frontiers, and I know that men are daily kidnapped, bound, and conveyed to the interior departments."

Extract of another Letter, of the same date.

" The French are incorporating the Valais with France. Last week they suspended the functions of the Prefect, and all the authorities. The *heroes* of the Canton de Vaud (part of the former Canton of Berne), solicit a junction with France. In short, the affairs of Switzerland wear a dismal aspect."

Hanau, Feb. 6.—It is again openly said at Orangestein, that three battalions of Prussian infantry, two squadrons of hussars, and a battery of artillery, shall be at the Prince of Orange's service, till he has time to organize a body of national troops for himself.—A new revolution has broke out in the Island of Corfu, in which the democratic party have obtained the ascendant.—Three companies of troops have set out for Zurich, and peace has again been restored there. At Genoa all masquerades have been prohibited.

Hague, Feb. 7.—A negotiation is going on at Berlin, between our government and the Prince of Orange, relative to the indemnity to the latter for the loss of his private property in Holland. This negotiation is carried on under the mediation of France and Prussia, and the sum of indemnity talked of is 8,000,000 Dutch florins. The deficit in our finances amounts to 30 millions of florins, to make up for which, the executive has proposed to the legislative body, a *forced loan* and a *lottery.—Feb. 5.* The officers of De Winter's squadron have orders to hold themselves in readiness to sail.—*Feb. 10.* Several Members of our East-Indian Company have petitioned Government, to be indemnified for the losses they sustained in evacuating Ceylon; and further petitioning that England may indemnify them for the Dutch East-India Company's ships which were detained at the commencement of the war; and also that attention may be paid to the transactions at Amiens, with regard to the Cape of Good Hope, by which it is said that port is to be always free to the English, but maintained at the expense of the Republic.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

The following is a statement of the several sums paid from the Revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, in aid of the Civil List, during the minority of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in pursuance of his Majesty's Warrants, countersigned by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, with the dates of such Warrants: with an account of Interest thereon due to the 12th of August 1783, when his Royal Highness came of age, and took possession of the said Duchy; together with a further account of Interest, calculated to the 1st day of February, 1802.

Dates of Warrants.	*Sums paid.*		*Simple Interest at 5 per Cent. to Aug.* 12, 1783.		
	£.	s. d.	£.	s.	d.
July 21, 1763....	12,000	0 0....	12,036	3	0
May 31, 1765....	20,000	0 0....	18,199	10	0
July 21, 1766....	16,478	11 2....	14,056	5	2
July 8, 1768....	12,500	0 0....	9,433	18	1
Apr. 17, 1769....	11,000	0 0....	7,875	2	7
Apr. 6, 1770....	17,000	0 0....	11,347	5	9
Apr. 3, 1771....	8,700	0 0....	5,375	13	11
Apr. 16, 1772....	13,000	0 0....	7,358	15	2
May 23, 1773....	12,800	0 0....	6,541	14	2
Aug. 4, 1774....	8,300	0 0....	3,608	15	4
Apr. 24, 1775....	12,000	0 0....	4,979	11	0
Apr. 17, 1776....	12,950	0 0....	4,738	13	6
May 29, 1777....	9,720	0 0....	3,015	12	7
Apr. 16, 1778....	15,964	0 0....	4,247	7	1
Apr. 16, 1779....	6,640	0 0....	1,464	12	6
June 26, 1780....	8,603	0 0....	1,345	2	11
May 21, 1781....	15,700	0 0....	1,748	2	
Mar. 25, 1782....	8,658	0 0....	598	10	4
May 7, 1783....	12,051	0 0....	158	17	5
Principal....	233,764	11 2	118,099	13	1
Interest.....	118,099	13 1			
Principal and interest to Aug. 12, 1783.....	351,864	4 3			
Simple Interest at 5 per cent. on the princi. sum of 233,764l. 11s. 2d. from Aug. 12, 1783, to Feb. 1, 1802	215,907	9 9			
Total princi. and interest to Feb. 1, 1802.....	567,771	14 0			

Presentations to the King at the Levee, on Wednesday last, were, Sir James Duff, by Earl Fife, he being too late to be introduced the last Levee day; the Rev. Dr. Heath (Canon of Windsor), by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury; the Earl of Granard and Major Doyle, by Earl Moira; Lord Clifden, on coming to the title and estates on the demise of his relation, the venerable Lord Mendip; Le Comte De Pfaffenhoffen from Germany, by his Excellency the Imperial Ambassador; Mr. Erskine was introduced by the Earl of Rosslyn, (the above gentleman is going on a diplomatic mission;) and John Reeves, Esq. by the Bishop of London—this gentleman presented his two editions of the Bible to his Majesty; Mr. Emmit, by Sir R. Woodford.——Mr. Bentinck, nephew to the Duke of Portland, kissed the King's hand, and took the accustomed oaths, on his appointment to the government of St. Vincent's. ——Among the presentations to the King was Mr. Liston, Envoy to the United States, on his return from America. After the Levee he had an audience of his Majesty in his closet.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

The proceedings of last week, owing principally to an indisposition in the family of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were very unimportant. No debate of any length, or interest, took place, nor was any new bill or resolution passed. It seems to have been agreed not to connect the discussion of the claims of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales with the discussion relative to the arrears of the Civil List.—In answer to a question from *Dr. Lawrence*, *Lord Hawkesbury* said, that Denmark had acceded to the convention of St. Petersburgh, and that the ratification of such accession had actually been received.——The Royal Assent was given, by commission, to the Exchequer Bills Bill, the Southern Whale Fishery Bill, and the Eel Bill.—The second reading of the American Treaty Bill was, at the request of General Gascoyne, postponed till Monday next.

CRITICAL NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

17. *Observations upon two Articles in the Times Newspaper.—By Count Dietrichestein-Proskau, Knight of the Order of Maria Theresa, Chamberlain of the Emperor of Germany, and formerly a Major General in his service.*— In the month of December, 1799, there appeared two articles in the Times, accusing this nobleman of having, while in the ministry of the Emperor, written a letter to M. de Chateler, the Austrian commandant at the siege of Turin, in which letter he recommended to the German general not to press the siege, 'till the total departure of the Russians out of Italy. This

letter, according to the statement in the Times, fell into the hands of Marshall Suwarrow, while he lay with his army before Turin, who forwarded it to the Emperor his master.—This accusation the Count repels, in the pamphlet before us; and, though he has been assisted by a most miserable translator, he has certainly accomplished his object, which was to prove, that the two articles above-mentioned, were totally destitute of truth. We think, however, that, if this nobleman had known what degree of credit is, by people of sense, generally given to the statements of the Times, he would have saved himself the trouble of refuting its accusations.

18. *Chalmers's Estimate of the comparative Strength of Great-Britain, &c. &c. A new Edition, corrected and continued to* 1801.—This estimate was first published in 1782, with the very laudable motive of counteracting the *wailings of despondency*. From the same motive it is now said to be revived, with corrections and additions, but we think that the latter will not be found to be *improvements*, and we are confident, that the author will fail in the object, which he professes to have in view. Indeed, from the unfairness, not to say fay falsehood, of the statements from the abusiveness of the language, and the virulence of party spirit, which run through every page of the continuation of the work, particularly in whatever relates to the preliminaries of peace, we are fully warranted in questioning the purity of his motives; nor do we scruple to say, that we discover, in this part of his labours, a much greater desire to deceive than to inform, much stronger marks of official servility than of that impartiality and independence, which ought to guide the pen of every public writer. In his preface, Mr. Chalmers takes the liberty to censure almost all those, who have happened to write on the same subject, and, with respect to Mr. M'Arthur, in particular, he gives way to a degree of bitterness, which is not less unjustifiable because it is perfectly unprovoked. In fact, envy, the vice of little minds, seems here to have got the better of good manners and of truth. Mr. M'Arthur's work has already gone through two editions (to which the author is now about to add a third), and has, in the space of twelve months, obtained a greater circulation, than that of Mr. Chalmers has obtained in twenty years. We know not how this envious malignity may square with that system of "*moral arithmetics*," of which Mr. Chalmers seems to have been the inventor; but we can by no means reconcile it to our notions of *moral rectitude*, which is a phrase somewhat easier to understand.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The proclamation of Toussaint, the black governor of Saint Domingo, has, at last, convinced those, who entertained any doubt on the subject, that he intends to make no resistance against the armament of France. We thought we had fully established this point, long enough ago, and we are utterly astonished, that his Majesty's ministers should ever have been, for a single moment, misled by a contrary persuasion; yet, that they were so misled is very evident; and, indeed, their permitting the French armament to sail can neither be justified nor accounted for upon any other ground. It is no weak proof of the judgment and perspicacity of the London daily prints, that this proclamation of Toussaint should now meet their eye in the Moniteur, after having lain three weeks upon their shelves, in the American papers, from which papers the French have translated it, and from which translation it has now been turned back into English! The only passage of any importance, in the proclamation, is that which relates to the determination of Toussaint, not to make any new appointments of generals of division *'till he receives orders from the French Government*, (which passage will be found in our Register of the 13th of February, page 124.) That Toussaint will not resist, in consequence of any scheme of independence, is certain; and though there is a bare possibility of some disagreement between him and Rochambeau, who is now sent out as commander in chief, we are fully persuaded, that every thing will be amicably conducted between them, and that their councils and arms will be united in preparing for external operations. Rochambeau is a fit man for the enterprize: he was formerly commandant at Martinico, and bears a mortal grudge against Great-Britain and her settlements.

The delay in the conclusion of the definitive treaty has created much uneasiness amongst the mercantile and manufacturing people, which uneasiness is greatly augmented by the recent news from Italy and Spain, which threaten, not only a further stagnation, but a total loss, of the trade with those countries. The intercourse with Piedmont, which was formerly so advantageous to our commerce, and so singu-

larly beneficial to some of our manufacturing towns, is now completely cut off, as is also all the trade, which we had with the States of Genoa, and of Tuscany. Spain, which has heretofore been one of the best and largest markets for our staple manufactures, is now doubly barred against English goods. During the war, even, our woollens, worsteds, baizes, camblets, &c. found their way to the Spanish dominions, because France had it not then in her power to enforce those regulations, which she has now imposed upon Spain: and, if this trade should now be totally cut off, of which there is every appearance, inevitable ruin will ensue to the manufactories of Halifax, Leeds, Wakefield, Norwich, and Exeter. Besides this threatened cessation of trade, our manufacturers connected with Spain experience great embarrassment, in consequence of a compulsion imposed on their debtors to pay the amount of their debts into the bank of Madrid, instead of transmitting them to their creditors in England. This may, indeed, be only an act of sequestration, and one might, at any other time, have hoped to see it removed by a treaty of peace; but, situated as we now are, at the feet of France, whose interest, and whose inclination it is to cut off our commercial connexion with every part of the globe, there is but too much reason to fear, that these debts will share the fate of those which were sequestrated in the colonies of America, and which sequestration brought ruin on the heads of thousands of British merchants and manufacturers.—If we turn our eyes more towards the North of Europe, we find equal cause for alarm. The transit of English goods through Holland is prohibited on the severest penalties, and, though some imagine that this prohibition will be removed, yet we have the sad assurance, that our future connexion with Germany depends solely on the pleasure of that enemy, whose first and last objects are, our humiliation and our destruction.

Such is the situation into which we have been plunged by the preliminary treaty, by that treaty which excited a "delirium of joy," which enveloped our commercial and manufacturing towns in illumination, and which, together with the example of those who ought to have given greater marks of wisdom, urged the ignorant and brutal rabble to commit violence on those, who refused to join in their stupid acclamations. Should our blaze, like that of the fire-fly, prove to be a signal of our approaching death, we may bewail our fate, mankind may pity us, but we shall have no right to arraign the justice of Providence, whose cause we have deserted, and whose manifold favours we have despised. Had we made a wise, a safe, and an honourable peace, such a peace as we had it in our power to demand, France would not have dared to impose, nor would other nations have been intimidated into the adoption of those commercial regulations, which are injurious to them, and which aim at our annihilation.

But, we basely left those nations under the iron hand of their and our enemy, and, shall we now complain that they do not, for our sake, struggle 'till they welter in their blood? As well might the shepherd complain that his flock have ceased to yield him their annual fleece, after he has abandoned them to the jaws of the wolf, and turned a deaf ear to their piteous bleatings. Those who endeavour to disguise their cowardice by asking *why we should expend our blood and treasure in fighting for the independence of other nations*, may now receive an answer from those persons, who formerly traded with Piedmont and with Spain. We fought not for their independence alone, but for our commerce, and for the riches and power, of which that commerce was a principal source. It was by an union of value and of industry, that we arrived at the zenith of our greatness: what has been so gained, must so be maintained: the hope of "the coward shall perish;" if we yield up the sword, the shuttle shall be wrenched from our hands.

By referring to our Foreign Intelligence it will be perceived, that Switzerland is fast advancing towards the fate of the Cisalpine Republic. Buonaparté is acting in Europe as an individual in his garden: he plants, removes, and roots out at his pleasure. He asks for the Valais, of the government of which he forms a part; he is refused, and, upon that refusal, he takes possession of the Valais. The Pays de Vaud lies between France and the Valais; he causes a union between the two countries to be requested by some of his minions, which request will, doubtless, be granted by the unanimous consent of Buonaparté himself. In short, we have very little doubt, that a few weeks will see the whole of Switzerland, from the mouth of the Aur to the Suanen, united to France. What can have encouraged the poor Switzers to hope for relief from the negotiations at Amiens, we know not; but we have no scruple in asserting, that their name will not be mentioned there. In fact, Buonaparté has, in his answer to the

Landamann, Reiding, clearly pointed out their fate in the following words: "I have," says he, "often been consulted by you on "the affairs of Switzerland, and I have "always answered as the first magistrate "of the Gauls ought to have answered "the magistrates of Switzerland, when "Switzerland *formed a part of the Gallic* "*territory.*"

We have already expressed our fears, that nothing will be done, by any of the powers of Europe, to prevent the consummation of these daring projects of aggrandizement; and the events of each succeeding day only serve to confirm us in our opinion. It is the well-known determination of the British cabinet, to have peace, *on any terms*, that has emboldened the enemy to take these steps. The definitive treaty is, as far as depends on us, *hurried* on with all imaginable haste and anxiety. France is in no haste, because every day's delay renders her position more formidable, and heightens the tone of her insolence. Spain and Holland are now made the instruments of her ambition; she stands at their back, and bids them worry us with vexatious demands: we have despised them for their pusillanimity and weakness, but, covered by the shield of France, we shall find them bold and formidable enemies. We would fain hope, however, that those to whom his Majesty has confined the safety of his people and his crown, will not, as the Paris prints have so confidently and so slanderously predicted, sacrifice that safety *to the preservation of their places;* we would fain hope, that they will yet make a stand against that system of territorial and commercial encroachment, which, if carried into effect, must inevitably prove the destruction of themselves and their country.

*** A correspondent, who sent us some very valuable reflections, is informed, that want of room alone has prevented their insertion, for the present.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

Thomas Henry Brooke, Esq. is appointed Secretary to the government of the Island of Saint Helena.—Burnet Bruce, Esq. advocate, to be Deputy Judge Advocate and Clerk of the Courts Martial in North Britain, vice Tytler, appointed to a seat in the Court of Session.

SHERIFFS.

At the Court at the Queen's House, the 17th of February, 1802; his Majesty in Council, was this day pleased to appoint the following,

Herefordshire.——Edward Bolton Clive, of Treville, Esq. in the room of Thomas Debits, of the Apostles, Esq. deceased.

Pembrokeshire.——Hugh Stokes, of Hubberston, Esq. instead of David Lewis, of Hen-Llan, Esq.

Cardiganshire.——David Davis, of Glanry Occas, Esq.

Montgomery.——Pryce Jones, of Cofronidd, Esq. instead of David Edward Lewis Lloyd, of Farm, Esq.

BIRTHS AND DEATHS.

Births.—A few days since, the Lady of the Right Hon. the Earl of Sefton, at his Lordship's seat at Quorn, in Leicestershire, of a daughter.—At his house in Manchester-square, the Lady of Sir H. Lambert, Bart. of a son.—Last week at Woodhouse-place, near Leeds, Lady Johnstone of a daughter.

Deaths.—On Wednesday, the 17th inst. at an advanced age, at her house in Harley-street, Lady Anstruther, of Fifeshire.—On Thursday the 18th inst. at Wade's Mill, Herts, the Lady of John Buller, Esq. of Morvall, in Cornwall, youngest daughter of the Hon. the Lord Bishop of Ely.—On Saturday last, Lady Harriet Bridget Ann, third daugter to Earl Poulett, aged ten years.

PRICE OF STOCKS.

ENGLISH three per cent. consols.

Saturday	69⅛ ⅜	Wednesday	Shut.
Monday	68⅞ ⅝	Thursday	69⅛ 69¼ 68⅞
Tuesday	68⅜ ½	Friday	68⅞ 69¼ 69

AMERICAN STOCKS.—Eight per cent. 112½.

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 56 frs. 90 ces.

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s.	s.		s.	s.
Eng. Wheat per q.	66	to 78	Hops per cwt.	62	to 84
Foreign	44	78	Hay per load	60	99
Rye	38	42	Beef, per stone,	4s. 4d.	to
Barley	35	45		6s. 2d.	
Malt	43	55	Mutton	5s.	to 6s. 4d.
Oats	16	23	Veal	5s. 6d.	to 7s.
Pease	34	39	Pork	5s. 8d.	to 7s. 4d.
Beans	30	45	Tallow		4s.
Flour per sack	55	60	Average of sugar		
Seconds	45	53	per cwt.	40s.	8½d
Coals per chal.	35	41	Bread, 10¾d. the quart. loaf.		

Observations on the Weather, near Guildford, in Surrey, in the Month of Feb. 1802.

(Morning at 9 o'Clock—Afternoon at 2 o'Clock.)

Days. Moon's Age.	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barometer. Inches. M.	Barometer. Inches. A.	Thermometer. Degrees. M.	Thermometer. Degrees. A.
18	Rai. Fog.	sw	n	29,05	29,2	38	41
19	Fog. Fair.	sw	sw	29,47	29,35	39	43
20	Showery.	w	wnw	29,2	29,4	43	47
21	Fair.	nw	w	29,4	29,4	48	52
22	Fair.	sw	w	29,6	29,63	50	54
23	Rai. Fair.	sw	sw	29,85	29,85	49	53
24	Fair.	nw	sw	29,87	29,7	47	51

● New Moon.— ☾ First Quarter.— ○ Full Moon. ☽ Last Quarter.

LONDON,

LONDON, *February 27 to March 6*, 1802.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Definitive Treaty of Peace, concluded between the French Republic and the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia.

His Majesty the Emperor of the Romans, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and the French republic, being desirous to consolidate a peace, the basis of which was laid in the preliminaries signed at the castle of Eckenwald, near Leoben, in Styria, on the eighteenth of April, 1797, (the twenty-ninth Germinal, fifth year of the French republic, one and indivisible,) have named for their plenipotentiaries, viz his Majesty the Emperor and King, the Sieur D. Martius Mastrily, and the noble Neapolitan Patrician, Marquis de Gallo, knight of the royal order of St. Januarius, gentleman of the bed-chamber to his Majesty the king of the Two Sicilies, and his ambassador extraordinary at the court of Vienna; the Sieur Louis, Count of the holy Roman Empire de Cobenzel, and great cross of the royal order of St. Stephen, chamberlain, privy councellor of his said Imperial and royal Apostolic Majesty, and his ambassador extraordinary to his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias; the Sieur Maximilian, Count de Meerveldt, knight of the Teutonic order, and of the military order of Maria Theresa, chamberlain and major-general of the cavalry in the armies of his said Majesty the Emperor and King; and the Sieur Ignatius, Baron de Degelmann, minister plenipotentiary of his said Majesty to the Swiss republic.—And the French republic, Buonaparté, commander in chief of the French army in Italy.

The aforesaid plenipotentiaries, after an exchange of their respective powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Article I. There shall be hereafter a solid, perpetual, and inviolable peace between his Majesty the Emperor of the Romans, King of Hungary and Bohemia, his heirs and successors, and the French republic.

The contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to the maintaining between themselves and their respective dominions the most perfect harmony, without hereafter permitting, on either side, any kind of hostilities to be committed, either by sea or land, for any cause or under any pretence whatsoever; and they shall carefully avoid for the future any thing which might prejudice the union happily established. There shall not be granted any succour or protection, either directly or indirectly, to those who shall attempt any thing injurious or prejudicial againſt either of the contracting parties.

II. Immediately after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, the contracting parties shall take off all sequestrations imposed on the effects, rights and properties of individuals residing in the respective territories and countries that are united to them, and alſo of the public establishments situated therein; they bind themselves to pay all the debts they may have contracted for pecuniary advances made to them by the ſaid individuals and public establishments, and to discharge or reimburse all the annuities settled to their advantage by each of the contracting parties. The present article is declared to extend to the Cisalpine republic.

III. His Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, renounces for himself and his successors, in favor of the French republic, all his rights and titles to the ci-devant Austrian Netherlands.—The French republic shall enter on the perpetual possession of these countries, in full right and sovereignty, and on all the territorial possessions dependent thereon.

IV. All debts mortgaged before the war, on the land of the countries expressed in the preceding articles, and which mortgages shall have been drawn up with the usual formalities, shall be discharged by the French republic.—The plenipotentiaries of his Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, shall transmit a statement of them as soon as possible to the plenipotentiary of the French republic, and previous to the exchange of the ratifications, to the end that at the time of this exchange, the plenipotentiaries of both powers may come to an agreement upon all the explanatory and additional articles of the present treaty, and sign them.

V. His Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, consents that the French republic shall possess in full sove-

reignty the ci-devant Venetian islands of the Levant, viz. Corfou, Zante, Cephalonia, St. Maure, Cerigo and other islands dependent thereon, together with Butrinto, Larta, Vouizza, and in general all the ci-devant Venetian establishments in Albania, which are situate lower down than the Gulf of Lodrino.

VI. The French republic consents that his Majesty the Emperor, and King shall possess in full sovereignty the countries hereinafter mentioned, viz. Istria, Dalmatis, the ci-devant Venetian islands in the Adriatic, the mouths of the Castaro, the city of Venice, the Venetian canals, and the countries that lie between the hereditary states of his Majesty the Emperor and King, the Adriatic sea, and the line to be drawn from the Tyrol along the torrent before Gardola, stretching across the Lake Garda, as far as Lacisa; from thence a military line shall be drawn to Sangiacoma, holding out an equal advantage to both parties, which line shall be traced out by engineer officers appointed on either side, previous to the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. The line or limitation shall then pass the Adige to Sangiacomo, running along the left bank of that river to the mouth of the Canalblanc, comprising in that part of Porto Legnago that lies on the right side of the Adige, together with a district of 3000 toises. The line shall be continued along the left bank of the Canalblanc, the left bank of the Tartaro, the left bank of the canal called the Polisella, to where it empties itself into the Po, and along the left bank of the great Po, as far as the sea.

VII. His Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, renounces for ever, in his own name, and in that of his successors, &c. in favour of the Cisalpine republic, all the rights and titles arising from these rights, which his said Majesty might pretend to have over these countries before the war, and which countries at present constitute a part of the Cisalpine republic, which republic shall possess them in their full right and sovereignty, together with all their territorial dependencies.

VIII. His Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, acknowledges the Cisalpine republic as an independent power. This republic comprises the ci-devant Austrian Lombard, the Bergamesque, the Brescian, the Cremonesque, part of the ci-devant Venetian states to the east and south of the Legner, described in the sixth article as the frontier of the states of his Majesty the Emperor, in Italy; the Modenese, the principality of Massa, and of Carara, and the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna.

IX. In all countries ceded, acquired, or exchanged, in virtue of the present treaty, sequestrations imposed on the effects, rights, and property of individuals belonging to these countries, shall be taken off, which individuals shall have been thus affected on account of the war that has subsisted between his Imperial and royal Majesty and the French republic, nor shall they on this account be molested in their persons and property. Such persons as may hereafter be desirous to withdraw from the said countries, shall be bound to make a declaration of such their intention three months before the publication of the treaty or definitive peace. There shall be granted to them the term of three months to enable them to sell their effects either moveable or immoveable, and dispose of them in the manner they may judge most expedient.

X. The countries ceded, acquired, or exchanged, by virtue of the present treaty, shall leave the debts mortgaged on their territories, to be discharged by those under whose dominion they may fall.

XI. The navigation of such rivers and canals as mark the boundaries between the possessions of his Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and those of the French republic, shall be free, without its being permitted to either of the powers to establish any toll or custom on them, or keep thereon any armed vessel: by which, however, is not precluded any precaution which may be thought necessary for the protection and safety of the fortress of Porto Legnago.

XII. All sales or alienations of property, all engagements entered into, either by the government or by the civil administrative authorities of the ci-devent Venetian territories, for the maintenance of the German and French armies, up to the date of the signature of the present treaty, shall be confirmed and acknowledged as valid.

XIII. The territorial titles and archives of the different countries ceded or exchanged by the present treaty, shall, within the two months from the date of the exchange of the ratification, be put into the hands of the powers which shall have acquired the property of them. The plans and maps of the fortresses, towns and countries, which the contracting powers acquired by the present treaty, shall be faithfully given to them. The military papers and registers taken

in the present war from the état-major of the respective armies, shall be restored in the same manner.

XIV. The two contracting parties, equally animated with the desire of removing every ground that might interrupt the good understanding happily established between them, mutually bind themselves in the most solemn manner to contribute to the utmost of their power to the maintenance of internal tranquillity in their respective states.

XV. There shall immediately be concluded a treaty of commerce, founded upon an equitable basis, and such as shall secure to his Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary, and the French Republic, advantages equal to those which the most favoured nations enjoy in their respective states. Meanwhile all communications and commercial relations shall be restored to the situation in which they stood before the war.

XVI. No inhabitant of all the countries occupied by the Austrian and French armies shall be prosécuted or questioned, either in his person or property, on account of his political opinions or his conduct, civil, military or commercial, during the war that has taken place between the two powers.

XVII. His Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, shall not, agreeably to the principles of neutrality, admit into any of his ports during the course of the present war, any vessels belonging to any of the belligerent powers.

XVIII. His Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, binds himself to cede the Duke of Modena, as an indemnification for the territory which that prince and his heirs possessed in Italy, the Brisgraw; which he shall possess upon the same conditions as those in virtue of which they possessed the Modenese.

XIX. The landed and personal property not alienated, belonging to their royal highnesses the Archduke Charles and the Archduchess Christiana, which are situated in the countries ceded to the French republic, shall be restored, under the deduction of the expenses of sale, within three years. The same shall be done relative to the landed and personal property of his royal highness the Archduke Ferdinand, in the territory of the Cisalpine republic.

XX. There shall be held a congress, solely composed of the plenipotentiaries of the Germanic empire and the French republic, for a pacification between the two powers. This congress shall be opened a month after the signing of the present treaty, or as soon as possible.

XXI. All the prisoners of war made on either side, and the hostages given or carried away during the present war, who have not yet been restored, shall be given back in forty days, dated from the day of the signing of the present treaty.

XXII. The warlike contributions, deliveries, furnishings, and devastations of every kind, which have taken place in the respective states of the contracting powers, shall cease from the day on which the ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged.

XXIII. His Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and the French republic, shall mutually preserve to each other the same ceremonial with regard to rank and other etiquettes which was constantly observed before the war. His said Majesty and the Cisalpine republic shall observe with regard to each other the same ceremonial of etiquette which was in use between his Majesty and the republic of Venice.

XXIV. The present treaty shall be ratified by the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and by the French republic, within thirty days from this day, or sooner if possible, and the instruments of ratification in due form shall be exchanged at Rastadt.

Done and signed at Campo Formio, near Udina, the 17th October, 1797 (26th Vendémiare, sixth year of the French republic, one and indivisible.)

(Signed) BUONAPARTE,
The Marquis de GALLO,
LOUIS Count COBENTZEL,
The Count de MEERVELDT,
The Baron de DEGELMAN.

The Executive Directory ratifies and signs the present treaty of peace with his Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, negotiated in the name of the French republic by citizen Buonaparté, general in chief of the army of Italy, invested with powers by the Executive Directory, and charged with instructions to that effect.

Done in the national palace of the Executive Directory, 5th Brumaire, October 26th, sixth year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

This treaty was ratified by the Council of Five Hundred on the 31st October, and by the Council of Elders two days after.

TO THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA.

It is now nearly six years, since I endeavoured to awaken you to a due sense of the danger, with which you were threatened by the projects, which France had conceived with respect to *Louisiana*. I do not think so poorly of myself, as to suppose that you have quite forgotten me and my prognostications; but, as I have not the vanity to hope, that, amidst the never-ceasing din of elections, you can have retained a perfect remembrance of any thing that I said so long ago as 1796, I will take the liberty to refresh your memories, by quoting a passage from the Political Censor * for the month of November of that year.

It is necessary, perhaps, to remind you, that, at the epoch, of which I am now speaking, the French minister, Adet, had just published for your perusal, a very insolent state paper, which he had, a few days before, addressed to your government. To this paper my Censor for November 1796 was an answer. In the course of this answer, or rather at the conclusion of it, I endeavoured to expose the hostile views of France, and to convince you, that Louisiana was, even at that moment, ceded by Spain to France, in a secret article of the treaty of Basle, of the conclusion of which we had, but a few months before, received an account. On this subject I made the following observations:

" However, though I am certain that " the French will not go to war with Ame- " rica, I am as certain that America must " soon go to war with them.—Let not the " reader start. He must accustom himself " to think and to talk on the subject, and " the sooner he begins the better. I am " not foretelling the day of judgment nor a " second deluge; but am speaking of an ob- " ject that may be looked at with calmness, " as I make no doubt it will be encountered " with success.

" There is every reason to believe (in- " deed, *with me the fact is certain)*, that " *Spain has ceded Louisiana to France.* This " will put the French in possession of all " our western frontier, give them the free " navigation of the Mississippi; and then " I beg any one to cast his eye over the " map of the United States, and see the " exposed situation in which they will be " placed.

" France has had this in contemplation " ever since the peace of 1783. The " King of Spain can refuse the French " nothing, or he certainly would not have " entered into a league with the murderers " of the head of his family, and have sup- " plied atheists with troops to carry on a " marauding war on the Catholic States of " Italy, and the defenceless head of the " church.

" The French, once in possession of " Louisiana, will give law to the Mis- " sissippi, and when we consider the pre- " valent spirit and politics of the western " people in general, the distance they are " at from the seat of government, and " the seductive arts of their new neigh- " bours, there is little reason to hope, that " they will long remain obedient to the " United States. The new inhabitants of " Louisiana will be made up of the pro- " fligate French soldiery, who will be pre- " vailed on by splendid promises to trans- " port themselves to this country, but who " will be fit for nothing but pillage and " war.

" Ever since the peace of 1783, France " has beheld the commerce, carried on " between America and Great-Britain, " with a watchful, jealous, and envious " eye. At first she endeavoured to turn " the channel towards herself; but that " having failed, she fell on the plan of " subjugation. A French writer in treat- " ing of this subject observes, that ' it " would be a balance against the *loans* of " England to the *Atlantic merchants.*' By " *loans* he means the *credit* given by the " British merchants, and which is indeed " a mine of gold to the farmers and mer- " chants of America. There is something " really diabolical in this envy. They " would sooner the country should be torn " to pieces than it should trade with their " rival.

" They well know, that there is but one " check to their ambitious projects; and " that is, an alliance offensive and defen- " sive between Great-Britain and Ame- " rica. They know, that by such an al- " liance they would be deprived of all " their possessions in the West-Indies, and " would be excluded from the Atlantic " seas. This alliance once formed, Ame- " rica might forbid them to set a foot in " Louisiana, or might drive them and their " ' *natural* allies,' the Spaniards, into the " Gulf of Mexico. It is with the con- " sciousness of this on their minds, that " they have been so sedulous in forming " a faction to oppose every accommodat- " ing step, and every advance towards " friendship, between the two countries.

* Porcupine's Works, Vol. IV. page 271.

"They have the Machiavelian maxim, "'divide and you govern,' continually in "their eye. They wish to keep them "asunder, that they may devour them one "at a time.

"The most disagreeable circumstance "at present, is, *this cession of Louisiana will "not be perfectly ascertained, till after the ge-"neral peace;* so that, though Great Britain "is nearly as much interested in the "event as America, she can take no steps "to prevent it, because she will be dis-"armed before it be known; and their "myrmidons will be in possession of their "promised land, before any measures of "prevention can be adopted on the part of "America."

When I told you these things, when I besought you to erect an insurmountable and everlasting barrier against these insidious and ferocious invaders, some of you turned a deaf ear to my intreaties, which your jealousy led you to ascribe to the gold of the British minister, who, you foolishly imagined, had hired my pen for the purpose of urging you to join him in the war against your "sister republic."

That minister, unfortunately for your country and for his, harboured no such wish; if he had, I scruple not to say, that it would soon have been accomplished; and that the situation of the world, would, at this day, have been very different from what it is. Far be it from me to insinuate, that you could have been led into the war by the means of corruption; and I am still less inclined to suppose, that you could have been deceived into that, or any other, measure of importance. No; but I am fully persuaded, indeed I *know*, that there was a time, when your government sincerely wished to embark in the war, and that this wish corresponded with that of a vast majority of those, whose influence in the country had heretofore always carried the decision in their favour. All men of property, all honest, orderly, and religious men, dreaded the success of the Republic of France; because they foresaw, that that success would finally produce the same mischiefs in America, which, as far as it had reached, it had already produced in Europe. To have formed that defensive and offensive alliance, the policy and necessity of which I urged with all my feeble powers, there wanted nothing but the hearty good will of this cabinet, nothing but that mortal hatred of the regicides, and that resolution to kill them, or to be killed by them, which were so necessary for a British minister to entertain, but which were, I am afraid, never entertained by Mr. Pitt.

It is, however, useless to talk of what might have been done. The regicide peace is made, and Louisiana is ceded to France, whose well-fleshed blood-hounds will be howling round the skirts of your naked plantations before you have time to collect the means of resistance. Think them not ignorant of any part, spot, property, or circumstance, of the territory, which they are about to possess. There is not a river, a creek, a cove, an inlet, not a hill nor a dale, nor a rock nor a cave, of which they do not know the bearings and the dimensions as well as I know the width and the length of the paper, on which I am now writing. They have calculated, to a pound of gun-powder and to a drop of blood, the means of severing from your authority the states of Kentucky and Tennessee; and, remember, that I, whose voice you refused to listen to in 1796, now tell you, that, unless you give up to them a great portion of your commerce with England, those states will, in less than two years, be attached to the Republic of France. You have no earthly means of defence. Not that you are destitute of money or of men: but who will you find to march five hundred miles across a wilderness, to meet, at the end of their route, the murderers of Alexandria and Acra, backed with the very settlers, whom you wish to preserve from their grasp?

By your treaty with Spain, you obtained the free navigation of the Mississippi. This freedom you have now to obtain from France; and, be you well assured, that she will not grant it without an equivalent. What this equivalent may be, it is impossible for me precisely to point out; but, be it what it may, you must yield it, or yield your hopes to retain the dominion of the western states, which would be instantly ruined by the closing of the Mississippi, and which, to avoid that ruin, would transfer their allegiance to the power, on whose pleasure their prosperity will solely depend.

One of the reasons, long ago given by French politicians, for obtaining possession of Louisiana, was, to secure a certain and never-failing supply of provisions and lumber for their West-India colonies; and, as they will find these articles in abundance in Kentucky and Tennessee, at a much cheaper rate than in the Atlantic states, it is more than probable, that they will pre-

fer the taking possession of settlements already formed to the forming of settlements for themselves, which requires that sort of industry and perseverance, for the practice of which they are disposed neither by their nature nor their habits. If they should determine on this, the ground of your present complaint, of a too widely-extended territory, will, in part, be removed; but, wide as is the wilderness that divides you from Kentucky, you will soon find yourselves too near to your neighbours. You have, it is true, neither pictures nor statutes for them to steal, but, the moment they are told, that there are ten thousand bags of dollars in the bank of Philadelphia, that moment must you resolve to kill them on the way, or quietly to yield your throats to their knives.

There are some persons here, who imagine, that the danger, to which the cession of Louisiana will expose you, will tend to bind you more firmly to Great-Britain; and, indeed, the separation of the western states, might produce this effect; but, you will endeavour to prevent this separation, which you can by no means do, except by purchasing the forbearance of France, which is to be done by nothing short of measures hostile to the commerce and manufactures of Great-Britain. Were the possession of Louisiana like that of Canada, which merely places a foreign power on your frontier, without giving him the command of any one out-let to the produce of your lands, then, indeed, the influence, which such possession would give to France, would not be of a nature so alarming. It is not merely an ambitious and bloody-minded neighbour that you are about to receive on your continent, but one who, by having the complete command of the Mississippi, will become, at once, the absolute master of a tenth part of your population. This is the distinction between the possession of Canada and that of Louisiana: the command of the St. Lawrence can never be made use of to your injury, because that river furnishes a channel of conveyance to no part of your produce: whereas, the produce of two of your states have no other out-let than the river Mississippi. So clearly are these truths perceived by all those, who have property in Kentucky or Tennessee, that, I am persuaded, the lands, in those states, will, upon the arrival of the news of the cession to France, immediately experience a very great depreciation in value. The insolent demands of the French your government will, probably, resist for a time: but the clamours of the western settlers and proprietors, joined to the intrigues of the French minister and his faction, will, at last, get the better of resistance, and will impose upon the Atlantic states whatever commercial regulations may be dictated by the interest, the rapacity, and vindictiveness of France.

WM. COBBETT.

Pall Mall, 2d March, 1802.

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,

I request the favour of your attention to the bill lately introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Vansittart under the title *I believe* of the *American* Treaty Bill, the second reading of which has been postponed on the motion of General Gascoigne, one of the members for Liverpool, in consequence of the shortness of the time allowed to investigate its tendency and effect on the shipping interest and commerce of Great-Britain, which at present is in so perilous a situation as to require all the vigilance and care which a wise government can bestow upon it.

The advantages which the *American* ships have obtained * and are obtaining from the *yielding* influence which pervades the British government at this time are too sensibly felt by you to need being particularly pointed out by me, yet your observations on its evil tendency may perhaps induce those persons to whom its administration is intrusted to look with a more wary eye to the dearest interest of Britain, its carrying trade, which from a concatenation of recent events is more rapidly declining than it ever increased under the strictest adherence to the spirit of those navigation laws, which have hitherto contributed to raise this country to that proud pre-eminence which during the *late* war distinguished her as a maritime nation. I therefore most earnestly desire that you will in future dedicate a small portion of your Register to those communications which may be transmitted to you on the present state of the carrying trade of this country, and which, aided by your own experience and knowledge of the subject, may in all probability not only

* See the judgment in Wilson v. Marryott. Exch. C. May 1799, wherein the late Lord Chief Justice Eyre *seems* to question the policy of having conceded to America a free trade to India.

tend to destroy the injurious system of granting to foreigners all they desire, but to raise the drooping spirits of those persons whose fortunes are embarked in shipping, which I am sorry to observe is too much overlooked and neglected by the persons alluded to, one of whom might naturally have been expected to have had an *hereditary* inclination to promote their welfare; for the exertions of his noble father will ever be remembered with gratitude by the ship-owners of Great-Britain.

Alfred.

London, 27th February, 1802.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF A STRICT ADHERENCE TO THE NAVIGATION LAWS OF GREAT-BRITAIN.*

It is the fate of *Great-Britain*, a fate peculiarly her own, to depend upon her navy and her commerce for a continuance of the superiority she enjoys over the other nations of *Europe*. This truth has frequently influenced the deliberations of her legislators from an early period of her history; and to appreciate its influence, we have only to regard the unremitting attention that has been paid to the establishment and security of her *maritime* rights from the moment their value was felt up to the present hour, an hour in which those rights, as they have derived from various causes unprecedented importance, demand at our hands unprecedented care. This attention to the grand source of our wealth and glory has been rendered worthy of the wisdom that bestowed it; it has not evaporated in empty eulogiums, it has been embodied and concentrated in statutes enacted by successive Parliaments, that have at length formed themselves into a *system* of *navigation laws*, which, if its operations are not counteracted by unforeseen circumstances, must continue to produce, as it has hitherto produced, to this country, an unfailing source of wealth and glory.

In its progress towards its present solidity, for the course of near five centuries, and amidst numberless subordinate regulations, it has been the undeviating aim of the wise framers of this system, to render the commerce of the country the medium of the *increase* of its *shipping*; and therefore, except where policy or necessity have compelled a contrary conduct, considerations of temporary advantages have sometimes been made to yield to the less dazzling, but more permanent acquisition of *naval power*. To effect this salutary end, the various acts above alluded to have been framed and worded with great consideration and care, for the purpose of confining certain portions of our trade with foreign countries, and the whole of our coasting and plantation trade, to *British-built ships* alone, and to securing to such ships, commanded, and three-fourths manned with *British subjects*, certain advantages, in which the vessels of foreigners could not, and ought not, to participate.

So early as the reign of Richard the Second, at a time when our shipping and commerce were in their infancy, the advantages, not to say the necessity, of such a system, presented themselves so strongly to our ancestors, that in the fifth year of his reign, an Act of Parliament was passed, by which it was ordained, that no merchandize should be shipped into, or out of the realm, but in *British ships*, on pain of forfeiture. This act was recognised, and its provisions enforced, by other Acts of Parliament in after times, during the reigns of Henry the Seventh, and Henry the Eighth; and in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, an Act of Parliament passed, which, although in words it repealed the statute of Richard the Second, was in the same spirit, and calculated to produce similar effects. But in process of time, and as the country began to discern with more clearness the policy of regulations that naturally tended to awaken the industry, and increase the wealth of its inhabitants, the desire to secure their observance, and extend their influence, became proportionably powerful, till at length, in the year 1651, an act was passed, which expressly prohibited all ships of foreign nations from trading with England, or with any *English plantation*; and no goods were suffered to be imported into *England*, or any of its dependencies, in any other than *English bottoms*, or in the ships of that European nation of which the merchandize imported was the genuine growth or manufacture.

The statute of the 12th Charles II. chap. 18. corroborates, if, after the experience we have had, any thing were wanting to

* These observations appear to us to be well calculated to further the wishes of our correspondent, *Alfred*. They treat of a subject, which is of the utmost importance to this country, at all times; but particularly at the present, when our shipping is threatened with a rapid decline.

corroborate, the wisdom of the principle in which the act of 1651, and the preceding Navigation Acts, were founded; for by this act, which was passed soon after the restoration, not only were the provisions of the act of 1651 continued (with some alterations as to the European trade) but a farther provision made, that the master and three-fourths of the mariners should also be *English subjects*, under forfeiture of the ship, and of all goods imported or exported therein.

During the succeeding reigns, up to the time of passing the 26th of his present Majesty, commonly called Lord Liverpool's Act, the spirit of commerce continued to rise, and with it the concomitant conviction, that to continue and secure the advantages granted by preceding statutes to *British-built ships* and their *owners*, in the carrying on the commerce of the country, was the only method by which *Great-Britain* could long remain in the possession of that proud pre-eminence which distinguishes her as a *maritime* nation; the act, therefore, of the seventh and eighth of William the Third, and others that cannot here be particularized, were all in various ways conducive to the confirmation of the *exclusive* rights of *British owners*, and the privileges of *British-built ships*.

Experience has shewn the correctness and importance of the views of those, who from time to time have supported this *system* of *navigation laws*, which it is so much the interest of *British owners* to uphold. The act of the 26th of his present Majesty, and many other statutes, clearly demonstrate the anxiety of the country to guard this system, by a steady adherence to which we have been enabled, during the most arduous contest in which this country was ever engaged, to triumph over all the naval powers of *Europe*; and to the continuance of which alone we can look for the security and fruits of that triumph. "After "this experience," says an able writer on this system of navigation laws, "no "one can doubt but that it is the *real in-* "*terest* of *Great-Britain* to give her principal "attention to *maritime* affairs, to carry on "her *own* trade in her *own* ships directly to "all parts of the world, and to encourage "her fisheries in every sea. From *these* "*sources* she may always hope to obtain a "*naval* force adequate to guard her shores "from hostile invasion, and to secure her "domestic felicity, both public and private, "firm and unshaken as the foundations of "the island."

On the other hand, should the wisdom and labours of successive ages be rendered unavailing by the blindness and indifference of the present day—should these boasted laws of navigation, framed for the increase and the protection of *British-built ships* and *British owners*, have been enacted in vain—should *strangers* and *foreigners* be permitted to snatch from their hands the privileges which belong, and which have been solemnly assured by the country, to *British owners* alone—it will be a task not less difficult than it will be melancholy, to calculate the mischiefs that must ensue to the *maritime* and the *commercial* interest of *Britain*.

It is with the deepest regret the *shipping interest* of this country observe, that the suspension of the navigation laws, during the last two years, has already been attended with serious inconvenience and loss; and they fear the continuance of it, unless those laws are again speedily permitted to have their free and natural operation: and if by *new* regulations, or by any further *relaxation* of the present navigation laws, *new* and *foreign* competitors should be admitted to share in the advantages resulting from them, they apprehend that the *maritime* spirit of the country will decline—that the capital of *British owners* will lie unemployed, or be employed uselessly—while the *shipping* of *Great-Britain* will lie rotting in her harbours, and her seamen emigrate to foreign countries in search of employment: it is therefore, particularly, at this time, the interest of *Great-Britain*, and the duty of her government, to encourage her *maritime* pursuits. The events of the late war shew that many nations look with a jealous eye on the superiority we have gained by our *carrying trade*, and that they are ready to use every effort to participate in the benefits of our navigation, and to rival us, if possible, on our native element. To counteract these efforts with success, we must not lose the recollection that without an extensive naval commerce, carried on in *British bottoms*, we can neither rear nor retain our seamen, the grand support of our present pre-eminence; nor preserve our country from falling even below the level of surrounding nations.

Impressed with these sentiments, and in order more effectually to protect the *shipping interest* of *Great-Britain*, and to prevent any infringement of the navigation laws as now established, it is most seriously recommended to the *owners* of *British-built*

ships to form an *association* * for preserving those rights, which the legislature has, in its wisdom, been pleased to confer on them *exclusively;* a measure which it must be regretted has been so long delayed, although earnestly desired by many owners; but which may yet, if embraced immediately, be the means of securing the privileges and the property of a most numerous and respectable body of *British subjects*—of preventing the undue advantages sought to be acquired by persons to whom the legislature has not intended to grant a benefit —and of keeping intire a body of laws peculiarly fitted to support and increase the commerce of the Empire, the neglect of which will, it is to be feared, put it in the power of others not merely to wrest from the *owners* of *British-built ships* the best produce of their industry, but to deprive them of the future means of exercising it, by excluding them from being the *only* carriers of *British commerce*.

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,

Although the public is not officially informed of the causes of the protraction of the negotiation at Amiens, yet there is sufficient reason to infer, that it is owing to the intrigues of the French government, which depending on our credulity and forbearance will continue to lure us with their pretended desire of peace 'till they have secured the entire subjection of St. Domingo beyond our power to disturb it, got back safe into their harbours the fleets which transported their troops thither, as well as the treasures of Spanish America, which have been accumulating during the war from the impossibility of their escaping the vigilance of our numerous squadrons whilst in a state of active hostility; besides which it is of most important consideration, that those fleets will bring our enemies an accession of forty to fifty thousand sailors †, trained in the voyage; they will then throw aside the mask, and with this increase of strength and sinew again play off the farce of invasion, and occasion an alarm the more serious, and compel us to preparations for defence the more burthensome and expensive, as our danger will have become the greater, 'till wasted by exertions our means of repelling the attack may be materially diminished when they find themselves prepared to undertake it; nor will they fail to employ the interval in giving further stability to their administration, and in procuring the co-operating of some new allies, or at least, securing the neutrality of other powers; for surely if by our supineness, our blindness to the present danger, our want of energy, we abandon to our enemies the means of acquiring all these advantages whilst it is in our power to prevent them, none will be so ill advised, so weak, as to seek to be connected with us, on the contrary all will see the danger and shun it.

How precarious our situation will then be is too obvious to need expatiating upon, it must be evident, upon reflection, to the mind of every man, who will not shut his eyes against conviction.

We have then no other means of security but by bringing the negotiation to an immediate issue, insisting by our ultimatum on every advantage, to ourselves and allies, that is not totally inconsistent with the terms of the preliminaries (for these on our part have been liberal in the extreme), peremptorily demand an answer in a very few days, and if that should not be completely satisfactory, recall our minister, declare the negotiation at an end, and recommence the most vigorous and determined hostilities.

The moment now offers of doing this to advantage whilst our enemies are assailable by having their fleets at sea, and most probably in a defective state, after the sufferings of a long voyage in a tempestuous season, and some stay in an unhealthy climate, but should it be otherwise, the superiority of our men is sufficiently evinced—we have therefore, not only the best reason to be confident of success in our attack, but are free from every alarm of invasion by our enemies having neither ships nor seamen in their ports.

Yours, &c.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Berne, Feb. 5.—It is certain that Citizen Diesback's journey to Vienna is not on account of any commission from government, but on account of the sums of money lodged by the former nobility of Berne, in

P

* Since these observations were first published an association has been entered into by some respectable ship-owners in London and at some of the out-ports.

† This will hardly be beyond the mark if we include the accession they will obtain by the naturalisation of American ships, &c.

the bank of Vienna. The Ex-noble Freudenreich is on his way to London, about the same business. The third Helvetic Auxiliary brigade has embarked at Toulon for Corsica.

Vienna, Feb. 10.—His Imperial Majesty has appointed Baron Felz his ambassador to the Batavian Republic.

Paswan Oglou has sent three commissioners to Constantinople, to conclude a pacification with the Porte.

Six thousand Turkish troops have arrived in the neighbourhood of Belgrade. While Paswan Oglou treats with the Porte, he is at the same time continually strengthening his powers of resistance.

Feb. 11.—Her Majesty the Queen of Naples intends to return to Palermo next May, and the Empress will accompany her, if circumstances will permit.

Hague, Feb. 13.—The Dutch garrison at the Cape of Good Hope will, for the future, consist of a corps of Wurtemburg troops, half a brigade of infantry, along with a regiment of cavalry to be raised in our republic.

Copenhagen, Feb. 13.—Last night our Hereditary Princess was delivered of a daughter: and this happy event was this morning announced by a discharge of artillery.

Hanau, Feb. 13.—The sequestration is taken off from all the Hessian private property on the left bank of the Rhine.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

Portsmouth, March 3.—Yesterday arrived the Camilla of 38 guns, Captain Brace, from Marcou. Dropped down to St. Helen's, the Ramilies.—Fresh orders of an important complexion, at a crisis when the country at large are cherishing the hopes of a happy return of peace, were this morning received at this port. The immediate fitting out and victualling the whole of the men of war capable of being sent to sea, frigates and sloops included, in all about thirty sail, are the orders which have been sent to the Dock-yard, Victualling office, &c. From the hurry and bustle which the execution of the orders have occasioned, it is conjectured that government must be in possession of some very important information.

In consequence of an express which reached Torbay on Monday evening, Admiral Cornwallis ordered the Edgar, Excellent, Magnificent, Bellerophon, Robust, and Audacious, all of 74 guns, to be victualled and stored for five months, and to proceed immediately to sea. The dispatch used on the occasion was so great, that the ships received their provisions and stores in less than twenty-four hours, and sailed from Torbay the following afternoon. Their destination was unknown, but there is little doubt that they have sailed upon foreign service.

Dates for the holding of the Lent Assizes.

MIDLAND CIRCUIT.

Lord Chief Baron and *Baron Graham.*

Northampton	Monday,	March	1.
Oakham	Friday,	Ditto	5.
Lincoln and City	Saturday,	Ditto	6.
Nottingham and Town	Thursday,	Ditto	11.
Derby	Saturday,	Ditto	13.
Leicester and Borough	Thursday,	Ditto	18.
Coventry and Warwick	Tuesday,	Ditto	23.

OXFORD.

Baron Thompson and *Justice Chambre.*

Reading	Monday,	March,	1.
Oxford	Wednes.	Ditto	3.
Worcester and City	Saturday,	Ditto	6.
Gloucester and City	Wednes.	Ditto	10.
Monmouth	Saturday,	Ditto	13.
Hereford	Tuesday,	Ditto	16.
Shrewsbury	Saturday,	Ditto	20.
Stafford	Thursday,	Ditto	25.

NORTHERN.

Lord Kenyon and *Justice Rooke.*

York and City	Saturday,	March	6.
Lancaster	Saturday,	Ditto	20.

NORFOLK.

Lord Alvanley and *Justice Grose.*

Aylesbury	Saturday,	March	6.
Bedford	Thursday,	Ditto	11.
Huntingdon	Saturday,	Ditto	13.
Cambridge	Wednes.	Ditto	17.
Thetford	Saturday,	Ditto	20.
Bury St. Edmunds	Thursday,	Ditto	25.

WESTERN.

Justice Lawrence and *Justice Le Blanc.*

Winchester	Tuesday,	March	2.
Sarum	Saturday,	Ditto	13.
Dorchester	Thursday,	Ditto	18.
Exeter and City	Monday,	Ditto	22.
Launceston	Saturday,	Ditto	27.
Taunton	Thursday, April 1, at Taunton.		

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

During the former part of last week, the attention of Parliament was not called to any subject of high national importance. The absence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, from the House of Commons, was continued by the illness of his daughter, and the second reading of the American Treaty Bill was, in consequence, postponed.

In the House of Peers (Feb. 26), *Lord Moira* enquired of the Secretary of State, if the attention of his Majesty's ministers had been directed to the affair of the Na-

bob of Arcot; and how far the proceeding to which he alluded, might be considered as an infraction of treaties now existing? To this it was replied, by the noble Secretary, that government certainly meant to bring the matter forward; and that it would be a subject of serious discussion whether those treaties had or had not been violated.

A discussion of some length took place the same day, on the petition of George Hoare, Esq. for leave to be heard by counsel, in favour of a bill to dissolve his marriage with Elizabeth Cooke, his present wife. The petition was opposed by the *Bishop of Rochester*, by the *Lord Chancellor*, and by *Lords Alvanley* and *Thurlow*. The motion for rejecting it was made by the *Bishop of Rochester*. It was argued against the petition, that it came before the House without having in its favour any of the circumstances usually attending such an application. To preserve the purity of their lordships' proceedings, two points had always been required of the petitioners in cases of divorce. These were, a favourable verdict in the courts, and the production of evidence at the bar of the Lords. With neither of these had the petitioner complied; two verdicts unfavourable to him had been given in Westminster-Hall, and, an insinuation seemed to be made, in his petition, against the propriety of producing evidence. Sufficient time had been afforded for bringing forward such evidence as was demanded by the House, but of this no use whatever had been made. The petitioner had prayed to be heard by his counsel; a mode of proceeding which was liable to many objections. Bills of divorce were, in themselves, partial interpositions beyond the general laws of the country, and ought not to be lightly granted. Under the circumstances of this case, to allow the bringing in such a bill, as was the object of the petition, would, it was argued, be every way dangerous. The least of its evils would be to hold up the House as a reviewer of the proceedings in the courts of law. It would give to any female, however reprehensible, the power of removing from one family to another, in the sacred character of a wife. By a bill of this kind a precedent would be established, subversive of the laws of divorce, and ultimately fatal to the morals of the country. For these reasons, and as no consideration of individual hardship ought to have any weight in competition with the general happiness and virtue of the people, the noble lords considered it as a duty to themselves and to the public to resist the prayer of the petition.

In favour of Mr. Hoare a few words were said by the *Duke of Clarence* and *Lord Bolton*. The latter, from personal knowledge, assured the House, that Mr. Hoare was rather an object of pity than animadversion. If he had erred in the mode of his application, it was with the best intentions. The interests of morality, however, he was well aware had, in all cases, a superior claim to consideration. The motion for rejecting the petition was then put and carried.

It has been already stated, that, during the absence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, little business of importance was brought before either House. In the lower House (Feb. 25), *Mr. Tierney* presented a petition from the German Jews resident in London, stating that, from the circumstances of their religion, they were precluded from receiving the benefit of hospitals and workhouses, and, therefore, praying an act to enable them to raise a fund for the relief of their sick and indigent. He moved that it should lie on the table, which was ordered.

Mr. Wilberforce also presented a petition from Dr. Carmichael Smith as a discoverer of a specific against contagious fever, and *Mr. Burdon* another from the inventor of a life-boat, stating their claims to public compensation. They were referred to a committee.

The next day petitions were received and referred to committees, praying that bills might be brought in for building bridges over the Conway and Menai, in order to facilitate the communication between Great-Britain and Ireland. Another from the coroners of several counties, for an increase of their allowance, was ordered to lie on the table.

On the 1st of March, *Mr. Sheridan* gave notice of a motion which he intended to make on the affairs of the Carnatic. The hon. gentleman, at the same time, expressed his determination not to go any further into the subject, until the Chancellor of the Exchequer was able to attend his duty in the House.

On the following day, the estimates of the army service were presented to the House, by the Secretary at War, and ordered to lie on the table.

The House having resolved itself into a committee on the Debtor's Act, a debate took place on a clause proposed by Mr. W. Wynne. The intention of this clause was

to allow the debtor to apply to the Court of Chancery for protection, whenever the sale of his estate, for the payment of his debts, could only be made upon disadvantageous terms. *Mr. Nicholls*, though adverse to the principle of the bill, as being an extension of the bankrupt laws, supported the proposition of Mr. Wynne. If the laws of bankruptcy were to be extended to men of landed property, it ought, in his opinion, to be done fairly and openly, and Peers and members of Parliament should not be exempted from their operation. *Mr. Wynne* denied that the present bill was of the nature it had been described. It was, in fact, merely enlarging the powers of an existing law. After some observations from *Mr. Nicholls* and *Mr. Baxter*, the clause was agreed to. A new one was then proposed by *Mr. Baxter* for subjecting Peers and members of Parliament to the provisions of the act, in the same manner as other persons of landed property. This was warmly opposed by the *Attorney-General*, as a more heavy grievance than that which it professed to remedy. It did not, he contended, in any manner grow out of the bill now before the House, and ought to be a matter of separate discussion. The *Master of the Rolls* dissented from it, on nearly the same grounds. After some further observations in defence of the clause from *Mr. Burton* and *Mr. Nicholls*, the committee divided; but, there not being forty members present, the House adjourned till Wednesday.

On the 3d of March, after having forwarded some bills of no particular importance, the House resolved itself into a Committee of Supply. *The Secretary at War* then stated, that the estimates which had been referred to the Committee, and on which he meant to move some resolutions, were for sixty-one days. They were, though not for the whole, for the most important part of the service, and were calculated on the scale of last year. The total number of men was something above 200,000, and the expense for two months would be 1,270,095*l*. He then moved the first resolution, that a number of Land Forces, not exceeding 61,176 men, be employed in Great-Britain, &c. &c. from the 25th of March to the 24th of May next. *Mr. Elliot* then rose, and in a speech of considerable length, and great ability, stated the necessity of a powerful force, and the grounds of alarm which might justly be entertained from the manifest fraud and ambition of France. It had, he said, always been the well-founded policy of this country, while regulating the proportion of her forces, to keep in view the objects and dispositions of the surrounding states; and on this principle, the propriety of which must be felt by every one, he heartily concurred in voting for the force now proposed. The greatest vigilance and precaution were indeed necessary. Submitting, with becoming deference, to the decision of the House, on the preliminary articles, he had no hesitation in declaring, that his conviction of their fatal effects, so far from being removed, was confirmed by every day's experience. The hand that signed those articles had signed the humiliation, the disgrace, and the decline of this country. The House, however, was not bound by its former opinion on them, if the circumstances which led to that opinion no longer existed. Since the signing of those Preliminaries, we have seen Buonaparté, without deigning to notify the event to any power in Europe, confer on himself the government of the Italian Republic, and parcel the country out into cantonments for his armies; the whole island of Elba * restored, as we supposed, to Tuscany, by the Preliminaries, had been delivered to France; and on the banks of the Mississippi, she had got possession of a large and important territory, by which, to say nothing of other considerations, the value of her West-Indian colonies was considerably augmented. Were ministers acquainted, or not, with the last two points, at the time they treated? If they were not, they had been guilty of negligence: if they were, they had suffered the country to be treated with unpardonable indignity. He believed, however, that they were not known to them. In addition to these alarming circumstances, another no less alarming

* In the Treaty of Luneville, Art. V. dated Feb. 1, 1801 (See Register, p. 22), France stipulates with the Emperor, that the Island of Elba shall be ceded by the Grand Duke of Tuscany to the Infant Duke of Parma, now King of Etruria. In her Treaty with Spain, formed on the 21st of March, 1801, Art. IV. (See Register, p. 52), France transfers the Island of Elba from the Infant Duke of Parma to herself. This last Treaty she keeps secret, 'till after she has formed a Preliminary Treaty with us, and in that Treaty (See Register, p. 162), France obtains the evacuation of Porto Ferrajo, which is the capital of the Island, and the only place we occupied on it. Thus by these three treaties (each of them, as far as relates to France, a violation of the other two), by this triple fraud, she obtains quiet possession of a most important post in the Mediterranean, which we thought we were giving up to the King of Etruria, instead of the Republic of France! And yet we are told, that there is no reason to suspect her sincerity!!!

had taken place. From the ports of France, Spain, and Holland, a formidable fleet and army had sailed to the West-Indies, for which France had assigned to this country no specific object. Against what power but that of England, could such a naval force be meant to contend? France, it might be answered, had no transports to convey her troops; but this answer had little weight with him, as she had the means of procuring them. By the conduct of France, we were at this moment in a situation equally deprived of the advantages of war, or the blessings of peace. For these reasons, he approved of keeping up a powerful force, and hoped that the interests and dignity of the country would be maintained with firmness and vigour. He was followed by *Lord Hawkesbury*, who, setting aside the topics urged by Mr. Elliot, as not being a proper subject of debate on the present occasion, confined himself chiefly to a defence of the ministry against any charge of procrastinating the Definitive Treaty. The inconveniences of a negotiation, even though protracted not longer than the present, he was willing to allow, were very great. This treaty, however, had not been so long under discussion as many former ones. As to the Preliminaries, he would say with the greatest sincerity, "that whatever the result of that event "might be, he should never regret the share "he had in that transaction. The experi- "ment of peace was at least as wise as "the experiment of war." *Mr. Windham*, in a speech of some length, contended that such a change had taken place in the relative situation of the two countries, as was highly unfavourable to Great-Britain. The conditions of the Preliminary Articles had been violated by the fraudulent practices of France, and could not now be acted upon by this country without dishonour. The settled purpose of France was, to destroy the commerce of this country, to subvert its greatness, and to grasp at universal empire. No independant continental powers were left but Austria and Russia. The only favour which would be granted to Great-Britain would be, that of being last devoured. *Mr. Baker*, in a short speech animadverted on the state of the country, of which it was difficult to decide whether it were peace or war. Though never perfectly satisfied with the Preliminary Articles, he had conceived it the duty of Great-Britain to abide by them. The duty, however, was equally obligatory on France. A great responsibility rested on ministers, and their conduct must be explained, when the time arrived for that purpose; at present he would not call upon them for any disclosure. *Lord Castlereagh* next rose to defend the conduct of ministers. With regard to the negotiation, he said, it ought to be inculcated to the public, that too sanguine expectations should not be entertained of its success. Of success, calm and rational hopes ought to be formed; but disappointment should also be prepared for with firmness and manliness. Much had been urged, he observed, on the subject of the French armament to the West-Indies, but he thought that true policy had been shewn by ministers in permitting it to sail. Assuming the hostility of Saint Domingo, he argued that the troops sent out by France was not more than sufficient for its conquest: but, even if the island were not in a state of rebellion, they were only sufficient to garrison it. He would not say that events might not arise from this expedition injurious to Great-Britain, but there certainly appeared no reasons for alarm. That the fleets of France were dispatched to the West-Indies, was to him rather a subject of exultation than of fear, as in the event of a rupture they would be within the reach of a British naval force. He concluded, by hoping that the public mind would neither rise into confident expectation, nor sink into despondency. *Dr. Lawrence*, in a long and able speech, went into the question. The Noble Lord who spoke second in the debate had, he said, replied to his Honorable friend (Mr. Elliot) as though a complaint had been made of tardiness in the negotiation. No such complaint had been made. The delay was rather a subject of congratulation, as it proved that every thing was not immediately abandoned: that some regard was still shewn to the interest of the country. Such delay was no small advantage. No delay would, he hoped, be thought too great, that was necessary for the preservation of our national interest. Former treaties had been alluded to, but the present treaty had no resemblance to any former one. It was not founded upon precedent. Every thing was new. With respect to the Noble Lord who spoke last, he seemed to be a political optimist. Whether the French fleet was confined in Brest Harbour, or at liberty in the West-Indies, all was for the best. In the one case, they were in no condition to do us injury, in

the other, they were open to the attacks of our force. This latter was a kind of consolation which he could not bring himself to receive. The noble lord had forgotten how productive of evil, the operations of such a force might be, before any effectual resistance could be opposed to them. If the sailing of the French fleet from their ports was so desirable an object, why had the system of blockade been so rigidly pursued, and why had it so often received from the House the most unbounded commendation? The colossal power of France in the other hemisphere, no less than in this, was truly formidable. With one foot on the river of Amazons, and the other on the Mississippi, she menaced all the possessions of Great-Britain in that part of the globe. Her cunning was no less formidable than her power. Every thing done on her part displayed the marks of fraud. The island of Elba and Louisiana were confirmations of this. Another might be found in that republic which, with a prospective view to future dominion, was called the Italian! In conclusion, he expressed his persuasion that it would be productive of the best effects to vote the supplies for a longer period than was required by the motion; a measure which might be adopted without adding in any manner to the burthens of the country.—The *Attorney-General*, in reply, recommended a continuance of that system of management which had hitherto been pursued by ministers. Allowing that the French fleet having sailed to the West-Indies might be accompanied with some evils, he thought, under the present circumstances, it was more advantageous for us, that it should be there than in its own ports. All that could be done for a country by the integrity, political knowledge, zeal and perseverance of its ministers, would, he was convinced, be done by ours. After a few words, in explanation, from *Mr. Elliot*, the question was put and carried. The House then resolved itself into a committee of supply, when a motion made by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, that a supply of one million, to be raised on Exchequer Bills, should be granted to his Majesty, was put and carried.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

As a strong mark of the frivolity and blindness of the Ante-diluvians, we are told, in Holy Writ, "that they ate, they "drank, they married wives, and were "given in marriage, until the day that "Noah entered into the Ark, and the "flood came, and destroyed them all;" so, at the present time, ninety-nine hundredths of the people of this infatuated city appear to be totally occupied in discussing the rival pretensions of private and public theatres, in deciding upon a choice of amusements, at the very moment when themselves and their children are threatened with the overwhelming domination of France; a chastisement not much less tremendous than that which was inflicted on the thoughtless and degenerate contemporaries of Noah. There is a time for all things; and, whichever way we turn our eyes, whether to the east or the west of our Island, whether we contemplate the state of our foreign or domestic concerns, every thing we see or hear tells us that this is the time to be serious.

It is stated, upon the authority of some one, who is said to have arrived at Falmouth, from Boston, that Toussaint has been burnt alive by the Blacks of St. Domingo, who perceived his design to give the Island up to France. This is possible; but, when we observe, that the news comes from that part of the United States which is most distant from St. Domingo, while vessels arriving from Charleston and Norfolk bring no such intelligence; when we consider the extent of Toussaint's power, and the number and quality of his adherents, together with the disarmed and divided state of those, who are reported to have effected his death, we confess that we can give but little credit to the report. Should it, however, prove true, very little impediment will arise therefrom to the restoration of the colonial system. If Toussaint lives, he is for France; if he is dead, the Blacks are without a chief of talents and influence sufficient to render them formidable to the armament of Buonaparté.

It is stated in the French papers, that the Prince of Orange has arrived at Paris, to solicit from the Chief Consul permission to enjoy his private property in Germany. This circumstance fully proves how completely that prince has been abandoned by the powers of Europe, and it also proves, that Buonaparté is the absolute master of the Empire and of all its princes, who hold nothing, no not even their lives, but by his consent. The nations of the earth are crouching down

under him like chickens at the approach of the vulture. The only check to his ambition and rapacity seems to exist in France itself, where he and his comrades are certainly not popular. His journey to Lyons, and his proceedings there, have excited much discontent amongst the people of France, who perceive in those daring projects of aggrandizement the seeds of new wars, and new miseries, fresh dissensions in the interior of France, and fresh pretexts for the exercise of that execrable tyranny, on which the existence of the Republic essentially depends. The government is by no means ignorant of the disaffection which prevails; but, in order to prevent its effects, great care is taken to stifle the voice of all those, who, by their disposition and their talents, are likely to become formidable to the Consul and his associates. Since the journey to Lyons, more than sixty persons have been seized and imprisoned, charged with no other crime than that of disliking the government, and detesting those by whom it is administered. While these acts of tyranny have been practised at Paris, others, of a nature more cruel, have been committed in the departments, and that too on persons, whose fate will excite compassion in every honest and loyal heart: we allude to the royalists of La Vendée, many of whom have lately fallen a sacrifice to the ferocity of their persecutors.

Not a word of these things do we hear through the channel of the French press, which is in that state of abject subjection, to which Buonaparté would wish to reduce the press of this country. The press of Great-Britain and that of America are, indeed, the last refuge of the liberties of the world; and, we may be well assured, that no exertion of stratagem or of force will be spared to stifle their inquiries. In America, the accomplishment of this object will be very difficult, but, however humiliating the acknowledgment, we sincerely believe, that the difficulty will be less in this kingdom; a belief in which we are persuaded our readers will participate, when they observe the language of those English prints, which are under the influence of the ministry, and when they are informed, that silence, with respect to Buonaparté, has been, by authority, already imposed on the *Journal de Peltier*. To suppose that the liberty of the British press is, at last, to be destroyed by the person whom Lord Hawkesbury so lately styled a "Corsican adventurer;" to suppose, that we are no longer to find protection in those courts, which have ever been the safeguard of ourselves, and the admiration of the world; to suppose these things possible is, in some sort, to renounce one's nature; but, so humble, so base are we become, and such is our propensity to sink, that it is beyond the powers of the mind to conceive the depth of degradation to which we shall finally descend.

During the last week, indeed, some faint gleamings of national spirit have appeared: the advocates for the peace have begun to talk of resistance, if it should be found necessary; they have begun to acknowledge, that it is better to fight a little longer than instantly to die; nay, in some instances, they have actually, though with quivering lips, pronounced the tremendous monosyllable *war;* but Buonaparté is too profound a politician to be influenced by these feeble exertions of expiring hope, in which he will perceive nothing but an increasing dread of the failure of the Definitive Treaty. If, however, he should be deceived: if he should mistake these momentary vapours for the rekindling of the national spirit, he may, probably, be induced to hasten the conclusion of the Treaty, more especially as he well knows, that neither that Treaty, nor any other, which he has formed, or may form, will operate as a bar to his ulterior projects, any more than the Treaty of Luneville has so operated with respect to the island of Elba.

Observations on the Weather, near Guildford, in Surrey, in the Month of February, and Three first Days of March, 1802.

(Morning, 9 o'Clock—Afternoon, 2 o'Clock.)

Days.	Moon's Age.	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barometer. Inches. M.	Barometer. Inches. A.	Thermometer. Degrees. M.	Thermometer. Degrees. A.
25	D.	Rai. Wind	N	NE	29,5	29,7	37	44
26		Fros. Fine	NE	N-W	30	30	38	44
27		Fros. Fine	SW	SW	29,9	29,85	39	47
28		Fair.	W	W	29,7	29,65	42	48
1		Fair.	S	S	29,5	29,4	39	53
2		Rai. Fair.	S	S	29,35	29,3	42	50
3		Fair.	S	SW	29,4	29,45	43	45

STATEMENT OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE BRITISH NAVAL FORCE TO THE FIRST OF MARCH, 1802.

(Exclusive of the HIRED ARMED VESSELS.)

	Line.	50's.	Frig.	Sps.	Tot.
In port and fitting	20	2	46	81	149
Guard-ships	4	1	2	0	7
In the English and Irish Channels	26	0	27	36	89
On the Downs and North Sea stations	12	4	11	32	59
On the Baltic Service	0	0	0	0	0
At the West-India Islands, and on the passage thither	23	1	38	46	78
American and Newfoundland stations	0	0	2	5	7
C. of G. Hope, E. Indies, and on the passage	8	6	14	18	46
Africa and Madeira	0	0	1	3	4
On the Lisbon station	0	0	0	0	0
Spain and Portugal without the Straits	4	0	2	1	10
In the Mediterranean	16	3	46	34	99
Hospital and Prison Ships	17	3	8	0	28
Total in Commission	135	20	197	256	606
Receiving Ships	4	0	2	1	7
Serviceable and repairing for Service	13	0	2	0	15
In ordinary	26	5	39	70	140
Building	22	2	5	0	29
Total	198	27	245	327	797
Ships in Ordinary	40	5	40	71	162

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE BRITISH ARMY, MARCH 1, 1802.

	Regulars. Cav.	Inf.	Fe. Inf.	Militia	Tot. Ea.	Inv. Co.
England and Wales	25	19	2	75	131	40
North Britain	2	—	*5	11	18	6
Ireland	7	15	28	—	6	20
Jersey, Guernsey, &c.	—	4	2	—	6	20
Gibraltar	—	7	4	—	11	—
Minorca and Malta	—	11	—	—	11	—
Egypt, and on the passage from it	1	16	1	—	18	—
Canada, Nova Scotia, &c.	—	5	2	—	7	—
West-Indies	1	36	—	—	37	—
C. of Good Hope, Goree, &c.	1	7	—	—	8	—
East-Indies, and on the passage thither	4	19	—	—	23†	—
Total	41	149	44	86	320‡	72

* Including the Ross and Comarty.

† The Company's troops exclusive.

‡ Exclusive of artillery and engineers, at home and abroad, independent companies, recruiting parties, and volunteers.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

At the Court of St. James's, the 24th of February, 1802, present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council. His Majesty having been pleased to appoint

Henry Bentinck, Esq. Captain-General and Governor in Chief of the Island of St. Vincent, Bequia, and such other of the islands commonly called the Grenadines, as lie to the northward of the Island of Curracoa, in America, he, this day, took the usual oaths appointed to be taken by the Governors of his Majesty's Plantations.

At the Court at the Queen's House, the 25th of February, 1802, present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council, was this day pleased to appoint as Sheriff,

Devon.——Sir John Davie, of Creedy, Bart.

Whitehall, Feb. 17, 1802.

The King has been pleased to grant the dignity of a Viscount of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland unto the Right Hon. Asheton Baron Curzon, and to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, stile, and title of Viscount Curzon, of Penn, in the county of Buckingham.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

Birth.—On the 12th ult. the Consort of the Hereditary Prince of Denmark of a Princess.

Marriages.—Lately, the Earl of Charlemont to Miss Bermingham.—On the 26th ult. at Bath, Major Tho. Alcock, to the Hon. Miss Caroline Sentleger, sister to Lord Viscount Doneraile.

Deaths.—Lately, near Southampton, the 2d son of Joseph Sydney Yorke, Esq. M. P. and Capt. of the Canada.—Lately, Benjamin Lester, Esq. and Alderman, and formerly one of the Representatives in Parliament for the town and county of Pool.—Sir Morgan Crofton, of Mohill, Leitrim, Bart.—On Monday, the 22d ult. at Blashford, near Ringwood, Herts, in the 60th year of his age, Sir John Hales, Bart.—Lately, Miss Isabella Pilkington, daughter of Sir Thomas Pilkington, Bart. of Chevitt, near Wakefield.—On Sunday, Mr. Jolliffe, M. P. for Petersfield.—On Tuesday forenoon, his Grace the Duke of Bedford.

PRICE OF STOCKS.

ENGLISH three per cent. consols.

Saturday	69⅛ ¼	Wednesday	Shut.
Monday	68½ ⅝ ⅜	Thursday	68⅜ ½ ¾ 69
Tuesday	68¾ ⅜	Friday	67½ ¾ ¾ ⅜ 69

AMERICAN STOCKS.—Eight per cent. 113½.

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 57 frs.

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s.	s.		s.	s.
Eng. Wheat per q.	65	to 79	Hops per cwt.	70	to 140
Foreign	44	78	Hay per load	73	108
Rye	35	43	Beef, per stone,	4s. 8d.	to 6s. 0d.
Barley	35	45			
Malt	45	55	Mutton	5s. 6d.	to 6s. 8d.
Oats	16	25	Veal	6s. 6d.	to 7s. 6d.
Pease	35	40	Pork	5s. 10d.	to 8s. 0d.
Beans	30	45	Tallow	4s. 8d.	
Flour per sack	55	60	Average of sugar		
Seconds	45	52	per cwt.	40s. 8¼d.	
Coals per chal.	34	6d. 41	Bread, 10½d. the quart. loaf.		

LONDON,

LONDON, March 6 to March 13, 1802.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

During the last week, the proceedings of the House of Lords were not of a more important nature than those of the preceding. The only debates that took place were on the divorce bills of Woodcock end Crewe.* The former was (March 4), after a long discussion, rejected on the motion of *Lord Auckland*. The further consideration of Mr. Crewe's was, after some debate (March 9), postponed till Monday. On the motion of *Lord Pelham* (March 8), the consideration of his Majesty's message relative to the civil list was postponed to the same period.

In the lower House (Thursday, March 4), after some business had been gone through, and leave given to *Mr. Dickinson* for leave to bring in a bill for continuing the act to suspend the proceedings against non-resident clergymen, *Mr. W. Dundas* moved the order of the day for the second reading of the bill to enable the East-India Company to transfer their servants from the establishment at Bencoolen to Madras. On the question for reading the bill a second time a debate took place. The bill was supported by *Mr. Wallace*, *Mr. Metcalfe*, *Mr. D. Scott*, and *Mr. W. Dundas*. It was urged in its favour by the hon. gentlemen, and more especially by *Mr. Dundas*, who took the lead in the debate, that the establishment at Bencoolen had been a very considerable burthen to the company, without being productive of any adequate advantage. Its yearly expense was from 100,000*l.* to 120,000*l.* By the measure now proposed the establishment was to be reduced to a mere factory, and the consequent saving would be 80,000*l.* a year. The company, it was said, might have made this reduction without applying to Parliament; but, in that case, their servants at Bencoolen must have been left without a provision. It had been suggested, by an hon. member (Mr. Johnstone) on a former night, that they might be transferred to Prince of Wales' Island or to Ceylon; but that the transfer of them to Madras, operating to depreciate the situation of the company's servants there, would be a breach of national faith. To the establishing of them at either of the places mentioned by the hon. gentleman there were the greatest objections. When the increased revenues and large territorial acquisitions of the presidency of Madras were considered, no objection could assuredly be found to the transfer of them there. The number of servants had not risen in proportion to the increase of territory and revenue. The servants to be transferred were few in number, and were, likewise, on their removal, to lose five years rank: no injury could, therefore, be done by them to the other servants of the company. The bill was opposed by *Mr. Johnstone* and *Mr. Tierney*. By the former it was contended that, the advantages held out by the supporters of the bill, were not likely to be, in any degree, such as they had been stated. Instead of 80,000*l.* the saving would at most be 10,000*l.* For the sake of so small a sum he could not consent that the faith of the company to its servants should be violated. That it would be so by this bill, he was convinced, as the company's servants were only allowed to enter into the service at a very early period of life, and were to rise by seniority. He certainly could not see any objection to the transfer of these servants to either of the places he had formerly mentioned. In a committee, he should move certain clauses to meet his ideas on the subject. If, however, it could be proved to cause such a saving as had been stated, he would no longer oppose it. *Mr. Tierney* was adverse to the Bill on the same grounds.

It was admitted, in reply, that the saving would not be to the extent at first stated. It would, however, be on an average to the amount of 62,000*l.* per annum; but, it was added, whether the saving amounted to 80,000*l.* or to 10,000*l.* the value of the principle remained the

* The petition of Mr. Crewe stated, that an unlawful intercourse had taken place between Mrs. Crewe and Sir Henry Eaglefield, Bart. in consequence of which the petitioner had brought his action in the Court of King's Bench, where he had obtained damages, upon a writ of enquiry (the def. having suffered judgement to go by default) to the amount of 3,000*l.* In July, 1800, he had obtained a sentence of divorce, *a mensa et thoro*, in the Ecclesiastical Court.

same. As to the rights of the company's servants, it had already been proved, that they would not be affected by the measure. It had been suggested, by gentlemen on the opposite side, that the servants at Bencoolen ought to be allowed, if they wished to retire on a pension to the amount of their salaries—a measure to which no objection would be made by the supporters of the bill. The bill was then read a second time, and ordered to be committed on Monday.

The report of the committee of supply was then brough up by *Mr. Alexander*. It was objected to by *Mr. Robson*, who pointed out several articles of expenditure as improper and enormous. This mode of voting money by months was, he declared, particularly disagreeable to him, as the sums, thus expended, made but little impression on the mind, though large in their aggregate amount. The estimates were defended by the *Secretary at War* and *General Gascoyne*, who explained some points in them, which had been animadverted by *Mr. Robson*. The question was put and carried, and all the other resolutions agreed to.

This debate, though unimportant in itself, was yet rendered interesting by a warm altercation which took place in consequence of some expressions used by *Mr. Robson*. In the conclusion of his speech, after expressing his dislike to monthly votes of supplies, he added, that the country already began to feel the ill effects of them; the government was insolvent; public offices had refused payment of their accepted bills. He was immediately called to order by the *Speaker* and by *Mr. Alexander*, who expressed his hope that the hon. gentleman would retract so injurious an assertion. *Mr. Robson* apologized at having used the expression in the warmth of debate: he could, however, support it by evidence; but thought it better that it should be suffered to drop. The *Secretary at War* and the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* loudly demanded that the particulars should be stated. *Mr. Robson* still thought that the subject had better be abandoned; but, the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, having more forcibly than before insisted upon an explanation, he named the Sick and Wounded Office. After having three times repeated the substance of the honourable gentleman's speech, and enquired of him whether it was correctly worded, the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* pledged himself that a rigid investigation of the business should take place. Before the House separated it was informed by him, that the amount of the bill which had been refused payment was only 19*l.* 7*s.* From such an instance as this, he said, the honourable member had thought proper to argue the insolvency of his country.

The matter was not, however, suffered to rest here. On Monday (March 8) the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, after having given notice of a motion for appointing a committee on the state of the corn trade, said, that being on his legs, he hoped, though not strictly regular, he might be allowed to advert to the honourable member's speech on a former evening. The hon. member, in stating the insolvency of government, had used general assertions and plural terms. These, it afterwards appeared, could only be applied to one office and to one bill. That bill was for 19*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* It had been the policy of government to prevent large sums of money from lying in the hands of the inferior public offices; but in no one instance had the treasury been unable to answer their demands. After some conversation between the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* and *Mr. Martin*, the House proceeded to business. *Mr. Robson*, who had been absent from the House during the preceding discussion, now rose, and declared his intention of moving the next day for some papers on the subject, should the Chancellor of the Exchequer be present. After replying to some questions from the *Speaker* and *Mr. H. Addington*, he concluded by saying, that he meant to move for papers from the Sick and Wounded Office.

The next day (Tuesday, March 9), *Mr. Robson* made his promised motion. He had, he said, endeavoured to avoid any discussion upon this subject, but he had been thrust upon it by the violence of the right honourable gentleman. His assertion had been at first denied, then doubted, afterwards evaded, and at last, after four days investigation, admitted to be true. The confession had, indeed, been made with little grace: had the assertion he had made been false, the assertor could not have been treated worse. He was now come to demand the necessary papers, and if they were granted, he would undertake to prove that the instance he had adduced was not solitary, but one among many; that the practice existed to an extent which required parliamentary interference. He then moved for an account of bills drawn on the Sick and Hurt Office, their amount, and the dates of their being drawn, accepted and presented.

This gave rise to a debate of considerable length. The hon. gentleman was answered by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, who, admitting the fact of the bill being returned, denied the inference drawn from it. Bills had before been returned, but it was never supposed that the country was in a state of insolvency. He had, he said, already stated that a temporary want of money at the inferior offices might be the consequence of government not suffering them to hold in their hands too large a sum of money at one time. The means of payment were always ready at the Treasury, and it was there the credit of the country rested. After a long debate, in which the motion was allowed, on all hands, to be useless, the House divided, when there appeared for the motion two, against it seventy-nine.

We must now return to notice the discussion which took place (Friday, March 5) in the House on the order of the day for the second reading of the American Treaty Bill. It was carried to great length, and involved objects of the highest importance. The bill was opposed by *General Gascoyne*, *Doctor Laurence*, and *Mr. Windham;* and defended by *Mr. Vansittart*, *Mr. Nicholls*, *Lord Hawkesbury*, and the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*. The debate was opened by *General Gascoyne*, who, in a perspicuous speech, stated his reasons of dissent from the measure. The effect of it would, he contended, be to violate the navigation act, which was the source of our naval power; and to lose, or, at least, materially injure, that great source of profit, our carrying trade; in which we were already rivalled by America. With him it did not make the policy of the measure, on our part, less doubtful, that it was from America that the measure originated. A bill had been brought in there of the same kind as the present, but had not yet passed. That America had offered to take off the discriminating duties was no mark of favour to this country, for she had offered the same to all other countries, and had actually, he believed, made a treaty with France, by which her ships were to enter the ports of France, with all the advantages enjoyed by French vessels. Were we even sure that on our taking off the countervailing duties, the same would be done by America? And would it not be wiser to wait the result of the steps she was now taking? He concluded by giving it as his opinion that, as the bill now before the House was not called for by any imperious circumstances, it would be time enough to bring it forward towards the close of the session, when the House would have before it more information than it now possessed on the subject, and could better decide what measures it would be proper to pursue. *Mr. Vansittart*, in reply, contended that many of the points urged by the hon. gentleman had no bearing upon the question then before the House. The bill now under consideration had been deemed an infringement of the navigation act, though what connection it could possibly have with that act, it was difficult to conceive. With respect to the increase of American shipping, if any argument could be drawn from that, it was certainly in favour of the bill. If the countervailing duties were inefficacious to protect the trade of Great-Britain they ought to be repealed. It was certain that the shipping of Great-Britain in the American trade had decreased. But by taking off these duties we should render the most effectual service to our manufactures. They were chiefly consumed in America, and the cheaper they could be got there, the more of them would be used. But it was not on these grounds, good as they were, that he wished to defend this measure; it was on those of national good faith and general policy.

The discussion then took a more general and important turn. *Mr. Vansittart* was followed by *Dr. Laurence*, who entered into an enlarged view of the question, in all its different bearings and relations. Agreeing with the hon. member who spoke first in the debate, whom he thanked for having called the attention of the House to the subject, he proceeded to examine the reasons urged in favour of the measure, which the House was called upon to adopt. Two only had been given, expediency and justice. And whatever might be the expediency of the repeal, if it was demanded by justice it ought to take place. But there was, in his opinion, no such demand. A bill of the same purport had been brought into the American legislature, which on the suggestion of a Connecticut member had been referred to a committee, out of which it had not yet returned. Ought we to suppose; would America be flattered by our supposing, that because a member of the government had brought in a bill, it would, therefore, pass into a law? Great-Britain, it was certain, would feel by such a supposition herself injured. There would be time enough for taking such a step when the House was convinced, by intelligence from Ame-

rica, that it was necessary. The bill was, besides, in its spirit, objectionable. It went to invest the crown, for a positive period, even during the sitting of Parliament, with the peculiar power of the House of Commons—that of the revenue. It stated that circumstances made it necessary to repeal the duties, without stating a single circumstance of that necessity. Was the repeal less objectionable on the ground of expediency? Certainly not. That because the duties had not been a perfect protection to British commerce, that commerce was to be unprotected by any duties, was an argument with which he could not agree. The shipping of America had certainly increased in a most wonderful degree: in twenty years it had grown as much as that of Great-Britain in the course of a century. She had now 300 vessels of large burthen trading to the East-Indies only. The repeal of the duties would be looked upon by America not as an act of favour, but of mere justice. Nor did it go far enough for her wishes. She would look to France for more, and from motives of enmity to this country more would be granted. This was sufficiently marked in the report of Mr. Jefferson in the year 1793. The regulations in that report were evidently designed against England. Mr. Jefferson was of the sect of the economists, he was now in power, and his mode of action might be fairly judged from his principles. As to France it was notoriously her intention, whenever the war of the sword ended, to commence against England the war of the custom-house. The proofs of this were to be found in a book written by the Under Secretary of State of the French government, expressly as a manifesto of the intentions of that government. The plan was to destroy our commercial and maritime greatness, by an alliance of France with the other maritime powers; and, to induce them to join in this plan, they were to be bribed by a share in the trade of France; even the coasting trade was to be thrown open to them: the colonial only was sedulously withheld. But these it was said were only declarations. Has, continued the hon. gentleman, nine years of sad experience not yet taught us that the declarations of France, however extravagant, are invariably acted upon? Had the present been acted upon? To prove that it had, let us look at every treaty concluded by France. In every one of these, except in that with England, commercial regulations were included. With England she meant to have no commercial treaty. So indeed it appeared from the language of ministers. It was against England that all her efforts were unremittingly directed. To their desired end they were advancing by rapid strides. They had identified the commerce of the Cisalpine republic with their own; obliged Spain to make a regulation which in effect prohibited English goods: and Holland doubtless at their instance, had shut that transit for them, which even during the war had been left open. Our situation was not at this period like that of any former. We had no longer that facility of landing our manufactures which insured their diffusion. To what part of Europe were we now to send them? Were we, as before, to introduce them into Spain through Portugal? That was no longer possible. For one bale of British manufactured cottons Portugal might pay with the forfeiture of that territory where the cotton was produced. By an article in the treaty of Badajos no depot of prohibited goods was to be kept near the Spanish frontiers, on pain of the treaty being instantly void. This extraordinary article, such as had seldom if ever been seen in any treaty before, of course implied a power in Spain of ascertaining by search whether the treaty had or had not been violated. Was it by the Netherlands, where, as a reward for their protection, we once enjoyed extraordinary privileges, that we were now to penetrate into the Continent? That inlet was no longer open. There were no longer any free ports in France, from whence when our goods were once landed, they found in spite of barriers and prohibitions an entrance into the interior. No entry was left but through East Friesland, and that route, even supposing it open by the friendship of the King of Prussia, was so circuitous that it would operate as a heavy prohibitory duty upon our manufactures. But even this supposition was scarcely admissible; for the foreign powers seemed but too well disposed to lend themselves to her projects against this country. France had then acted upon the plans she had avowed, and that to a most formidable extent. No way remained to render her projects abortive, but the establishment of a commercial treaty between her and Great-Britain. If this object, however, was not attained before the definitive treaty was signed, he was sure it would not after. The hon. gentleman concluded by seriously recommend-

ing to the House the consideration of these important objects.

Lord Hawkesbury, taking chiefly the ground before gone over by *Mr. Vansittart*, replied to *Dr. Laurence*. The measure, he said, was as it had been represented an act of justice. The American government had signified its intention of repealing the discriminating duties, and it was therefore incumbent on this country to do the same. It was however an act of expediency also. As to the plans of France he relied upon British capital, British credit, and the confidence reposed upon the British character for honour and punctuality to baffle them all. France had not that system of honesty, punctuality and justice in her dealings which commanded the confidence of other countries. Let Britons trust to themselves and they had no cause for alarm. He was followed by *Mr. Windham*, who expressed his fears that confidence and capital, without the assistance of public spirit, a high sense of honour and the maritime preponderance of the country would be insufficient to maintain a contention against the enormous power of the enemy. *Lord Hawkesbury* explained that he had not meant to rely on capital alone. Nearly the same arguments were used in favour of the bill by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* and *Mr. Nicholls* as had been urged by *Mr. Vansittart* and *Lord Hawkesbury*. The bill was then ordered to be committed to a committee of the whole House.

On Monday (March 8) the Bencoolen bill was read and a clause proposed by *Sir W. Pulteney* was agreed to.

In the committee of supply on Wednesday, 130,000 men, and 1,820,000*l.* were granted for the service of the navy for two months.

COMMERCIAL PROJECTS OF FRANCE.

That these projects all tend to our ruin is certain. They are so meant, and will so operate, unless counteracted by the wisdom and firmness of our government. As a developement of some of these projects, we shall here insert a few extracts from a publication, which made its appearance last year. The author is HAUTERIVE, under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who, undoubtedly did not publish the work without the consent and approbation of his superiors. In our selection, we shall confine ourselves to the passages, which were quoted by Dr. Laurence, in the House of Commons, on Friday last, and which produced a very sensible effect on every member then present.

"*Situation of France with respect to her allies, Cap.* III.

"THE BASIS OF THE MARITIME SYSTEM of France is AN ALLIANCE WITH HOLLAND, SPAIN, AND LIGURIA. The object of these alliances is known. It can offend no one; and France is resolved to defend with all her present and future means, the common rights and interests which result from them. It belongs to the maritime nations of Europe who are dissatisfied with the situation in which they are placed by the inconsistencies of their federative system, to choose between the inconveniencies and advantages of that situation, and the advantages and inconveniencies arising from the federative system of France. It is scarcely necessary for me to say, that this appeal is directed, in the first instance, to *the Ottoman Porte, the States of Barbary, Naples and Portugal;* and in the second, to *Sweden and the* UNITED STATES.

"*Maritime law of nations for the* XIXth *century.*

"C. V. *Relative situation of France with respect to neutral powers.*

"All those evils ought to be terminated by two regulations, which should form *the maritime law of nations for the* XIXth *century.* These two regulations are as follow:

"1st. Privateering—Cruising is abolished.—*In time of war*, THE SOVEREIGNTY OF TERRITORY IS TRANSFERRED WITH ALL ITS RIGHTS, TO THE FLAGS OF NATIONS, *who take no part in the war.*

"IId. *In time of peace*, THE NAVIGATION FROM ONE PEOPLE TO ANOTHER IS SUBJECT TO NO PROHIBITORY LAWS: —this regulation should have but one *exception*, that which relates to COASTING from one port to another belonging to the same nation, AND THE NAVIGATION BETWEEN THE COLONIES AND THE MOTHER COUNTRY.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

"THE SECOND must be *the joint-work of the maritime states*; but here they may be *aided by* the concurrence of those *continental powers* who have not less interest than them in the general freedom of the sea.

"Whatsoever gives the maritime preeminence to England, and however she has acquired the means of being the only nation that covers the ocean with her ships, the benefits resulting from the association of her power and of her commerce, must always be found to be dependent upon the

two definitive objects of all commercial industry—that of purchasing, and that of vending. But to employ force to obtain these two objects, is only to endeavour to terrify by a burthensome and expensive bug-bear. *The access to rivers, continuance in ports, the liberty of coasting, and continental commerce,* must be granted to the usurping power, in order to make her trade profitable, or even to ensure her the capability of paying the expenses of her fleets.

"*Commerce and the power of the English* are then—considering in this point of view the source of the profits of the one, and the duration of the other——always immediately *subordinate to the will of those* CONTINENTAL NATIONS *which that power and commerce impoverishes, and of* THE MARITIME NATIONS *which their trade enslaves.* * * * * * I am not ignorant that *principle* proscribes as political scourges, *all commercial restraints, privileges and prohibitions,* &c. &c. &c. * * * * * * * * * yet

[Here a long invective against prohibitory laws, which he calls his profession of faith.]

"*I recommend prohibitory laws, because they are the only means we can use to cause the adoption of the plans which I have already proposed,* and because, *if these two plans are once adopted, prohibitory law must be for ever abolished.*

"I recommend them, because the system of prohibitory laws in England is so combined with the influence of her power on her commerce, and with that of her commerce on the general trade of Europe, that it gives to the fiscal genius of her government, the fatal power of forcing upon all nations the inconvenience or imperfection of her laws; so that the prohibitory laws of England press on all people in the same manner, as if they were positively established among them.

"The advice of introducing these new and general measures, is given less from a wish to imitate, than as a system of attack and defence against those which already exist: it is not done to preserve but to oppose the one to the other, that they may both be destroyed, and that general industry may be speedily relieved from their tyranny.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

"THE FIRST PROHIBITORY LAWS which all maritime nations ought to adopt, are those which are comprised in that bearing the name of THE NAVIGATION ACT. *It is strange* that, for more than a century, England alone has published such an act, * * * ; and that *this law of perpetual war should never have been answered by a law of reprisals.*

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

"At first sight, it does not appear to me useful and wise, that this act, like that of England, should include every nation in its prohibitions. The first design of this act being to produce its own abolition, and that of all acts of the same nature, *it ought not to be a national, but a federal act: so that the* navigation of the different nations, connected by alliances, should be authorized, encouraged, and impartially protected, in their different ports. *I except from this law of reciprocity the navigation between the colonies and the mother country,* which is the best times, ought to continue privileged; *but distant or foreign importations, the* COASTING *as well as exportations,* ought not to be subject to greater fetters for allied commerce than for national commerce.

"Thus the ideas of association being blended with those of prohibition they will produce, by degrees, a general association, and by a necessary consequence, the abolition of all prohibitory laws.

"I will not dwell longer on this subject: it is a certain truth, that *it is not prudent to expose in all their extent, the principles and consequences, and awaken those passions which are interested to prevent their adoption.* It is not by the way of discussion and of refutation, that these passions proceed, they are susceptible of violent movements; they agitate, they confuse, they would interpose seductive obstacles and intrigue between the nations that were attempting to approach, and those governments that were disposed to understand each other, &c."

AMERICAN POPULATION, COMMERCE, AND REVENUE.

We have, on former occasions, found it necessary to endeavour to direct the attention of our countrymen to the interesting scene exhibited on the other side of the Atlantic, and we were not a little surprized to perceive our endeavours treated, not only with neglect, but with contempt. We were told, that "a country so *distant*" could be little interesting to Englishmen; but, it has required only a very short time to show, that "a country so distant," may be, and already has been found to be, of more importance to Englishmen than any other country, England only excepted. It is,

therefore, with a hope of attracting a somewhat greater degree of attention, that we revive this *uninteresting* subject, with the insertion of some facts relative to the population and commerce of the United States.—A census was taken in 1800, and returned last autumn, according to which the population of the several States was found to be as follows:

States.	*Total Population.*	*Slaves.*
New Hampshire	183,858	8
Rhode Island	69,122	380
Massachusetts	422,845	
Maine	151,710	
Connecticut	251,002	951
Vermont	154,465	
New York	504,105	15,602
New Jersey	211,149	12,422
Pennsylvania	602,365	1,706
Delaware	64,273	6,153
Maryland	329,704	100,393
Virginia	878,950	345,796
North Carolina	478,103	133,296
South Carolina	345,591	146,151
Georgia	162,686	59,699
Kentucky	220,955	40,843
Tennessee	109,960	14,022
Territory of Mississippi	59,857	3,615
District of Columbia	14,093	3,244
Grand Total in 1800	5,214,801	876,790
Population in 1790	3,929,326	697,697
Increase in 10 years	1,285,475	179,093

COMMERCE AND REVENUE.

	Tons of Shipping.	*Men.*
In 1800	939,000	56,340
In 1790	450,000	27,000
Increase in 10 years	489,000	29,340

	Dollars.
The American Produce exported in 1800, amounted to	32,000,000
Ditto in 1790	14,000,000
Increase in 10 years	18,000,000
The Foreign Commodities brought into the country for re-exportation, in 1800, amounted to	30,000,000
Ditto in 1790	2,000,000
Increase in 10 years	28,000,000
The Revenue in 1801, is estimated at	11,359,000
Ditto in 1790, amounted to	6,124,000
Increase in 11 years	5,235,000
The National Debt on the 1st of Jan. 1802, amounted to	77,881,890

It will be perceived, that the *commerce* and *revenue* have increased in a proportion much greater than that of the *population*. This disproportion has been occasioned by the war; and, if our readers wish to be informed of the proportion in which the commerce and revenue will now be diminished, we beg leave to refer them to the report of the American Secretary of State, p. 141 of the Register. We shall subjoin here an extract from a debate, in the lower house of Congress, on the 16th of December last, which will enable our readers to form some judgment of the motives, from which the bill now before our own legislature, has been requested by the American government.

"*General Smith* differed from the gentleman who spoke last, as to the effect which he seemed to apprehend from the repeal of this law. The effect he knew would be the very contrary, and was of so much importance to the commercial interests of the United States, that it was for that very reason he wished that no delay might take place in adopting measures for our commercial security. It was found very early after the establishment of our government, expedient to adopt a system pursued by other nations, in laying such duties as would discriminate between our own and foreign tonnage; at that time our ships were not adequate to carry one half of our produce to foreign markets; when discriminating duties were laid, the measure appeared to act as a charm, and beyond the expectations of the most sanguine calculations of commercial men, our tonnage doubled in a short period, we were not only very soon able to carry all our own produce, but to enter largely into trade abroad. Other nations affected by our success, particularly Great-Britain, devised means to enter into a competition with us in their own markets, and enacted countervailing laws, or devised duties equal to the amount which we had laid on to protect our own commerce. The war that has lately ceased, gave us great advantages; for although new countervailing duties, and to an extent perhaps not authorized by existing treaty, were laid, yet as their tonnage was subject to a high war insurance, from which ours was exempt, we retained our advantage during the war; which having now changed the relative state of things, as well with Great-Britain, as with other nations, it is incumbent on us to provide new means to guard our trade, and retain it in our own hands. By

the operation of the existing laws of Great-Britain, laying countervailing duties, they possess an advantage so great, as to make a difference of 18 dolls. in their favour upon the freight of every hogshead of tobacco shipped from our ports in a British vessel; they will therefore have the whole difference of the market-price in their favour against American shippers; and of consequence, if we do not make provision to guard against the contingency, the whole of our convoying trade may go into their hands, for every man will ship his goods for a market where he can effect it on the most advantageous terms. We were circumstanced in the same way with regard to France, where her regulations were never more disadvantageous to us than the British, though the state of her tonnage did not leave room to apprehend so much. He had it from high authority, that the difference in favour of French tonnage in their ports over ours amounted to 10 livres in the 100, or about 130 on the hogshead of tobacco only, from whence it was evident that this step was necessary to be taken to bring us upon more equal terms of trade. The commerce in tobacco to that country is very important to us; to Great Britain we export only 14,000 hogsheads, we export to France 40,000 hogsheads. The present was the season to make use of our fortunate situation, and to provide such regulations as would secure to us that important branch of trade; no time could be lost with propriety on the subject, and the measures proposed by the resolution would give us the best opportunity to use the advantage. We are now in a very different situation from that in which we stood on the passing of the discriminating law; at that time we had an insufficiency of tonnage, and it was necessary to create competent quantity; that has been effected, and we have now tonnage sufficient to carry on all our trade under judicious regulations, and it is our interest to seek the means by which we can start upon equal terms with them in our own and in their ports. We are competent to enter into such an amicable contest. Our spirit of enterprize, and the skill of our maritime citizens, are equal, if not superior, to any in the world; and it is becoming our circumstances and situation, to shun a mercantile warfare, while we seek a generous emulation of skill, industry, and enterprize. We want to enter the ports of other nations much more than they want to enter ours. He that can carry cheapest and best will have the advantage. We not only build cheaper than other nations, but we build better, and sail with fewer hands. We need, therefore, no other than equal terms to start upon."

"*Mr. Griswold* was still unsatisfied by the reasons given by the gentleman. He agreed that it was desireable to secure as much of the foreign trade as we could to our own vessels, and if he could be persuaded that a repeal of the discriminating duties would effect that purpose, or that their continuance would exclude us from our own carrying trade, he would assuredly vote for the resolution. But he had heard nothing to satsify him on that point. With Great-Britain he believed no such measure could be effected, in that way, and he questioned if it would prove more advantageous with other nations, as they pursue their own measures, whatever laws we might adopt or repeal. It was true, that in Great-Britain our tobacco trade was subjected to the disadvantage of heavy duties; but it should be recollected that comparatively little tobacco is consumed in Great-Britain: in the north and other parts of Europe the consumption was much greater. Tobacco landed in England, therefore, was not all subjected to their heavy duties, because whatever was exported had the duties returned by way of drawback; so that our tobacco trade thither in American bottoms stood exactly upon the same charges to which the British bottoms are subjected. If we repeal the law laying discriminating duties, then we permit British ships to come into our ports upon equal terms with our own, and the consequence will be that they will then become our carriers. In France likewise, there is little likelihood of advantage accruing by the repeal. In that country the tobacco trade was a monopoly of the Farmers-General, and no one but them could import tobacco into France: it was probable that the same regulations would exist in one shape or another in future, and that we should not be likely to obtain better terms by the repeal of our law. If we could secure the carriage of our own commerce by any reasonable measures, it would make him very happy; but he did not believe the measure proposed to be calculated for such an effect, and he was not disposed to run rashly into the repeal; he was not prepared to give his consent to the resolution, and particularly as it was not much detailed; it was constructed so loose as to render it impossible to say how or by whom the

regulation is to be defined, or its extent ascertained. The carrying trade of our own country was to us all important, none, not all other was so much so. The British carrying trade was certainly much less so to them, it was of little value to them; but with us it is otherwise; our articles of home production are all bulky and require great tonnage, such as rice, flour, tobacco, fish, &c. and it was requisite to retain duties which gave them a decided preference. He was not prepared to agree to the resolution, and would rather prefer the appointment of a committee to investigate and report upon the subject.

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,

I agree with you in opinion on all the projects of France in the western world. That the cession of Louisiana approximates her to Mexico—renders her formidable in all her shapes to the United States of America, and the possession of the outlets of the Mississippi will be detrimental to the islands and commerce of England.

Buonaparté and Toussaint have never meant otherwise on the subject of St. Domingo than the aggrandisement of France and her colonies. The united force of Europe could not in these times, have entertained a hope of a successful warlike expedition against her property in the West-Indies,—European troops in the western regions cannot encounter a black army, but a handful of black stragglers will find employment for years for the soldiers of a northern climate. The Caribs of St. Vincents and the Maroons of Jamaica, are recent in the recollection of politicians. In that well regulated island, these disturbers of its government were overcome by no ordinary means, force and military skill were in vain called into action, and stratagem at last subdued them; what scheme then must have been planned, and what force must have been collected against Toussaint and his army in St. Domingo. The contest is unequal, and would still be unequal—if even the navy and troops of France arrived in spirits, health, and safety, and obtained immediate possession of Cape François and Cape Nicola Mole—still the fevers of the climate and the dangers of the country, the hardiness and discipline of black troops, the skill of an experienced general on his own field, were the objects of war and the prospects of victory.—

France knew these difficulties, and England should have been upon her guard. What the project of the expedition is a few weeks will determine, conjectures and apprehensions are now of no avail.

I was a supporter of peace till the fleets of France set sail—I supported it not for the reasons given by others, but because the enormous overgrown military spirit of France would have time to subside—Hardly however is the signature placed to the preliminaries, when, with the knowledge and consent of this country, permission and encouragement is given to France to revive and to augment the military ardour of her nation, in the way in which with most certainty it can be employed to the destruction of England. The departure of this fleet creates sailors, and disciplines marines, instructs officers, and protects commerce, and is more than one move more towards universal dominion.

Yours, &c.
K. X.

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,

In a letter I had the pleasure of addressing to you the 24th of last month, and which you were so good as to admit in your Register of the 6th instant, I endeavoured to establish the opinion, which I had embraced myself upon perfect conviction, that the delays in the progress of the negotiation at Amiens were occasioned by the intriguing spirit that pervades the cabinet of the Thuilleries, instigated by an inordinate ambition of extending a power, already far too great, and which is principally bent against this country, and that at a crisis the most favourable that can possibly offer for our giving it an effectual check.

It is with unspeakable satisfaction I have since observed, as well from what has passed in Parliament, as from the orders issued by the Admiralty, that ministers are now awake to the danger, and are taking right measures to avert it, by putting the nation in that formidable posture, best calculated to give weight and efficacy to the remonstrances of our ambassador, in which, without doubt, not only an absolute and formal renunciation, on the part of France and her allies, of every pretension, derogatory to the true spirit and meaning of the preliminary treaty, will have been peremptorily insisted upon, but

also that every encroachment made by France or her allies upon the rights or territories of his Majesty and his allies, contrary to such spirit and meaning, be immediately and unequivocally relinquished and restored: so that, with respect to all or either of them, all things be reinstated on the same footing on which they stood, or, from circumstances then known, were supposed to stand, at the time of the signature of the preliminary treaty; and the integrity of all these powers be re-established entire and in its full extent. And, moreover, since manifold striking instances have occurred, subsequent to the preliminary treaty, of a departure from its obvious spirit and meaning, as well by France as by her allies, insomuch as to give ample cause to believe that those claims, which in the course of the negotiations at Amiens have been brought forward by Spain and Holland, in contradiction to the terms of that treaty, have been instigated by the cabinet of the Thuilleries, with a view to embarrass and retard its progress, and in the mean-time, by every effort of art and intrigue, to endeavour to raise incidents subservient to its insatiable ambition, and subterfuges for eluding every article of the treaty that is deemed not to correspond with its interest; it follows, beyond question, that his Majesty's ministers will have insisted on retaining full security in hand till all things are actually so reinstated, the claims of Government for the maintenance of prisoners fully reimbursed, and our allies, as well as ourselves, indemnified for all damage whatever which may have been occasioned by our adversaries, in violation of the preliminary treaty. Happily for this country, and thanks to the courage and exertion, under Providence, of our fleets and armies, its success in the late contest have put ample means of indemnity in its power, and surely it will not be given up before that is obtained.

But should the supreme head of the French Government conceive it to be too humiliating to concede to these demands, though not beyond what a just regard to the interest and dignity of the country impels us to require, or should he, by partial concession or other devices, try to induce us to further delay, let us spurn at these artifices, for heaven's sake, and no longer be the dupes of them—*for to us further procrastination is pregnant with ruin.*

Let us, on the contrary, convince the world, that as our demands are just, so we are equally prepared and determined to enforce them. The moment is propitious, it is the golden opportunity of stopping the career of the haughty despot towards universal conquest, and by destroying the marine of our ambitious rival, ensuring that permanent security, without which peace is *a mere delusive phantom.*

In early affording a place in your Register to these suggestions, you will further oblige one of your constant readers.

Yours, &c.

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,

It has been said, and I hope with truth, that the despotic government of Buonaparté has alienated the affections of the republicans in this country; but, that he still has adherents, you will readily believe, when you have read the inclosed hand bill, which, in common with my fellow parishioners, I received last Christmas:

"*Saint Andrew below Bars.*

"Your *constant Dustman* makes this humble application to you for his Christmas-box, which you so kindly used to give; he will bring his bell, with the name on it—Thomas Coleman, Gray's-Inn-Lane, together with a medal, on one side of which is *General Buonaparté*, and on the other a *French* inscription.

"This account is given because some others, who have no right, will bring false bells, and strive to defraud me of my Christmas-box; and therefore hope you will be careful to observe the above name on the bell, and not give to any but him that will produce them.

(Signed) "John Taylor.
"William Cook."

That the admirers of Buonaparté are now confined to *Dustmen*, and others equally ignorant and mean, I think there is some reason to hope; yet, when I look back on the proceedings at the Shakespeare Tavern, I cannot regard the precautions against domestic disaffection as totally unnecessary.

March, 1802. A. B.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

New York, Jan. 29.—The last advices from Jamaica are dated the 17th of January, at which time no account of the Brest fleet had arrived. It appears that the French

and British act in concert against the insurgents at Guadaloupe; but with regard to St. Domingo, we have no information. A letter from Philadelphia of the 23d of January states, that the *Lady Buonaparté* of that port, was boarded off Point Peter, Guadaloupe, by a French frigate, and a British frigate, and ordered away, in consequence of the Island being declared in open rebellion against the Republic of France, by General Lacrosse, and all intercourse being interdicted. The Captain was informed, that even clearances from Guadaloupe would not be respected, and that ships of war were stationed round the Island, to enforce this proclamation. The American papers contain a proclamation of Lacrosse and his associates, to this effect. The officers of the frigates Chesapeake (Commodore Truxton), Constellation, and Adam, received orders on the 20th of January to repair to Washington, to hold themselves in readiness to sail upon an expedition, it is supposed for the Mediterranean.—We do not perceive by the American papers, that any further proceedings have taken place with respect to the discontinuation of those *discriminating duties*, for the abolition of which, the bill now before Parliament is intended as an equivalent.

Extract from an American Paper.

"We already begin to feel the effects of the late Peace most sensibly—flour has fallen to 6 dollars per barrel—rice in England sells at a guinea the cwt.—and here will probably sell at 3 dollars the cwt.—By retail it will soon be selling at 3 pence per lb. The freights of our vessels are also much reduced—a short time since our shippers of flax-seed got two guineas per tierce freight to Ireland—they cannot now get more than half a guinea. Freights to England are already reduced in the price.—Many of the American vessels that have lately arrived from Great-Britain have brought our goods at 40s. sterling per ton."

Petersburg, Feb. 4.—Our Army is to be considerably augmented. The Emperor has ordered the formation of several new Regiments and Garrison Battalions.

Feb. 12.—Our Emperor has made a proposition to the Courts of Vienna, Berlin, London, Madrid, Naples, Dresden, Munich, and Lisbon, to unite with him to procure an establishment for the French Princes of the line of Bourbon, suitable to their rank.

Feb. 16.—His Imperial Majesty has taken off the Decree of Banishment to Siberia, passed against several persons, and in particular some Life-Guards sent thither in 1742.

Vienna, Feb. 15.—Requisitions of grain have been ordered in Bohemia, Moravia, and the Two Galicias, for the purpose of storing the Military Magazines. This would appear extraordinary, if it was not known that it had been resolved not to have recourse again to contractors, but to take the necessary provisions immediately from the proprietors, at the market prices.

Ratisbon, Feb. 16.—We now know positively that the conferences relative to the indemnities will take place in this City. We expect every day M. de Hugel, Imperial Co-commissary, and M. le Count de Goltz, Ambassadors from the Elector of Brandenburg. The Emperor has appointed M. Schraul, Counsellor of the Empire, Sub-delegate for Bohemia.

Amongst the number of conjectures which arise upon this subject, there is one which is generally agreed in, that the King of Prussia will exchange the Principalities of *Anspach* and *Bareuth*.

Basle, Feb. 16.—Last week the French took possession of the treasury of the Frickthal, ordered the Austrian authorities that were there to cease their functions, and established a provisional government.

Berlin, Feb. 17.—The definitive plan of indemnities has arrived, as was expected, in the course of this month. It was brought by a French Courier, who arrived here two days ago. Gen. Beurnonville, immediately upon receiving it, waited upon Count Haugwitz, our Minister of Foreign Affairs, to whom he communicated it. The King was also informed of it the same day. That project will be very advantageous for Prussia and her Allies.

Glaris, Feb. 18.—The present is a moment of anxiety, and of true concern for the real friends of their country.

In a Canton, which for four ages has so much distinguished itself by its manner of thinking and acting, continual alarms are excited, which distress the people, and

prepare their minds to expect the most fatal consequences.

Not only the Constitutional Authorities are disobeyed, but even the Cantonal Functionaries are insulted; on which occasion, the people take the opportunity of shewing their hatred to them. Already re-action is talked of, and an indemnification to those people, who. in the beginning of the Revolution, were confiscated at *Basle*, and in favour of whom it is supposed the Cantonal Treasury has been a third time pillaged.

The Administrative Chamber, and the Receiver-General, being too weak to resist the increasing disorders of a people, full of passions, have declared to Government, that they find it impossible to continue their functions; and have in a body demanded their dismission, if they be not properly supported in the exercise of their offices.

Milan, Feb. 18.—Our new Government has commenced its operations. The Legislative Council, which yet wants several members, has divided itself into as many sections as there are ministers.

Berne, Feb. 18.—The quarrel between General Thurreau and the Helvetic Authorities of the *Valais*, continues to become daily more violent. The Administrative Department has not yet been replaced. Thurreau has displaced the Municipality of *Sion*. It is hoped that all these disputes will be terminated with the final organization of our Republic, which can be at no great distance, as the Little Council is incessantly occupied with the Constitution of the lesser Cantons. It is in agitation also to re-establish the liberty of the Press, and to suppress the Censure.

Copenhagen, Feb. 20.—The Duty established the 22d of March last year, on the Passage of the Belt, is annulled by a Decree of His Majesty, on a representation made by the Director-General of the Ports.

Vienna, Feb. 20.—The Regiment of Hussars of the Grand Duke Ferdinand, and that of Duke Albert, are destined to attend the Emperor at Presburg, whilst he presides at the Hungarian Diet; and they have received orders accordingly.

Bourdeaux, Feb. 21.—It was said yesterday, in consequence of the report of an American Captain, that the French Fleet, to the number of 45 sail, had touched at Guadaloupe. The fact is not exact—the French Fleet was perceived under *La Grange*, an anchorage seven or eight leagues distant from the Cape; and every thing induces a belief, that on that very day it would enter the harbour of the Cape. These are the only particulars that the American Captain who gave us the news could communicate to us.

Ratisbon, Feb. 22.—In the last sitting of the Diet, M. de Kellenberg, Minister of the Prince Bishop of Basle, notified to the Diet, that the Prince, in conformity with the Pope's Brief, and the example of other Prince Bishops of Germany, had renounced his Ecclesiastical jurisdiction over that part of his diocese which is at present under the dominion of France, and that His Highness had also made this renunciation to His Imperial Majesty in his quality of Supreme Protector of the German Church.

Basle, Feb. 23.—Letters from *Zurich*, give a satisfactory account of the interior situation of that Canton. When Tobler, Bleuler, Wuhkman, and Bellstal, returned, the agitation of the public mind was very great, and an explosion was feared. They however, went round to the different Communes, and represented that any armed resistance to the order of Government could have no salutary effect, and they intimated, at the same time, that they had found the Chief Landamman, the French Minister, and many Members of the Senate, to entertain the most favourable sentiments towards the People, whose grievances, there was every reason to believe, would be remedied.

These efforts had the desired effect; tranquillity was restored, and the payment of the taxes was no longer resisted.

Brest, Feb. 23.—Caffarelli, Counsellor of State, Maritime Prefect, has invited the Tribunal of Commerce at Brest, to select one of its Members for the purpose of examining the plan of the Code of Commerce, conjointly with a commission which he proposes to appoint upon the subject. Citizen J. J. Pesron, appointed for that purpose, has invited the merchants and others, who may have made observations on the Code, to transmit them to him, in order that they may be communicated to the Commission.

Strasburgh, Feb. 24. The Baron de Sukendoff, attached to the Legation of the Duke of Wirtemburgh, at Paris, has passed through this City, on his return to *Stutgard*. We are assured that he is the bearer of a Treaty concluded between the Minister of Foreign Affairs and M. de Norman, the Dutch Plenipotentiary at Paris. It is added, that M. Abel, Deputy of the States of Wirtemburgh, at Paris, assisted at the conferences, the end of which was definitively to relate the affairs of Wirtemburgh, and put an end to the numerous contests which have existed between the Prince and his States.

Feb. 24.—The Batavian Government has determined to send an Ambassador to this Court, in the spring. It is said, that the Ligurian is to be incorporated with the Italian Republic.

Feb. 26.—According to the last Letters from *Mentz*, the building of the new Fortresses along the Left Bank of the Rhine is to commence in March. It is affirmed that the Cities of *Bonn*, *Saint Goar*, and *Frankenthal*, will become Fortresses of the second rank. Several Battalions of Miners and Pioneers have already arrived on the banks of the Rhine, to be employed on these works.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

His Majesty held a Levee on Wednesday at St. James's Palace, at which were present his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of York, the Bishops of Oxford, Ely, Durham, the Right Hon. Wm. Windham, the Rev. Charles Cave, the Chief Baron Macdonald, M. Plaffel, the Right Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer of Ireland, the foreign ambassadors, most of the cabinet ministers, and a numerous company of noblemen and gentlemen. The presentations were, Lord Kensington, by Lord Cawdor; Lord Petre, for the first time since the death of his father, on coming to his title, by the Duke of Norfolk; Mr. Bagot, by Lord Bagot; General Coote, on his return from Egypt, by General Cradock; and Captain Jackson, by Lord Amherst.—Sir S. Smith came too late to Court to be presented.—After the Levee a Council of his Majesty's ministers was held, at which were present his Grace the Duke of Portland, Earl of Chatham, Earl Kinnoul, and Lord Pelham.

It is said to be in contemplation to propose an Act of Parliament to indemnify English artificers, who may have been induced to quit this country, under the fallacious hopes of improving their situation, by establishing our manufactories in foreign parts, upon the condition of their returning home within a limited time.

An order was on Monday morning received by express at the dock-yard, Portsmouth, to store and fit for sea immediately the Windsor Castle, of 98 guns, Vice-Admiral Mitchell; the Princess Royal, of 98 guns, Captain Atkins; and the Juste, of 80 guns, Captain Sir Edmund Nagle. They are fitting with all possible expedition.—— At Plymouth, the Courageaux, of 74 guns, Captain Sotheby, has particular orders with respect to her being victualled and stored for five months; from which arises a conjecture that she is destined to the East-Indies.——An Admiralty messenger arrived with dispatches for Admiral Dickson, at Yarmouth, on Monday, containing orders to victual the North Sea Fleet for four months, and be in readiness to sail at a moment's notice.

Besides the squadrons destined to reinforce our fleets on foreign stations, a Channel Fleet of thirty sail of the line, including fifteen three-deckers, will, in the course of a few days, put to sea under the command of Admiral Cornwallis; and the North Sea Fleet, under the orders of Admiral Dickson, which is now receiving supplies of seamen from Sheerness, is also expected to sail in a few days.

An order was dispatched on Monday to Woolwich, for several thousand hammocks to be sent off directly for the equipment of ships; and the best bower cables, which, since the signing of the preliminary treaty have been discontinued in many of our men of war, are, by order of the Admiralty, to be brought again into general use.

The greatest activity prevails in all his Majesty's dock-yards; the shipwrights, and other workmen, work double tides; in short, every thing has the appearance of *war* instead of *peace*.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

At the close of our preceding Summary, we expressed our doubts with regard to the effect, which might be produced on the mind of the French rulers by the apparent revival of the national spirit in this country, and by the tone which that circumstance had compelled our ministers to take. It is with great pride that we per-

ceive this spirit daily rising; nor should we be without some hopes, that the disgrace of the last six months, great as it is, might yet be wiped away ere the year has expired, were we not fully persuaded, that Buonaparté and his associates are too sensible of the advantages, which they have already obtained by the weakness of our ministers, and too well assured, that a treaty founded on the basis of the Preliminaries, cannot fail to effect the destruction of England. There are, indeed, some very difficult points to be arranged: the conceding, the yielding, the humble, the crouching, the crawling, the prostrating propensity of our Cabinet, might encourage the Consul to demand the Isle of Wight; but those, who, if we may judge by their past conduct, would willingly yield even that Island to his grasp, will not, we think, in the present temper of the country, dare to leave him in possession of the islands of Malta and Elba. The delay, in the conclusion of the Definitive Treaty, if it has given great advantages to France, has given us the advantage of reflection, which has for some months, been slowly producing a change in the opinions of those, who anticipated "the *blessings* of Peace."

We wish that truth did not oblige us to attribute this change to the disappointment of those who foolishly relied on a decrease in the price of provisions and an extension of trade; we sincerely wish we could attribute it to some more dignified and honourable sentiment, arising from some national quality, on which we might, at last, safely depend for deliverance from the misery and degradation with which we are menaced. The decline, the rapid decline, of trade, the stagnation in manufactures and commerce: this it is that has opened the eyes of the ignorant and the selfish; and we shall, probably, now hear of *national honour* from those very lips, which, six months ago, were constantly employed in uttering eulogiums on the framers of the Preliminaries of Downing Street, by whom that honour had been trampled under foot. In the joyous illuminations of the 10th of October (which we shall ever ascribe to the folly of the Ministers), it was not uncommon to see the motto of "*Peace* and *Commerce*," as well as "*Peace* and *Plenty*." These ideas were not of much longer duration than the candles which exposed them to the eyes of the ignorant and infatuated rabble. If, amongst the numerous herd, who adopted these mottos, there be one man of sense to be found, what must be his shame and remorse, now, when he sees the manufacturers, the merchants, the ship-owners, the tradesmen of every description, mingle their complaints with the clamours of the hungry, the idle and the turbulent poor; when he sees his country plunged at once into poverty and dishonour, and staggering along, like the Ass of Isacar, between two burdens, the burden of War and the burden of Peace!

Step by step is our enemy advancing towards the accomplishment of that system of exclusion, that system of federative hostility to British manufactures, commerce, and navigation, with which she intends to effect the distress, the ruin, and, finally, the subjugation of England, a system which she has openly avowed, and has steadily acted upon from the first dawn of the revolution to the present hour. To dissipate the alarms, excited by these projects, it is generally observed that if France really hoped to carry them into effect, she would not thus proclaim them to the world; but, persons, who argue thus, have, surely, paid little attention to her progressive encroachment. The character of *Maskwell*, in the play of the Double Dealer, is a complete epitome of the Government of France. There is no species of villainy that he does not carry on, no party whom he does not deceive, not by disguising, but by revealing his successive schemes and intrigues. "That's "my way," says he, "I tell them plainly "enough what I intend to do; and, if they "will not believe me, who shall call me vil-"lain?" The seizure on Belgium and Piedmont, the subjugation of Holland, of Switzerland and Italy, the invasion of Egypt, and the obtaining possession of Louisiana; in short, with respect to every thing that France has done, or attempted to do, she has always openly avowed her intentions before-hand; and, shall we, at this day, be told, that there is no terror in her threats? When she has driven us up into a corner, and has got her knife at our throats, shall we be pacified, by the empty sound of capital, credit, and confidence, uttered from the lips of cowardice and imbecility? That our resistance will be in vain is possible; but is such a possibility any reason why we should not resist? Because we see our danger, must we not attempt to avoid it? Are we bound to expire with a locked jaw, lest we should chance to expectorate on the instruments of our destruction? We, for our parts, acknowledge no such obligation, and we yet hope to see the day, when our sentiments

will be sanctioned by the unanimous voice of the country, which we hope will at last prove itself to have been deluded rather than debased.

The situation of affairs, as known at the time of signing the preliminaries of peace, was such as ought to have prevented the conclusion of those preliminaries; that situation is now, however, so changed, that, even if the conditions were admissible then, they are now no longer so. France has, since that time, acquired an immense accession of territory and of power in Europe, and in America her acquisitions (which were then a secret) are become boundless. The Spaniards, in the secret articles of the treaty lately adlluded to, and quoted in the treaty of 21 March, 1801 (see Register, page 52), have ceded the *two Floridas*, as well as Louisiana, lower and upper. The latter country extends on both sides of the Mississippi; on one side to the source of the river Messouri, stretching to the north-west; on the other to the country of the Illinois tribes, to the north-east, embracing a vast tract of country, with several navigable rivers falling into the Mississippi on both sides. It is a fact, which is not generally known, but with which Ministers are doubtless well acquainted, that there have been at Paris, for some time past, several chiefs of the Illinois nation, accompanied by interpreters and agents, duly authorized to treat with Buonaparté, who has entertained and caressed them in the same manner, and for the same purpose, that he entertains and caresses the Egyptian Mamalukes, whom he keeps in his pay and about his person. With these Indians he has lately entered into an alliance, the first object of which is the taking possession of Detroit, which is situated between the lakes Erie, St. Clair, and Huron, and which has ever been regarded as the key to Canada. At this moment an expedition is preparing in the ports of France, under the command of General Bernadotte, who is to be accompanied by all the Indian natives now in France, and who, with the French army, are to be landed at New Orleans, and carry into execution the project of seizing on the fur trade *; and on the provinces of Canada, when their measures are duly matured. A chain of military posts, from the confluence of the rivers Illinois and Mississippi, in an easterly direction to the lakes Erie, &c. will enable the French to enter Canada at their pleasure, or oblige us to keep up an army of enormous amount. In the Floridas, the French have determined to establish a naval port in the bay of Spiritu Santo, which is situated on the western coast of East Florida, and in the Gulph of Mexico, where abundance of provisions for the navy may be easily obtained, and where, in any future war with this country, the French cruizers, in co-operation with others from the Havannah, may successfully annoy the trade that passes the Gulph stream.—Will the Americans view this with indifference? But, a more pertinent question is, Will his Majesty's ministers sign a treaty that shall wink at these alarming encroachments? Dare they sign such a treaty? We have a high opinion of their peace-making courage; but we hardly think they would come forward with so scandalous, so degrading, so ruinous a compact, even with Buonaparté at their back. Let us not deceive ourselves, however; they have already experienced enough of the forbearance of the nation to encourage them to proceed as they have begun: they are afraid of nothing but Buonaparté! and, though he has already repeatedly violated the preliminary treaty, we greatly doubt of their intention to remonstrate; and we are fully persuaded, that if, as is reported, they have really pressed the conclusion of the definitive treaty, it has been done in the style of an humble petition, which may probably obtain for us a *coup-de-grace*. It two words, we expect the definitive treaty, and with it the confirmation of our ruin and dishonour.

Lest, however, we should be mistaken on this point, it may not be amiss to say a word or two on the change which the preliminaries will have produced in the relative situation of the two countries. And here we cannot but look back to the negotiations for the *naval truce*. The arguments against that truce, arguments which were so convincing to the nation, all apply, with double force, to the present suspension of hostilities, because the enemy has now been allowed to change the position of his fleets, whereas, by the stipulations of the truce, he would have been prevented from making such change. Leaving to the ministers, all of whom justified the rejection of the truce, to find arguments in support of their present measures, we shall suppose the war upon the eve of a recommencement, and we would then ask, whether the contest will not have been rendered infinitely more expensive, and more dangerous, than it was

* From a perusal of Mr. (now Sir Alexander) Mackenzie's Voyages, any intelligent reader will instantly perceive the facility of executing this project. The French, however, want no information from books: they have had agents in this country during the whole of the present war.

previous to the 1st of October. Before that fatal day, the fleets of our enemies were blockaded in their ports; now, they are nearly all out of port. Those who contend, that we derive an advantage from this circumstance, will oblige us very much by stating the reasons why we have, during the whole war, been so indefatigable in prosecuting our blockades? Some persons talk of destroying the French fleets in the West-Indies, as if it were an enterprize at any moment in our power, forgetting that they are not less secure at Cape François, or at the Havannah, than they were at Cadiz, or at Brest; forgetting, too, that, by their army in Saint Domingo and Cuba, our most valuable colony of Jamaica is placed in continual danger. Not only must we blockade the principal ports of these two islands, but we must also keep up squadrons to cruize along the whole of their extensive coasts, and must maintain a numerous army in Jamaica, lest this naval defence should chance to prove ineffectual. The supporting of the French and Spanish fleets in the West-Indies, will be attended with no difficulty; provisions, and materials for the repair of the ships, will go in abundance from the United States of America, and will be paid for in the produce of Saint Domingo. If we prohibit this lucrative trade, we incur the hostility of America, and the starvation of our islands, armies, and fleets. Want of room prevents us from lengthening our remarks on this subject; but we have no hesitation in asserting, that the preliminaries of peace, together with the subsequent pusillanimity of our cabinet, have shifted the scene of hostilities to a point of greater danger, and infinitely greater expence.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

His Majesty's Letters Patent have been passed under the Great Seal of Ireland, for translating the Right Rev. Dr. George de la Poer Beresford, Lord Bishop of the United Bishoprics of Clonfert and Kilmacluagh, to the Bishopric of Kilmore, in the room of the most Rev. and Hon. Dr. Charles Brodrick, promoted to the Archbishopric of Cashel.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

Births.—Wednesday se'nnight, at Edinburgh, the Hon. Mrs. Cameron, of Locheil, of a daughter.—Lately, at Castlemartyr, Ireland, the Lady of Lord Boyle, of a son and heir.

Marriages.—On Thursday, the 4th instant, in Mary-la-bonne Church, G. D. Ferry, Esq. to Lady Jane Halliday, widow of —— Halliday, Esq. sister to the Earl of Dysart.—A few days since, at Calne, in Wiltshire, Charles Belleville, Esq. to Mrs. Caulfield, sister to Sir Jonathan Cope, Bart.—On the 27th ult. at Lisnegar, Ireland, Lieutenant-Colonel Baird, of the 1st battalion of the 62d regiment, to the Hon. Esther Charlotte Tonson, eldest daughter of the late Right Hon. Lord Riversdale.

Deaths.—At Balhmines, aged 72, Mrs. Rosengrave, relict of Wm. Rosengrave, Esq. formerly High Chamberlain of his Majesty's Exchequer, and upwards of twenty years Prime Secretary to the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland.—On Tuesday last, in the 81st year of his age, at Shobdon Court, in the County of Hereford, the Right Hon. John Lord Viscount Bateman, Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of that County.—On the 21st of February, at St. Eith, in the County of Cornwall, Mrs. Willyams, wife of the Reverend Humphrey Willyams, and sister to Sir George Shuckburgh.—Yesterday se'nnight, at Richmond, Surrey, Lady Musgrave, relict of the late Sir Philip Musgrave, Bart.—At Antigua, on the 31st of December last, the Lady of Brigadier-General Peter, of Crossbasket.

PRICE OF STOCKS.

ENGLISH three per cent. consols.

Saturday	67¾ ⅞	Wednesday	67⅝ ½ ⅞ ¾ ⅛
Monday	67⅞ ¾ 68	Thursday	67⅞ ⅛ ¼ ⅜
Tuesday	67⅞ 68 67¾ 68	Friday	67⅞ ⅞ ¾ ⅜

AMERICAN STOCKS.—Eight pr.c. 114½. three pr.c. 61.

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 56 frs. 75 c.

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s.	s.		s.	s.
Eng. Wheat per q.	68	86	Hops per cwt.	71	142
Foreign	44	88	Hay per load	72	110
Rye	35	40	Beef, per stone,	4s. 8d.	to 6s. 0d.
Barley	38	45			
Malt	45	55	Mutton	5s. 9d.	to 6s. 10d.
Oats	16	25	Veal	6s. 9d.	to 7s. 11d.
Pease	35	46	Pork	5s. 10d.	to 8s. 0d.
Beans	38	45	Tallow	4s. 9d.	
Flour per sack	65	70	Average of sugar		
Seconds	53	56	per cwt.	38s.	
Coals per chal.	35	42	Bread, 10½d. the quart. loaf.		

American Flour, at Philadelphia, 6 dollars per barrel.—Cotton at Liverpool, 1s. 5d. per lb. which was at 2s. 6d. before the preliminaries of peace!

Observations on the Weather, near Guildford, in Surrey, for the Month of March, 1802.

Days.	Moon's Age.	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barometer. Inches. M.	Barometer. Inches. A.	Thermometer. Degrees. M.	Thermometer. Degrees. A.
4	●	Fine.	NW	NE	29,6	29,68	39	49
5		Fros. Fine	NE	NE	29,95	29,95	36	42
6		Fros. Fine	NE	NE	30,1	30,1	33	41
7		Fros. Fine	NE	NE	30	29,9	32	42
8		Fros. Clo.	NW	NW	29,55	29,5	37	42
9		Fros. Fine	N	N	29,9	29,9	36	44
10		Fine.	NW	NW	30,13	30,1	30	51

LONDON.

LONDON, *March* 13 *to March* 20, 1802.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

THE same unimportance has marked the debates of last week, in the House of Lords, which characterized those of the two foregoing. Little more than the usual forwarding of bills in their different stages has been done there. Only two things appear to call for some mention. On Monday (March 15), the *Earl of Carlisle* rose, and, in a short speech, touched upon the present circumstances of the country, as relating to the negotiation. A manifest alteration had, he said, appeared in the system of his Majesty's councils, which called for some explanation to be given to the House. Many circumstances, he was aware, might have called for such an alteration; but ministers ought to state to the House by what conduct, on the part of France, it had been caused. The recent additions to the territory and power of France were certainly causes of alarm, and on these subjects the House should be properly informed. They ought also to be informed if the Definitive Treaty was to be expected shortly. The noble Earl forbore to make any motion on the subject, declaring, that he trusted to the candour of ministers for a satisfactory explanation. He was answered by *Lord Pelham*, who stated, that the information required by the noble Earl could not at present be properly given. The *Earl of Carlisle* observed, in reply, that it had not been his intention at this moment to press ministers for an answer. The increased power of France could not be viewed without great anxiety. At the time of concluding the preliminaries, France presented an object that the eye could scan; that the understanding could comprehend; but she had since suddenly shot up to gigantic stature; her head touched the clouds, and her arms extended from the east to the west. In speaking at this time, he had only wished to point their lordships' attention to the nature and importance of the topics which would come before them.

The next day, *Lord Redesdale* moved for the appointment of a committee to take into consideration certain clauses in the Act of Union of Great-Britain and Ireland, and to consider the circumstances of peerages in abeyance, and of a mode for the regulating and better ascertaining the claims to, and descent of, Irish peerages. *Lord Thurlow* was of opinion, that the motion was not general enough: it ought to go to the entire relevant provisions of the act. *Lord Auckland*, agreeing abstractedly with the last noble Lord, resisted the idea of any interference, at present, beyond that intended by the noble mover. After some explanation from *Lord Redesdale*, the question was carried, and a committee appointed.

In the House of Commons, on Thursday (March 11), after some Bills, then before the House, had been forwarded in their respective stages, *Mr. Simeon* moved for leave to bring in a bill for more effectually distinguishing and relieving the industrious parish poor, regulating overseers' accounts, and preserving the lives of adjudged bastards. The object of the bill, he briefly stated to be, to enable every parish to execute the poor laws in a more favourable manner; to put bastard children more under the eye of the magistrate; and, for the first seven years of their life, to prevent the removal of them by the father from the care of the mother. It was his intention, he stated, that when the bill had been once read, it should lie over till after the circuits, that time might be given for forming a proper judgment upon its expediency. Leave was granted to bring in the Bill.

A long conversation took place, he next day, on the motion of *Mr. Corry*, that the account of the permanent charges of Ireland should be referred to a committee. Nothing interesting, however, took place.

Mr. Jones then moved for an account of the total produce of the Tax upon Income, as far as it could be made up. This tax, he said, though a good theoretical tax, was one of the worst practical taxes that ever was made. It was a tax upon common honesty. Some modification of it ought, at least, to be adopted. The motion was objected to by *Sir Robert Buxton* and by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*. The latter expressed his hope that the hon. gentleman would postpone his motion, as it was his intention, in the course of the next week, to submit

to the House several motions relative to the Income Tax. If those motions were not sufficient, it remained with the hon. gentleman to make any supplementary one that accorded with his ideas. He wished it, however, to be understood, that the motions he should make would only go to the modification of the tax, not to its repeal. After some conversation, Mr. Jones withdrew his motion.

The House then resolved itself into a Committee of Supply, to which the estimates of the ordinary and extraordinary of the navy, the transport service, the expenses of sick and wounded seamen and prisoners of war, were referred. This gave rise to some debate. On *Mr. W. Eliot* moving, that the sum of 140,403*l.* should be granted for the ordinary of the navy for two months, *Mr. Robson* rose to object to the practice of voting supplies for such short periods, as injurious to the credit of the country, and as shewing to the enemy that we relied upon his giving us peace within the period for which the supply was voted. To the practice also of granting such large sums of money in such thin houses, he declared his dissent. He was answered by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, who, adverting to the thinness of attendance, urged it as a proof of its being the opinion of the members of that House, that it was necessary to the honour and safety of the country, that its naval force should be kept on a proper footing. To say that, because the supplies were voted only for a short period, the enemy must imagine that we relied upon his giving us peace within that period, and that we have resolved to have it upon any terms, was not, he said, a fair inference. Nothing had hitherto been done by ministers that sanctioned the idea of their assenting to a disgraceful peace. Though it might not prove necessary to keep up the force now voted for the time specified, it was certainly proper that it should be voted until the object of it was attained. Should, however, the honour, the dignity, the safety, or the independence of the country, require it, he felt confident there was no force that the House would not vote, no time to which it would not extend the continuance of that force. *Mr. Jones*, agreeing with Mr. Robson as to the thin attendance of members, expressed his pleasure in finding that ministers were resolved to shew a bold front to the wavering First Consul of France, to whose power and ambition it was indisputably necessary that some effectual check should be given. If the Definitive Treaty was not concluded by a certain day, the force of the country ought to be put in motion. The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* declared, in explanation, that his Majesty's ministers were determined to pursue such measures as were requisite to assert the honour of the country. He wished it to be clearly understood, that, though they were prepared for either alternative, it was not to the alternative of war that they looked forward. After some observations from *Mr. Jones* and *Mr. Robson*, the question was put and carried.

On Monday (March 15), after some preliminary business had been gone through, the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* rose, to move for a committee to examine the state of the Corn Trade between Great Britain and Ireland. Though the measure was generally approved, some conversation took place on the mode of carrying it into execution. The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* urged, that it had been the policy of our ancestors to identify with this country, those that had been annexed to it. Such had been their policy with regard to England and Wales, such it had been with regard to England and Scotland; the same policy ought to be used by us with respect to England and Ireland. The intercourse between the two countries ought to be free; or, if restrictions were imposed, they should be partial, not general. As to the prices of grain in Ireland, they were, in many instances, double those of the same sort in England: and this had arisen from laws, wise, no doubt, at the period of their enactment, but no longer necessary. Reasoning from general principles, it might be wise to get rid of all distinctions respecting corn between Great-Britain and Ireland; but, independent of prejudices, there were some circumstances peculiar to Ireland, which merited consideration. In a committee, means might be adopted to enable the empire to obtain from itself (for Ireland was a part of itself) those supplies which it now sought in foreign markets; and this might be done without injury to the people of Ireland. He therefore was of opinion, that a committee should be chosen to investigate the subject, and to report the same, with their observations to the House. This gave rise to a conversation between *Mr. Forster*, the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, *Sir William Pulteney*, and *Lord Hawkesbury*. Agreeing with each other in the general principle, the Hon. Gentlemen yet differed in some particular sentiments. *Lord Hawkesbury* in particular, rose to defend the agriculture of this coun-

try, from the charge brought against it by Mr. Forster, of having declined, while that of Ireland had, on the contrary, greatly increased. Far from declining, it had, he said, within these ten years been in a rapid and progressive state of improvement. That England now imported, instead of, as she once did, exporting corn, was not to be attributed to deficient cultivation, but to increased population, wealth, and consequent luxury. The question was then put and carried.

On the next day, *Mr. Fox*, in moving for a new writ for the borough of Tavistock, pronounced a long and animated eulogium on the late Duke of Bedford. Tracing him during the whole period of his public career down to the time of his death, *Mr. Fox* asserted, that he had displayed the perfection of the human character. *Mr. Sheridan* seconded the motion, which was agreed to.

Mr. Corry then moved the order of the day for the second reading of the Irish Duties Continuation Bill. This gave rise to a debate of considerable length. The measure was opposed by *Mr. Forster*, and defended by *Mr. Corry*, the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, and *Mr. Ormsby*. *Mr. Forster* contended that the bill had been brought in by surprise, and without any time being given for its discussion. The present bill contained 1500 articles of duty, of which, as not one was enumerated in the bill, not one could be discussed. This bill ought, in his opinion, to have originated in a Committee of Supply. It was, on the contrary, to be hurried through the House in an obscure manner. The manufacturer could not know to what they were to trust, as though it appeared the duties were to be continued for nine months, a clause was introduced by which they might be altered in the present session. It was proper to appreciate fairly the present state of Ireland. Her shipping had decreased; the balance of trade, favourable to her in 1786, was now against her; her debt had, since the year 1793, increased from 2,300,000 to £36,000,000; the course of exchange had been unfavourable for four years; for the same time, she had been in the habit of borrowing money from Great-Britain; and to crown all, her absentees annually drained her of immense sums. In conclusion, he declared, that the bill ought not to be for more than two months, instead of being for nine,—a period which would prevent them from doing any thing on the subject during the present session.

He was answered, very much at length, by *Mr. Corry*, who controverted the whole of his positions. The state of the finances, trade and industry of Ireland were such, he said, as to afford a matter of exultation, though its peace and its industry had been interrupted. If even the manufactures had declined, not ministers were to blame, but a desolating rebellion; the decrease in some articles of Irish exportation arose merely from temporary causes; the increase of Irish debt had been before communicated to the House; and as to the exchange, the hon. gentleman must have known, that it was not in the power of ministers to prevent its being unfavourable. The provisions of this bill not being for current charges, but for permanent services, could not be voted in the Committee of Supply. The hon. gentleman then went much at length into an explanation of the measure now before the House, and the conduct of ministers with respect to Ireland, and concluded by expressing his entire dissent from the principles and opinions of the hon. gentleman who spoke last. He was followed by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* and *Mr. Ormsby* on the same grounds. The question was then put, the bill read a second time, and ordered to be committed.

Nothing of importance took place in the House on Wednesday. A few observations were made by *Mr. Robson* and *Mr. Jones*, in the Committee on the Irish Duty Bill, which were answered by *Mr. Steele* and *Mr. Corry*, and the bill passed through the committee.

After receiving a petition from Dr. Jenner, the discoverer of the Vaccine Inoculation, the House, in a Committee of Supply, voted the sum of £266,666 13*s.* 4*d.* for the service of the office of ordnance. *The Chancellor of the Exchequer* then gave notice, that he should on Wednesday next, in the Committee of Supply, propose to vote the miscellaneous services, of which the accounts were on the table. The House then adjourned.

TO THE RT. HON. HENRY ADDINGTON.

Sir,

The apprehensions of the country, with respect to the daring encroachments of France, have been, in some degree, removed by your late declaration in the House of Commons, that *the definitive treaty should sanction no departure from the preliminary articles.* Hoping, as I do, that perfect reliance may be placed on this public and solemn assurance, I think it not improper to remind you of the divers instances, in which the preliminaries have already been violated by

the enemy, and of the several measures of aggrandizement, of which, to render the definitive treaty consonant to the stipulations of the preliminaries, you must demand and obtain a relinquishment.

The preliminaries stipulate for the *integrality of Portugal*;* that is, that Portugal shall retain the sovereignty and the possession of all and every part of those territories, which she possessed, or which we thought she possessed, on the day when those preliminaries were signed. Hardly, however, have our eyes ceased to be dazzled with the blaze of illuminations intended, in part, to celebrate the stipulation, which had insured the integrality of our ancient and faithful ally, when we learn, that another treaty between France and this ally had been signed, a few hours previous to the signing of our treaty, by which other treaty the integrality, for which we had stipulated, and of which we had boasted, had been completely destroyed. By this treaty, of which you knew nothing when the preliminaries were signed, France has extorted from Portugal a vast tract of country and the absolute command of a most important river in South America. This acquisition was not, indeed, necessary to enable her to trouble and invade the most precious colonies of our ally; that power she had secured by the possessions, which the preliminaries had left in her hands; but, the treaty of Madrid facilitates her projected enterprizes; it brings her two hundred miles nearer to the object of her rapacity, it saves her the expense of a march and of a naval expedition, it gives her the choice of the moment, and effectually secures her against the danger of opposition. From the banks of the Arowary she would find no great difficulty in leading her army to the point of attack; but, occupying the bank of the Amazons, from the sea to Fort Macapa,† that fort inclusive, she has the door of the Brazils continually in her hand. I am aware, Sir, that you have stated that the treaty of Madrid would be *cancelled*.‡ It has not yet been cancelled; no public act, to that effect, has reached us; on the contrary, every thing we have heard seems to intimate the resolution of France to hold the Portuguese to a fulfilment of its conditions: unless, therefore, it be fully and unequivocally annulled by the definitive treaty, that treaty will give it a complete confirmation.

The *Island of Elba* furnishes another instance of French duplicity and fraud. By the treaty of Luneville, France obtained, from the Emperor the cession of this island to the Duke of Parma.§ Having thus placed it in the hands of the family of Spain, she, immediately afterwards, makes a treaty with Spain, in which she obtains it *for herself*.‖ Nothing of this was known, when she formed her preliminary treaty with us, and when we stipulated to evacuate the island.¶ You certainly thought, Sir, that you were yielding the Island of Elba, and with it Porto Ferrajo, to the infant Duke of Parma; but having now discovered that you were yielding it to Buonaparté, you must also have discovered, that you were egregiously deceived and defrauded, and you must, if you adhere to your declaration, obtain justice by the stipulations of the definitive treaty. The Island of Elba and its fortress are of immense importance; and, though the advocates of "peace on any terms" would, doubtless, endeavour to lessen the advantages to be derived from its possession, they would scarcely succeed in screening you from the odium, which, first or last, must fall upon the man, who shall surrender it to France.

Since the preliminaries were signed, France has transferred the sovereignty of *the Cisalpine Republic* to herself. While she has given to that state a name, which points to its extension over the whole of Italy, she has, at the same time, made her own Chief the chief of this new-modelled dominion, and, lest his name should prove insufficient for the purposes of insuring obedience to his command, she has garrisoned the country with her troops, and confided to the bayonet, what might chance to elude a consular decree. In fact, Italy, in virtue of this last act of encroachment, already is what, I greatly fear, England is likely to be—*a province of France*. You and your partizans of "peace on any terms" may endeavour to palliate this daring breach of public faith; but, it is evident, that, if you were to make a definitive treaty, in which the state of Italy is overlooked, in which the late assumption of power over that country by France is not relinquished, you would falsify your public declaration.

---

* See Preliminary Treaty, Register, p. 162.

† See the Treaty of 29th September, 1801. Register, p. 167.

‡ See Appendix to Cobbett's Letters on the Peace, p. liv.

§ See Register, p. 22.

‖ See Register, p. 52.

¶ See Register, p. 162.

There was a time, Sir, when England would not have permitted France, unopposed, and even unquestioned, to seize on *one-third part of Switzerland*, and to make no very closely-disguised preparations for seizing on the rest; but you, Sir, and your colleagues, have reduced our country to a cypher; it is become nothing in the estimation of the world in general, and less than nothing in the calculations of our enemy, with whom, from being an object of envy and of hatred, we are become an object of the most perfect and best merited contempt.

Did you, Sir, when you so earnestly and yet so humbly besought Buonaparté to grant you the preliminary treaty, did you then know, Sir, that he had previously obtained the cession of *Louisiana and* (as is now asserted) *the Floridas?* And were you acquainted with the situation, the extent, the boundaries, the resources, of those countries, and with the influence that the possession of them by France must necessarily have on the colonies and commerce of England?

The two Floridas alone (east and west) are, in extent, greater than the Island of Britain; their soil and climate are amongst the best in the world; they produce rice and cotton as good as those of Georgia, and indigo equal to that of any of the West-India Islands. With ship timber, not inferior to any, they have long supplied the dock-yards of the Havannah and of Cadiz, as also with no inconsiderable quantity of naval stores. Of Indian corn they yield two crops in a year; mahogany in abundance; their staves, shingles, lumber of every sort, and particularly their Indian corn, render them most valuable possessions to any nation possessing colonies in the West-Indies, from the principal islands of which they are at the distance of only about six days sail. Wheaten flour, pork, beef, and butter, in which the Floridas are deficient, are most abundantly supplied by the river Mississippi, which runs through Louisiana, a country the most fertile in the world, and on the banks of which are settlements already formed to the hands of our enemy. New Orleans, which is situated near the mouth of this river, and which is at once the guardian of its sovereignty and the emporium of its commerce, is a populous and flourishing city; Pensacola, in West Florida, and St. Augustine, in East Florida, are far from being despicable either as to strength, population, or riches.

As a naval position, East Florida is the most advantageous that can be conceived; it completely commands the gulph passage, overlooks the Bahamas, on one hand, and Mexico on the other, and is at a very small distance from Jamaica. With a country of such resources, and so situated, in the hands of France, the West-India Islands of England never can enjoy an hour's security. Buonaparté will lose no time in turning his acquisitions to account; and, be you well assured, Sir, that Florida will soon possess a sea-port more formidable to our colonies than Brest or the Texel ever has been to the mother country.

While the possession of these countries will give to France the means of feeding her own colonies and of annoying ours, it will enable her to disturb our possessions in Canada, to rival, and supplant us, in the fur trade,* and to force from the United States of America, such commercial, and even warlike measures, as she may find it her interest to demand. Two of the four sides of Georgia will be, at once, laid open to her inroads; in fact, that state will be absolutely in her power. The western part of North Carolina, the whole of the states of Kentucky and Tennessee, with other fertile and populous districts, lying on the east bank of the Mississippi, and not yet formed into states; all these she will, at any moment, be able to sever from the government, to which they now owe allegiance, because not a dollar's worth of their produce can reach the ocean but through the channel of that river, of which she will keep the key.

Permit me, then, once more to ask you, Sir, whether, when you prostrated our country at the feet of the Grand Consul, and yielded him up all those conquests, which had been purchased with her treasure and the blood of her children, you knew that he had already obtained the cession of Louisiana and the Floridas? Were you, could you possibly be, apprized of this, when you illuminated the treasury, and when you called upon the nation to join you in rejoicing at the peace? I sincerely believe you were not; but remember, Sir, that, if you now make a definitive treaty, without excluding him from these possessions, you subject yourself to the charge of having broken your promise of adherence to the preliminaries, or to the much more serious charge of having formed those preliminaries with a predetermination to leave Louisiana and the Floridas in his hands.

* See Register, p. 256, for a more minute account of the plans of France with respect to Canada.

I have now stated, Sir, four principal instances of departure from the preliminary articles, two of them, those which relate to Guiana and the Island of Elba, Buonaparté will, probably, be prevailed on to give up, because, the territory in question, he can, at any moment he pleases, extort from Portugal, and from his creature the unfledged King of Etruria; but of his sovereignty of the Italian Republic, which indirectly gives him the command of all Italy, from the Valais to Naples inclusive, he never will yield a single inch. Much less will you, without having again recourse to arms, induce him to abandon, or defer, his claims on Louisiana and the two Floridas; yet, if you do not, you set your seal to our expulsion from the whole of the West-Indian Archipelago. Jamaica is our principal colony; our homeward trade with that important island is carried on through the windward passage, or through the leeward passage, otherwise called the New Bahama Channel, or Gulph of Florida. One of your ignorant partizans, Sir, has lately ridiculed a reference to *maps;* nevertheless, Sir, if you do not think such reference entirely beneath you, I would beg leave to recommend to you to cast your eye over the map of the West-Indies, by which you will at once perceive the alarming situation in which our West-India trade and possessions are about to be placed. In time of peace, ships do, indeed, beat up through the windward passage; but, in time of war, this is never attempted. All our convoys from Jamaica come home through the Gulph of Florida, of which the French will now obtain the absolute command. Their intention (and they never depart from their intentions) of establishing a naval arsenal and port in the inlet of Hillsborough which lies opposite the narrowest part of the gulph, and from which they will be able to intercept every British ship not convoyed by a powerful squadron of men of war, has been already declared; and, Sir, if you make such a peace as shall wink at the consummation of this project, I have no hesitation to say, that you will be justly chargeable with the ruin of your country, which ruin must inevitably ensue from the loss of that naval superiority, which the possession of Florida will transfer to her implacable foe.

What are you, then, to do? Renew the war, and take Florida yourself, or place it in the hands of the United States, and with it the Mississippi and its borders; or, by the definitive treaty, *secure* these countries in the possession of Spain. You may, and I dare say you will, smile at this; you have smiled, you do smile; but, Sir, a man may smile and smile, and yet do such things as may merit the curses of posterity. That you will not, however, merit those curses I most anxiously hope, and in that hope I once more subscribe myself,

Sir,
Your most humble,
and most obedient Servant,
Wm. Cobbett.

Pall Mall, March 18, 1802.

COLONY OF ST. DOMINGO.

Paris, March 15.

The General in Chief, to the Minister of the Marine.

"*Head-Quarters at the Cape, Feb.* 9.

"I leave to Admiral Villaret to give you the details of our passage. We made Cape François on the 29th of January, and the different squadrons from Brest, L'Orient, and Rochefort, were here united. The Syren frigate, which the Admiral had sent to Guadaloupe, came to inform us of the insurrectional movements which had taken place in that colony.

"On the 30th, General Kerverseau was detached with a large squadron to Santo Domingo.—On the 31st, the Admiral sent for pilots to Monte Christi. These pilots assured us, that Toussaint was disposed to receive us in a friendly manner.

"Feb. 1, Rear-Admiral Latouche having on board his squadron a division of the army under the orders of General Boudet, steered for Port Republicain, (Port-au-Prince) in order to occupy the southern district.

"2d, Captain Magen, having on board of his division General Rochambeau, with a body of troops, steered for Fort Liberty (Fort Dauphin); but the calm prevented him from entering the port.

"3d, At seven o'clock in the morning, he effected his disembarkation at Mancenille; 600 men had just landed, and put themselves in order of battle, when a cloud of blacks poured down upon them, calling out, "No whites! No whites!" In vain did our men make signs of fraternity to them; it was necessary to attack them. They were soon routed and dispersed.

"General Brunet, who commanded the advanced guard, entered with the fugitives into the Forts of Ance and Bouque, and took them hand to hand, after a desperate resistance. At the same instant, Captain Magen entered the Roads, and was received by cannon-shot from the fort. The blacks, however, were soon compelled to fly, and our troops threw themselves into the ships' boats, and entered by the embrasures.

"At Fort Liberty (Fort Dauphin) and the neighbourhood, we found 150 pieces of cannon. We found among the papers of the commandant of the place, an order of Toussaint, to sink the vessels which approached, and to hold out to the last extremity. The 5th Light Infantry maintained its former reputation. Generals Rochambeau and Brunet, and Capt. Magén, greatly distinguished themselves.

Citizen Lachatre, Aid-de-Camp to General Rochambeau, a Captain of Carabineers, and 12 soldiers were killed, and 40 wounded.

"I have requested Admiral Villaret to make Captain Magen a rear-admiral.

"On the 2d I arrived with the Admiral and the main body of the army before Fort Piccolet. I conformed myself to the general plan of the expedition. Two frigates carried the proclamation of the First Consul. A cutter approached the battery of Piccolet, made its way through the fire, and anchored in the Road, although the buoys had been taken up.

"At three o'clock, Langes, a man of colour, who acted as Captain of the port at the Cape, came on board the Admiral. He told us that General Christophe had sent a courier to Toussaint, to request orders, and that till the arrival of an answer, he would meet the squadron with cannon, burn the city, and massacre the whites.

"I replied to General Christophe, and Citizen Lebrun, Aid-de-Camp to Admiral Villaret, carried my letter. A deputation of the municipality of the Cape arrived during these transactions, conjuring me to take pity on the unfortunate situation of the inhabitants. I could easily perceive, from what they told me, that the lot of these wretched people was decided; that they wished to gain time, but that the affair could only be determined by the sword. In this cruel alternative there remained with me only one plan to be pursued; which was, to disembark at some leagues from the Cape, and to march to the heights behind the Cape, while General Rochambeau gained the heights of St. Sauzanne, Dondon, and Grande-Rivière. I was certain by this measure to save the beautiful plantations which surround the Cape, and I had even hopes of saving that beautiful and important city.

"A calm retarded the course of the light vessels, on board of which I had embarked. At three o'clock I arrived at Port Margot. The debarkation was effected near that at Limbé. The enemy had a battery there, and received us with a discharge of artillery; but our soldiers rushed on shore with so much rapidity, that they sustained no loss. I afterwards set forward to put my designs in execution. All the settlements were deserted. The settlers had taken to flight. They had been made to believe the most absurd and opposite reports. They had been told that the squadron was composed of Spaniards and English, who had come to conquer the island, and put them all to the sword.

"At two o'clock I arrived at Salée, at the bottom of the bay of Acul, with my advanced guard. It was not long before I learnt that General Christophe was posted with his troops at Mount English, half a league from us. General Hardy with his division marched thither; and about half a league farther, in the direction of the Cape, he met the incendiaries, who were on the way to burn the settlements. In the mean time the General had ordered several vessels to approach the harbour, and had also landed General Humbert at the head of a body of troops.

"I marched to the height of the Cape in order to put an end to a fire kept up between our disembarked troops and the blacks. The Brigands had set fire to the Cape, by General Christophe's orders. By the united efforts of the squadron, the fire was put a stop to.

"Since my arrival here, I have been employed in re-organizing this city, and restoring it to order.

"I have named the brave black, Telemachus, to be mayor. He did all he could to put a stop to the mischief. The negroes attempted to kill him, but our troops arrived in time to rescue him out of their hands.

"The plain on the north, the quarters of Limbé and Acul, and all between the river of Massacres and Limbé, remain untouched. The inhabitants carried away by Christophe are returning. Wherever I go through the city and its environs I observe the people smiling, in spite of their immense losses. They think these of no account, now that they are for ever delivered from the horrible tyranny of the ferocious Africans. Two expeditions are on their march to occupy the Fort de Paix and the Mole. I have already embodied 12,000 blacks.

"I have not yet received the details of the expedition to Port Republicain (Port-au-Prince). I only know by report, that our troops have entered that town."

"I have learnt nothing whatever of the expedition to Santo Domingo and Des Cayes.

"In spite of the atrocity of Toussaint's conduct, I did not wish to depart from the general instructions of the First Consul. I have sent him his children, with a letter from the First Magistrate of the French Republic. I have given him to understand that I will take upon myself to receive his submission. On the 14th I shall march to Gonaïves, to form a junction with the division disembarked at Port Republicain (Port-au-Prince).

"I cannot enough commend the conduct of Admiral Villaret. His experience has enabled us to act in the most difficult circumstances. His only aim is the success of the expedition, to rescue from the ferocious Africans this colony, the fruit of 200 years of labour and prosperity, and which will be a lasting monument of the danger of abstract notions and vain theories in matters of government. The Spanish squadron has assisted us in such a manner, as to call for a special acknowledgment to Admiral Gravina from the First Consul. I have to complain bitterly of the want of engineers: I have not one superior officer. The Minister of War had ordered the Generals of Brigade, Carnot, as well as Quentin, Beauvert, Calonne, and Poligne, to repair hither; but none of them have come. Are not the officers of engineers bound, as well as others, to march where honour calls them? I beg you will request government to send me, without delay, two chiefs of brigade, and two chiefs of battalion of that corps."

The General in Chief, to the Minister of Marine.

"*Cape, Feb. 9.*

"I have found in the Cape a quantity of provisions, a great quantity of cannon, and ammunition of all kinds. The fusils, cannon, and powder have been furnished by the United States.

"Although we are much incommoded by the great quantities of rain which have fallen, in five days we shall pursue Toussaint. I am uncertain whither he will betake himself, and what he will do. I am informed that one part of his treasures is at Gonaïves. If this be true, the war will soon be finished, as I shall be there by the 14th. The whites, the people of colour, and the old free-blacks, begin to return to their habitations. His troops are even beginning to abandon Toussaint. The government may rest assured that the army will never repose till all be completed. The black generals make the cultivators of their own colour work more severely than the whites do.

"A letter from a secretary of Toussaint's, who has come to Port Liberté, (Port Dauphin) assures me that for a month past he has been making the greatest preparations to oppose our landing; that his real

force consists of 10 Demi-brigades, each of 11 or 1200 men, and a body of Cavalry, amounting to from 12 to 1500 horse. He adds, that Toussaint did not expect our squadron for three months; and that our sudden arrival had disconcerted his plans completely.

"I have also in my hands a Treasurer of Toussaint's, who is immensely rich. I have caused a loaded vessel to be seized, which was on its way to the United States.

"The merchants may rest assured they may now trade, in the fullest security, to the ports of the colony; and that they need be afraid, neither of requisitions nor any arbitrary measures."

PROCLAMATION.

The First Consul, to the Inhabitants of St. Domingo.

Paris, Nov. 8, 1801.

"Inhabitants of St. Domingo.

"Whatever may be your origin and colour, you are all Frenchmen, all free, all equal before God, and the Republic.

"France, like St. Domingo, has been the prey of factions, and torn by civil and foreign war. But now all is changed. All nations have embraced the French, and sworn to them peace and friendship. All the French are likewise reconciled to one another, and have sworn to be friends and brothers. Come you also to embrace the French, and to gratify yourselves with a sight of your friends and brethren of Europe.

"Government sends you Captain-General Leclerc; he leads great force with him to protect you against your enemies, and against the enemies of the Republic.

"If it be said to you, '*These forces are destined to deprive you of your liberty,*' do you reply, "*The republic will not suffer it to be taken from us.*'

"Rally around your Captain-General. He brings you abundance and peace—rally around him. He who dares to separate himself from the Captain-General, is a traitor to his country, and the wrath of the Republic shall devour him, as the fire devours your dry canes.

(Signed)

"*Buonaparté, First Consul.*

"*H. B. Maret, Sec. of State.*"

To Citizen Toussaint Louverture, General in Chief of the Army of St. Domingo.

"Citizen General,

"Peace with England, and the other Powers of Europe, which has raised the Republic to the first degree of power and grandeur, has also induced the Republic to take possession of St. Domingo. We have sent thither Citizen Leclerc, our brother-in-law, with the rank of Captain-General, as first magistrate of the colony. He is attended by a force such as is proper to make the sovereignty of the people respected.

"In these circumstances, we flatter ourselves that you will prove to us, and France in general, the sincerity of the sentiments which you have constantly expressed in the different letters which you have written us. We have conceived an esteem for you, and we feel a pleasure in acknowledging and proclaiming the great services which you have rendered to the French people. If its colours wave in St. Domingo, it is owing to you and your brave blacks.

"Called by your talents and the force of circumstances to the chief command, you have extinguished civil war, imposed a restraint on the persecution of some ferocious men, restored to its proper rank, religion, and the worship of a God from whom all things emanate. The Constitution you have made, includes many good things, but contains also others contrary to the dignity and sovereignty of the French people, of which St. Domingo is only a portion.

"The circumstances in which you have been placed, surrounded by enemies, without being able to derive any assistance from the Mother Country, have legitimated the articles of this Constitution, which otherwise would be improper. But now, that things have happily changed their appearance, you will, no doubt, be the first to pay homage to the sovereignty of the nation, which numbers you among its most illustrious citizens, by the services which you have rendered to it, both by the talents and intrepid character with which Nature has endowed you. A contrary line of conduct will not be reconcileable to the sentiments we entertain of you. It will make you forfeit your numerous claims to the gratitude and to the rewards of the Republic, and will open a gulph for yourself, which may also contribute to the misery of those generous blacks, whose courage we admire, and whose rebellion with pain we should be obliged to punish.

"We have made known to your children and to their tutor, the sentiments by which we are governed. We return them to you.

"Assist the Captain-General with your advice, your influence, and your talents. Do you wish for the freedom of the blacks? You know well, that in every country where we have been, we have conferred it on those people who before were not in possession of it. Do you wish for rank, honours, and fortune? After the services you have rendered, and which it is now in your power, in the present conjuncture, to effect, and with the personal estimation which we entertain for you, you need not doubt of the consideration, the fortune, and the honors which attend you.

"Let the people of St. Domingo know, that the solicitude which France has ever felt for their happiness, has often been inefficient, from the imperious circumstances of the war: that the men who have arrived from the continent to agitate the colony, and foment divisions, were the spawn of factions which were tearing in pieces the mother country herself, but now, that peace and the power of the government secure their prosperity and freedom, tell them, that if Liberty be their chief good, they cannot enjoy it but with the title of French Citizens, and that every action contrary to the interests of the country, to the obedience which they owe to the government, and to the Commander in Chief, who is the depositary of it, will be a crime against the national sovereignty, which will eclipse their services, and render St. Domingo the theatre of an unhappy war, in which fathers and children will mutually destroy each other.

"And you, General! reflect, that if you are the first of your colour who have arrived to so high a degree of power, and who have been so greatly distinguished by valour and military talents, you are also to God and us, the principal responsible agent for your own conduct.

"If there be any evil designing person who say to those who have taken the lead in the troubles of St. Domingo, that we come to investigate what they have been doing during the days of anarchy,

assure them that we shall look only to their present conduct, that we shall make no inquiries into the past, except to learn those exploits by which they have distinguished themselves in the war which they sustained against the Spaniards and English, then our enemies.

"Rely upon our esteem, and conduct yourself as becomes one of the Principal Citizens of the greatest nation in the world.

"The First Consul, Buonaparté.

"Paris, Nov. 18, 1801."

Copy of a Letter to General Christophe, from the Commander in Chief.

"*On board the Ocean.*

"I learn with indignation, Citizen General, that you refuse to receive the French Squadron and Army which I command, under the pretence that you have received no orders from the Governor General.

"France has made peace with England, and the government has sent to St. Domingo a force sufficiently strong to crush rebels, if there be any found there. With respect to yourself, Citizen General, I contest to you, that it will be painful to me to consider you among the number of rebels.

"I give you notice, that if you do not this day deliver into my possession the Forts Piccolet and Belair, and all the batteries on the coast, to-morrow at day-break, 15,000 men shall be disembarked. Four thousand men are now disembarking at Forte-Liberté, (Fort Dauphin); 8000 at Port Republicain, (Port-au-Prince.)

"Annexed to this letter, you will find my proclamation; it expresses the intention of the French government. But, remember, that whatever personal good opinion I may entertain of your conduct in the colony, I consider you as responsible for whatever may happen.

"*Leclerc.*"

Admiral Villaret to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies.

"*On board the Ocean, in the Road of Cape François, Feb.* 10, 1802.

"Citizen Minister,

"I hasten to give you an account of the operations of the fleet of the republic, since its departure from Brest to the present day, and I request you will submit this letter to the First Consul.

"You know that winds directly adverse detained the squadron till the 14th of December. On the morning of the 17th, I rallied close by Belle-Isle the division from l'Orient, and not perceiving, at this rendezvous, the division from Rochefort, I stretched as far as Isle-Dieu, in hopes of finding it. I thus literally fulfilled your instructions, and as the weather did not permit me to prolong this dangerous cruise, I made sail for Cape Finisterre.—Violent winds, an extremely rough sea, and continual fogs, separated, during this passage, several ships of the squadron, and damaged considerably several vessels.

"On the 25th Nivôse, the Neptune, commanded by General Gravina, left the squadron to be repaired at Ferrol.

"On the 28th December, I was obliged to permit the ship Duquesne, to put in at the first port, and to order the Cornelia to accompany her.—[These two vessels have not yet rejoined us, although I expressly ordered the frigate not to delay more than twenty-four hours in the port where she might anchor.]

"I entertained a feeble hope of finding Rear-Admiral Latouche at the Canary Islands. I have learnt that this officer had steered there direct from Rochefort, and had waited there four days in expectation of our fleet. I made the Isle of Palma on the 5th of January, without meeting any vessel, and I proceeded without delay to conduct the army to its destination.

"The contrary winds, which defeat alike our power and our prudence, did not, however, prevent the arrival of the army at Cape Samana, the 29th of January in the morning, forty-six days after its departure from Brest. On the same morning, I met again with Admiral Gravina, the squadron from Rochefort, and all the Spanish and French vessels which had parted from the fleet, with the exception of the Duquesne, the Cornelia, the Rhinoceros, and the two packets which were obliged to anchor, the one at Corogne, and the other at Ander.

"On the 30th of January, the Syrene frigate, which I had dispatched to Guadaloupe, brought me the details of the events which had occurred in that colony. This intelligence, and some indirect information respecting the movements which have distracted all the Antilles, at the same epoch, inspired us with a just doubt of the reception which we were about to experience; we concluded we had not a moment to lose, to stifle or prevent a general conspiracy. Hence, General Leclerc requested me, on the same day, to dispatch for Santo Domingo, General Kerverseau, with his division, and the rest of the armament continued its route.

"It was nevertheless still doubtful to the agents of government, whether they should discover at Santo Domingo, in the character who for several years had possessed himself of the whole authority, a faithful Frenchman or a rebel African? Whether Toussaint Louverture had retained the colony for the mother country or for its enemies? Whether he would second the generous designs of the First Consul, and deserve a good national recompense, or enkindle the flames of civil war, to glut an ambition as cruel as unbounded? You know better than any one, that government partook of our doubts, since we had orders to be equally prepared for war or peace.

"Our measures were concerted in conformity to these two suppositions, equally possible. When I had reached the heights of La Grange, and had provided myself with some skilful pilots, whom I sent for from Monte Christi, the fleet and troops were divided into three divisions. The first, under the orders of Rear-Admiral Latouche, was intended to disembark at Port-au-Prince a body of troops, the command of which the general in chief gave to General Boudet. The second was destined, under the orders of Captain Magen, to disembark at the Bay of Mancenille the division of General Rochambeau, and to second his attack on Fort Dauphin. I conducted the rest of the fleet and the forces which General Leclerc had reserved to take possession of the Cape-Town and the neighbouring quarters, the most important points in the colony.

"On the evening of the 2d of February, having finished all our dispositions, I made a signal for Rear-Admiral Latouche and Captain Magen to execute their orders; and on the morning of the 3d, I presented myself, with the rest of the armament, before the Cape.

"You are aware, Citizen Minister, that the entrance of the Road, so difficult for vessels of every description, is not without danger to ships of the line of the same rate as the Ocean; that it is practi-

cable only with the high wind which rises regularly about eleven in the morning, and blows during a great part of the night.

"On the same day, I ordered the Clorinda and Urania frigates, and the Aiguille cutter, to sail at the entrance of the Road, to discover if there were any buoys out, and to reconnoitre the state of the fortifications. The frigates made fruitless private signals to the land, and the cutter having grounded in the passage, the Fort Picolet fired on her with red hot balls. Lieutenant Obet, the commander of this small vessel, did not desist from his object, and anchored in the Road of the Cape, although the buoys were removed.

"On these circumstances, a mulatto, named Langes, who exercised the functions of port-captain at the Cape, came on board my vessel. So far from consenting to pilot the Ocean, he declared that the black general, Christophe, had ordered him to acquaint us, that the Whites would be massacred, and the town set on fire, the very instant the squadron should enter the Pass, if we refused to await the return of a courier whom he had dispatched to Governor Toussaint Louverture.

"We unanimously thought that so ferocious a determination could only be suggested by unjust fears of the French Government. The commander in chief wrote to Christophe, to make him acquainted with the benevolent purposes of the First Consul, and to endeavour, by dissipating his apprehensions, to bring him to a sense of his duties as a soldier and a Frenchman. Lebrun, signal officer, adjutant to my état-major, was entrusted with this delicate mission, as well as to carry to the Cape a great many copies of the First Consul's proclamation. I detained the port-captain, and night compelled the squadron to sail largely.

"On the 4th, Citizen Lebrun brought back the answer of Gen. Christophe: an absolute refusal to receive the army, an inflexible determination to burn the town and fields. Particular care was taken to prevent Lebrun from distributing the consular proclamation, and Christophe had formally declared, that he should receive and recognize no other orders than those of Toussaint.

"The cutter Aiguille, having got out again without obstacles, brought at the same time a deputation of the inhabitants of the Cape, composed of the mayor, the commandant of the national guard, the rector and three notables. They came to implore the commander in chief not to avenge the affront offered to the government and the French flag; they assured us, that on the first signal of a disembarkation, the town and country of the Cape would be burnt, and all the Whites massacred; they confirmed the information we had received of the measures taken by the rebels, and their invariable resolution. The twenty-four hours required for Toussaint's answer had elapsed, and we had good reason for believing that he was in the town; or at least in the neighbourhood, the invisible soul and mover of all that had passed.

"The General in Chief sent back to the Deputation, with orders to the Mayor to read to his Fellow-citizens the Proclamation of the First Consul, and to explain to them the perfidious intentions of their Chiefs. Cæsar Telemachus, a negro truly French, fulfilled that task with heroic intrepidity: from that moment we found that we must either renounce all hopes of saving the town, or suffer the laws and honour of the French Government to be trampled under foot. In the evening of the 4th, the Syrene frigate came to announce the success of the debarkation in the Bay of Manceuille, and the entrance of the troops into Fort Dauphin. The General in Chief took that part which he thought most favourable to humanity, and the sole object of the expedition: he thought that by landing all the troops in the Bay of Acul, he might arrive at the heights of the Cape before the Blacks should execute their designs; and that our ships after the debarkation, by taking advantage of the first favourable breeze, might force the entrance in time to save some part of the town. I agreed to this idea, and ordered the troops to be immediately put on board the frigates, sloops, and boats. Captain Topsent, commander of the Furieuse, took them under his convoy, and steered by night towards Limbe. Unfortunately he was prevented by the calm from arriving there during the night. On the morning of the 5th, the division of frigates had not yet reached their destination, when an Aid-de-camp of General Rochambeau brought me dispatches from the General in Chief, and details from Captain Magen, of the expedition to Fort Dauphin. The Blacks had opposed the disembarkation in the Bay of Manceuille, exclaiming "No Whites! No French!" at the same time firing on our ships' boats. Captain Magen, however, effected his landing with equal activity and address; and while the troops were on their march to Fort Dauphin, he made his division prepare, with the same rapidity, to force the narrow and difficult passage leading to the harbour. The calm frustrated his zeal for some hours. General Rochambeau's troops had time to turn the forts of Labouque and Ance, where the Blacks obstinately defended themselves. At last Captain Magen was enabled to present himself before the Fort, which received him with a discharge of artillery. Two rounds made him master of that post, where he found a considerable quantity of cannon and ammunition. Here all veils were removed from the designs of the rebels, by finding orders written by General Christophe to the commander of the place, ordering him to sink all the French vessels, to defend himself to the last extremity, and if forced to retreat, to burn every thing behind him.

"The gallant conduct of Captain Magen, and the express request of the General in Chief, calls upon you, for the encouragement of the service, to raise him immediately to the rank of Rear-Admiral. His talents and services demand this distinction. I waited with extreme impatience till this disembarkation was effected on the 5th. I did not lose sight of the frigates under sail, and the alarm-guns which were fired along all the coast, and the flames of some of the Settlements, plainly discovered the designs of the rebels.

"As soon as I thought the debarkation was effected, I ordered the ships Le Scipion and Le Patriote to present themselves before the entrance, in order to draw the attention of the enemy. As soon as the Scipio came off Piccolet, the cannon began to play upon her and Le Patriote with ball and bombs. I had ordered Langes, Captain of the Port, to moor the Scipio close by Piccolet, so as to demolish it; but night prevented General Delmotte, from executing this order.

"The land-wind began to blow at the approach of night, when the height of the Cape, and the reflection of the sky, announced the burning of the town, and we were obliged all night to behold the flames without having it in our power to render the wretched inhabitants any assistance. On break of day, the flames had not reached the plain.

"I called the Captain of the Port again on board

the Ocean, and taking advantage of the first breeze, made for the harbour, ordering all the squadron to follow me. Forts Piccolet and St. Joseph had been abandoned; Forts Belair and St. Michel continued to fire on us; but the squadron gained the anchorage without firing a shot. I commanded Le Patriote to fire on the rebels, while all the ships' companies disembarked; and General Humbert, with a body of 200 men, marched to take possession of Fort Belair. By our united efforts, and the dextrous manœuvres of the General in Chief, the plains are completely saved.

"General Rochambeau, on his side, advanced as far as Limonade, of which he took possession, as well as of Caracol, and of all the country situated between the Cape and Fort Dauphin.

"Thus, we have only to regret the destruction of a great number of houses at the Cape; there have been but few massacres. The preservation of the country affords certain means of re-building them, and promises to commerce a sufficient guarantee for the advances which it may make to the inhabitants.

"On the 7th of February, all the frigates employed in the disembarkation of Limbé rejoined the fleet in the road, except the Furieuse, which I keep cruizing before the harbour.

"Yesterday morning the Wattigny, the Furieuse and the Clorinda, set sail for Port-de-Paix. The plan of the General is to get possession of the Fort of that town, and of the Mole. Private intelligence lead us to hope that the latter will be surrendered to us. If this expedition be successful, as we have every reason to hope, the army will obtain many advantages and resources of what it stands in the greatest need.

"My total want of light vessels has prevented me from giving sooner any news of the army, and it was not before this day, I could dispatch the Syrene frigate, the captain of which I greatly regret, as he executed all the missions I have entrusted to him, with a zeal, activity and skill, beyond all praise. May I entreat you to send him back to me with another frigate, and the reward due to his talents.

"I cannot conclude without expressing a testimony of the exalted praise of our allies, the Spaniards, to which they are in honour and truth entitled. Above all, Admiral Gravina, in all his intercourse with us, has shewn a frankness, loyalty, and firmness, which characterize the perfect sailor. The astonishing celerity with which he repaired his ship; that singular activity in a moment so decisive, and his arrival at the rendezvous off Cape Samana the same day with the rest of the fleet, have excited universally a surprize, which is the finest eulogy of M. de Gravina. General Villavicencio, who, during his absence, commanded the Spanish division, displayed, during the passage, to the captains of the two squadrons, an excellent model of precision and vigilance in every branch of navigation.

"In the midst of the things which press upon me, I cannot send you an account of the state of the ammunition found at Fort Dauphin, the official papers, private correspondence, orders, &c. &c.—You will receive them by the first vessel which I send. I have thought it proper not to lose a moment in acquainting the First Consul with the state of the army, the events which have followed our arrival at St. Domingo, our regret, our hopes, and our unreserved attention to the interests of the Republic and of Government.

"Receive, in the mean time, Citizen Minister, the assurances of my respect.

"VILLARET."

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Stockholm, Feb. 9.—According to letters from Gibraltar, the Emperor of Morocco has ordered the equipment of three frigates destined to act against the vessels of those powers who have neglected to send him the annual presents. The Pacha of Tripoli has finished the building of a ship of three masts, which is to be employed against Swedish and American vessels.

Florence, Feb. 14.—A courier arrived here some time ago from Paris: in consequence of his dispatches, a Council of State has been held. We understand that Tuscany must receive 4000 French troops, and that the Isle of Elba must be ceded to France.—Our sovereign's health is in a very infirm state.

Leghorn, Feb. 14.—A few days ago an English and Swedsih frigate arrived in this port: the former is the Greyhound, of 40 guns, and 250 men, Captain Campbell, in eight days from Mahon, having on board General Oakes. The latter is the Troja, of 44 guns, and 450 men, commanded by Rear-Admiral Baron Von Cederstrom, from Malaga, but last from Toulon. This frigate forms part of a Swedish squadron, destined to block up the port of Tripoli.

Vienna, Feb. 14.—Our Court proposes to send envoys to all the new republics, and to establish with them the relations of diplomacy. The appointment of an Austrian envoy to the Helvetic Republic is already announced, and the appointment of envoys to the Batavian, Italian, and Ligurian Republics, is under consideration. The Baron de Fels, a native of Belgium, is destined for the embassy at the Hague. We are assured that M. de Budl Schauenstein, Envoy to the Circle of Suabia and the Elector of Bavaria, will be appointed minister plenipotentiary at Milan, and will be replaced at Munich by the Count de Colloredo, Imperial Envoy to the Germanic Diet. The embassy to the Ligurian Republic is destined for M. de Schraul, who is at present at Paris.

Brun, Feb. 16.—The last letters from Belgrade state, that anarchy and slaughter continue to desolate that unhappy city.—The garrison, which consists of 5000 men, is divided into several parties, every one of

which has its own chief. If under these circumstances the 8000 Turkish troops which were said to be marching against Belgrade, were to appear before its gates, there is no doubt but that the insurgents would surrender.

Basle, Feb. 16.—Last week the French seized upon the Public Treasury of the Frickthal; ordered the Austrian authorities existing there to cease their functions, and established a provisory government.

Munich, Feb. 17.—The convention which was said to have taken place between M. de Morgelas and the Baron de Budl Schauenstein, relative to the cession of the right bank of the Inn to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and of a part of the Upper Palatinate to Bohemia, has not been signed.—We are now assured that these two ministers did enter into a negotiation, but that it is broken off.

Vienna, Feb. 22.—Our court has received an official communication of the result of the Consulta at Lyons. A Council of State was immediately held, after which three couriers were expedited to Berlin, Petersburgh, and London.—The good understanding which continues to be maintained between our cabinet and those of Prussia and France appears the more certain, that we have lately received from Ratisbon the important intelligence, that his Prussian Majesty has renounced his pretensions to the Bishopric of Munster; so that our court may reckon upon an advantageous establishment for a Prince of our Royal Family, and also a good prospect for the other Ecclesiastical Princes connected with us, since it is thus decided that the secularizations are not to be universal.

Nanci, Feb. 22.—M. Count Leisphalen and suite passed through this place on their return to Vienna; also a courier of the Imperial Cabinet, on his way to Paris, to invite the Imperial envoy to repair immediately to Ratisbon, to be present at the discussion of the diet of the empire on the definitive plan of secularizations. A little after him passed M. Stawatz, her Swedish Majesty's chamberlain, and Colonel Crawfurd, on his return from Vienna.

Augsburg, Feb. 26.—We learn from Ulm, that the Danube has overflowed its banks, as well as the Wernitz and other rivers.—A post boy perished at Gunzburg with two horses. Many villages are in a state of the greatest alarm. A great number of cattle have been destroyed, and we expect to hear of many other misfortunes.

Berne, Feb. 27.—It is a mistake that our city has twenty millions in the bank of Vienna; its funds there amount only to two millions.

It is thought that Lecourbe comes here with the intention of going to Schutz and the lesser cantons. There is a certain consternation apparent here.—All Switzerland has been thrown into the most gloomy despondency by the events which have lately taken place in the Valais, and by Thurreau's extending his troops even as far as Aigle. The executive power does its utmost to put an end to these alarming movements, and it is thought the French government will be induced to pay attention to the claims of justice. Zurich is not more disturbed in its tranquillity; but it is split into factions, the consequences of which it is easy to forsee.

Basle, March 1.—The enemies of the public tranquillity have spread abroad, for some time past, many reports tending to produce a fermentation in the minds of men. The arrival of General Lecourbe at Berne, has given rise to many conjectures, each more ridiculous than the other. The fact is, that this general, who is inspector general of infantry in the eastern departments of France, and of the troops in Helvetia, is arrived to review the troops in Switzerland, who are assembled for that purpose. Six hundred men have arrived at Brenne, which at present forms part of France; and it is already said, that a French army is about to assemble in the *ci-devant* department of Mont-Terrible, and that this army is to be employed in some important operation. General Thurreau, whose troops in the Valais are in want of provisions, has detached some troops into the neighbouring districts; and ill-designing people already circulate the report, that the Pays de Vaud, and even the canton of Friburg, will be incorporated with France: all these ridiculous rumours are employed to keep alive the fermentation among the people by such as expect by this means to attain their own ends.

Some districts of the canton of Zurich have sent a third deputation to Berne, to demand a redress of grievances. They complain much of the Prefect Rheinhard and his arbitrary acts. It is expected that this time at least justice will be rendered them. Tranquillity is re-established in the Frickthall. The revenue officers of that

country, who, in opposition to the direct letter of the treaty of Luneville, by which the Emperor formally ceded that country to France, had continued to collect all the taxes on account of his Imperial Majesty, have been obliged to render an account of their conduct to the provisory administration.

Hague, March 1.—Admiral de Winter is returned on board his ship; he has received from government all the necessary instructions relative to his mission, and it is highly probable that the squadron under his orders will immediately set sail.

Paris, March 9.—Some changes in the offices of minister of the interior and of war, are talked of. The first, it is said, will form three divisions, viz. of public labours, of public aids, and of public instruction; the direction of which will be entrusted to three counsellors of state, under the authority of the minister of the interior. There will be three divisions of a similar kind in the ministry of war. The counsellors of state, nominated to these new offices, are even named; but it is proper we should wait till this operation is officially announced.

Brest, March 12, *in the evening.*

"The naval expedition entered the road of the Cape on the 5th of February. At the sailing of the vessel the whole army had disembarked; the city, and all the plain of the North were occupied by our troops. The courier, who has brought dispatches, set off yesterday evening for Paris.

"N. B. It thus appears that the fleet arrived at St. Domingo in fifty-two days."

Paris, March 13.—The Marquis de Luchesini, Minister from his Majesty the King of Prussia, *congratulated*, on the 15th of this month (March 6), the Chief Consul on the issue of the congress at Lyons.

Count Cobentzel, Ambassador from his Majesty the Emperor of Germany, has communicated directly to the First Consul, on the 18th (March 8), the resolution of his Imperial Majesty to admit ministers plenipotentiary from the Batavian, Helvetic, and Italian Republics, and that his Majesty was disposed, on his part, to appoint ministers of the same rank to reside in those republics. He at the same time declared, that his Imperial Majesty had seen *with interest* the definitive organization of the Italian Republic.

The Count De Marcoff has received, by the return of the courier that he had sent off to notify the issue of the Congress at Lyons, *his credentials to reside at Paris* as minister plenipotentiary.

The Chef de Brigade Colincourt has written, by the same courier, that his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias has seen *with interest* the motion made at Lyons to re-open a commerce with his dominions; his Majesty appears satisfied with the nomination of General Hedouville to reside at his court.

Cardinal Caprara has received from his Holiness the news that his bulls to the archbishopric of Milan, were on the point of being dispatched, and would be sent to him by the return of the First Consul's Aid-de-Camp, Lebrun, who had continued his journey to Palermo from Rome.

The ladies of the ambassadors, ministers, and envoys, from foreign powers, were presented on the 9th to Madame Buonaparté, to whom those ladies presented several ladies of their nation who are at Paris.

Constantinople, Jan. 25.—The last letters from Alexandria announce that the English troops continue to occupy that place; their commandant has strictly forbidden any vessel from leaving the port—Turkish ships are also forbidden to enter it. This conduct causes the more surprise, because the Porte does not cease to treat that nation with the most distinguished regard.

Vienna, Feb. 26.—According to private letters, the court of London insists on retaining possession of Alexandria; and the French government has transmitted a remonstrance to the Porte on the subject. A French courier, who passed through this city ten days ago, was, it is said, charged with dispatches relative to this subject. He was followed a few hours afterwards by M. Codracka.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

James Napper Tandy sailed from Wicklow on Monday se'nnight for France, on board the Favourite Nancy, Captain Gunderson. As the wind was remarkably favourable, he expected to reach Bourdeaux on Friday.

The writs which were made out for the Militia and Fencible Regiments in Ireland, as a previous step to their being disembodied, have been suddenly countermanded.

By the death of the Earl of Mountrath, a vacancy occurs in the representation of the Queen's County, Mr. Charles Henry Coote succeeding to the property of 12,000*l.* a

year, and the title of Lord Castle-Coote, conferred on the late Earl in 1800. The Earldom is extinct.

The quantity of fish now on the coast of Cornwall is astonishingly great; and much above that of any former period within the memory of the oldest inhabitant. The fishermen usually expend their bait, and leave large numbers uncaught around their boats. The fish market of Falmouth is in consequence abundantly supplied; and there were, on the 12th inst. about 300 fresh ling exposed to sale, besides great numbers of other kinds.

A Court-Martial was held on the 15th inst. and by adjournment this day, at the Nore, on board the Berschermer, Rear-Admiral Rowley, President, on Lieutenant Thomas Gaborian Marshall, of that ship, for charges of Drunkenness, Neglect of Duty, Sleeping on his Watch, and Disobedience of Orders; exhibited by Captain Fraser of the said ship; when the Court was of opinion, that the two first charges were proved; that the charge of disobedience of orders was proved in part; and that the other charge, of sleeping on his watch, is not proved; and adjudged him to be dismissed his Majesty's ship Berschermer.

A Court Martial was also held on board his Majesty's ship the Cumberland, in Port Royal Harbour, Jamaica, H. W. Bayntum, Esq. President, on the 17th of February, and continued by adjournment until the 19th, on Mr. Goakman, second lieutenant of his Majesty's late sloop Bonetta, for being the cause of the loss of the said sloop, by sleeping on his watch and disobeying the orders he received from his Captain. The charge being proved he was adjudged to be dismissed his Majesty's service, rendered incapable of serving his Majesty as an officer, mulcted of all his pay, and to suffer two years imprisonment.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The news from St. Domingo is of great importance. If we are to yield implicit credit to the official dispatches of the admiral and general, commanding the expedition, that great and most valuable colony will, in a very short time, be completely reduced to obedience. From the joy, which, in spite of the fear of Buonaparté, was yesterday, visible in the ministerial circles, one would have thought that the French armament had had to contend with a rising in mass; and that their whole force, by land and sea, had been totally cut to pieces.—No particular battle was, indeed, mentioned; no exact enumeration of killed and wounded men, or of ships sunk, burnt, or otherwise destroyed; but a vague and dark rumour of desperate resistance, of incendiaries, of massacres, of blazing firmaments and rivers of blood, rumbled through the chambers of Downing-street and the vaults of the Treasury. Not having any motive to make use of hypocrisy, we openly expressed our concurrence in the secret wishes of the ministers, that our perfidious enemies might be destroyed, to the last ship and the last man; but from a perusal of the dispatches, we are sorry to find, that there is not the most distant hope that these wishes will ever be gratified.

It appears, that the armament, consisting of the squadrons from Brest, l'Orient, and Rochefort, made Cape François on the 29th of January, having sustained no damage worth speaking of in the voyage. From this rendezvous, General Kerverseau was immediately detached, with a proportionate force, to the city of Santo Domingo, the capital of what was formerly the Spanish part of the island of St. Domingo. General Boudet, with his division of the army, on board the squadron under Latouche, were dispatched to Port-au-Prince, which lies about the centre of the French colony, and is the second principal place, both as a port and a place of trade, in the island. Another detachment was sent to take possession of the Cayes, which is a considerable place, on the southern peninsula. General Rochambeau, with a strong detachment was sent to Fort Dauphin, the place the most northern in the colony. Le Clerc, the commander in chief, having thus provided for an attack on most of the principal places, at nearly one and the same time, made preparation for entering Cape François. Christophe, the black general, threatened resistance. Le Clerc persevered, however, landed his troops, and extinguished the fire, which Christophe, previous to his flight, had set to some of the houses.

While the commander in chief was taking possession of the Cape, Rochambeau, after a very trifling resistance, entered Fort Dauphin. Le Clerc had not, when his dispatches came off, received any intelligence from Santo Domingo, or from the Cayes; but he states, that he has information of the troops, under Boudet, having taken possession of Port-au-Prince, towards which place he himself proposed to march in a

few days. He adds, that two detachments are already on their march to occupy Port-de-Paix and Cape Nicholas Mole.

To what degree Toussaint will resist, it is impossible to say; and, indeed, the only positive proof of his having any intention to resist at all, rests upon the contents of a paper, said to have been found in the pocket of the black, who commanded at Fort Dauphin. The conduct of the negro chief is, by the telegraphic dispatch, stated to be *doubtful*. He has not appeared in any of the forts or places, where resistance has been made; and, though it seems impossible, that resistance should have been made contrary to his will; it is, on the other hand, equally impossible to account for his absence, at such a time, from the very place, where it was certain the armament would first make its appearance. His *inclination*, however, must now be considered as of little importance; the republic, the inexorable, the murdering republic, has declared him to be a rebel, and his existence will depend, not upon his guilt or his innocence, but upon his power of defence, or his means of escape. His force is said to consist of 13,000 foot, and 1,500 horse, with which, soon destitute of supplies of every kind, he will have to defend himself against an army of 30,000 Frenchmen, aided by as many blacks as they chuse to enrol. Le Clerc, who exaggerates, perhaps, says, that he has already embodied 12,000 of these auxiliaries, whom he will, doubtless, thrust forward in the heat of the battle (if there should be any), and on whom he will impose all the labours, necessary to facilitate the movements of his army. The French, having obtained possession of the sea-ports, it will be impossible for the negro chief to get supplies; and, if he should retain the Mole, or some other place, his resources must soon be exhausted, because the port will be blockaded; and the Americans, on whom alone he must depend for ammunition and provisions, will, indeed, make no attempt to supply him. His resistance, then, must necessarily become that of a Maroon. He and the remnant of his followers may possibly retire to the mountains, where they may give much uneasiness to those few planters, whose lands and habitations will be exposed to their ravages; but, it will be totally out of their power to prevent, though they may somewhat retard, the subjection of the colony. Like their white fellow citizens, they have the choice of *slavery* or *death*. If Toussaint should retreat to the United States of America, where he has 200,000 dollars in the bank of New-York, the war of St. Domingo will be of very short duration indeed.

The 12 men killed and 40 wounded, by the blacks at St. Domingo, appeared to have excited much more exultation in Downing-street, than was excited there by the close of the glorious campaign in Egypt. Yet is it a matter of no small difficulty to manage this exultation. If the trifling check, which the French troops have met with, be a subject of joy with those who permitted the armament to sail, where shall we look for the consistency between their present feelings and the hopes which they expressed of the speedy success of the expedition? The fact is, they were afraid, and still are afraid, that the French power will be much more formidable to our islands than the power of Toussaint; but, wanting the courage to resist the sailing of the armament, they have attempted to justify their permitting it to sail, by affecting to believe, that its success would redound to the safety of our own possessions. They have now conceived a hope, that the danger to be apprehended will be put at a greater distance by the wars in St. Domingo; but, they will be very careful not to ground any public expression of joy upon such a foundation. Pusillanimity first led them to express pleasure at that for which they were sorry; and the same quality will now lead to express sorrow for that which gives them pleasure. One question, however, continually recurs: If our danger in the West-Indies is not increased by the sailing of the armament, why are our force and our expenses in that quarter so greatly augmented? If Toussaint was a more dangerous neighbour than Le Clerc and Villaret, why did we never think it necessary to send even a single frigate to watch his operations?

The intelligence from Guadaloupe, alluded to in the French dispatches, is, that all the Whites had, on the 5th of February, been massacred by the Negroes and Mulattoes. This news is fully confirmed by letters, which we have seen, from Tobago. There is, however, every reason to hope, that a far greater part of the white inhabitants had left the island before this general massacre took place.

The French official paper, of the 14th inst. contains a most bitter Phillipic on those persons in England, who have had the audacity to doubt the *moderation* and *sincerity* of Buonaparté! We, for our parts, have never entertained the smallest *doubt* on the subject: we should as soon doubt of his

humanity and his piety, of which he gave such striking proofs during his Egyptian expedition; we should as soon doubt of his being beaten by Sir Sidney Smith, or of his deserting his army.

While we have, on one hand, the mortification to see the convicted and condemned traitor, Napper Tandy, sail triumphantly out of our ports, we have, on the other hand, the much greater mortification to know, that scores and hundreds of the brave and faithful Royalists of La Vendée have, since the signing of the preliminaries, been dragged to an ignominious death, charged with no other crime than that of adherence to the English! With these men royalty will receive its mortal blow. With their example and that of Napper Tandy before the eyes of the world, who can hope for a preservation of those sentiments, and those virtues, which distinguish the supporters of a throne.

It appears from our Foreign Intelligence, that the King of Prussia has *congratulated* Buonaparté on his assumption of the sovereignty of the Italian Republic; the Emperor of Russia has not expressed his displeasure at it; and the now humbled House of Austria has seen it *with interest!* The sanction of Great-Britain is all that is wanted to complete the degradation of Europe, and that sanction will, probably, be communicated to us next week, amidst the blaze of another illumination.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

At the Court of St. James's, the 10th of March, 1802, present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council. His Majesty in Council was this day pleased to appoint the following Sheriffs, viz.

Anglesey.——Gwyllim Lloyd Wardle, of Cefen Coch, Esq. instead of William Bulkeley Hughes, of Brenddu, Esq.

Montgomeryshire.——Thomas Jones, of Llanlothian, Esq. instead of Pryce Jones, of Cofronidd, Esq.

And his Majesty was also pleased to make the following amendment on the Roll:

Carnarvonshire.——Robert Wynne to be Robert William Wynne.

Whitehall, March 16, 1802.

The King has been pleased to grant the dignity of a Baron of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland to the Right Hon. George Lord Rivers, and to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, stile, and title of Baron Rivers of Sudely Castle, in the county of Gloucester; with remainders to the Right Hon. Sir William Augustus Pitt, Knight of the Most Hon. Order of the Bath, and General of his Majesty's Forces, (brother of the said George Lord Rivers), and to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten; and to the issue male successively of Peter Beckford, of Stapleton, in the county of Dorset, Esq. by Louisa Beckford, his late wife, deceased, (daughter of the said George Lord Rivers,) and to the heirs male of their respective bodies lawfully begotten.

BIRTHS AND DEATHS.

Births.—On Tuesday last, Lady Sheffield, of a son, at his Lordship's house, Privy Gardens, Whitehall. —On the 15th inst. in Pall Mall, Lady Stirling, of a son.

Deaths.—Lately, the Earl of Mountrath.—At Coleraine, in Ireland, on the 28th ult. in the 37th year of her age, Mrs. Kennedy, sister of Sir Archibald Edmonstone, of Duntreath, Bart.

PRICE OF STOCKS.

ENGLISH three per cent. consols.

Saturday	67⅜ ⅛	Wednesday	69 ⅜ ¼
Monday	68½ 9 ¾ ⅜	Thursday	6⅛ ⅞
Tuesday	68⅞ ⅞ ¾ ⅛	Friday	69⅛

AMERICAN STOCKS.—Eight pr. c. 113½.

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 57 f.

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s.	s.		s.	s.
Eng. Wheat per q.	67	to 85	Hops per cwt.	71	to 142
Foreign	44	88	Hay per load	72	110
Rye	35	40	Beef, per stone, 4s. 6d. to 6s. 0d.		
Barley	38	45			
Malt	45	55	Mutton .. 5s. 6d. to 6s. 9d.		
Oats	16	24	Veal .... 6s. 9d. to 7s. 9d.		
Pease	35	40	Pork .... 5s. 10d. to 8s. 0d.		
Beans	38	45	Tallow		4s. 9d.
Flour per sack	65	70	Average of sugar per cwt.		37s. 8d.
Seconds	53	58			
Coals per chal.	35	42	Bread, 11¼d. the quart. loaf.		

Observations on the Weather, near Guildford, in Surrey, for the Month of March, 1802.

Days.	Moon's Age.	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barometer. Inches. M.	Barometer. Inches. A.	Thermometer. Degrees. M.	Thermometer. Degrees. A.
11	☾	Fine.	SW	W-S	30,05	30	46	51½
12		Fair.	SW	W	29,85	29,75	42	50
13		Windy.	NW	NW	29,9	29,9	39	41
14		Frost.	NE	NE	30,2	30,2	33	40
15		Fros. Fine	NE	NE	30,27	30,2	36	43
16		Fros. Fine	N	N	30,12	30,12	37	49
17		Fros. Fine	NE	NE	30,3	30,2	37	51

LONDON,

LONDON, March 20 to March 27, 1802.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

The following Extract of a Dispatch from the French Minister of Foreign Affairs to the French Chargé-d'Affaires Bacher, has been communicated to the Diet of Ratisbon:

"*Paris, Feb.* 14, 1802.

"Citizen, I think it incumbent upon me to inform you officially, of the results of an extraordinary Consulta of the principal citizens of the Cisalpine Republic, held at Lyons.

"The treaty of Luneville had consecrated the existence of that republic; but it was there spoke of rather as about to exist, than as actually established.

"The Cisalpine Republic, successively occupied by French and Imperial troops, had not the power of governing herself. It was the duty of the French government, after having ensured the freedom of that country by arms; after having caused her independence to be acknowledged by all the powers of the Continent, to call upon her to fulfil the first duties necessary to the enjoyment of these advantages.

"The public voice of Italy, and the formal request of the provisory authorities, had on various occasions expressed the general confidence which that nation placed in him, and their wish to receive from him both a definitive constitution, and the first choice of her magistrates. The First Consul was anxious that this general wish of that nation should be accomplished agreeably to the principles of her independence. He convoked the principal citizens; he collected their opinions and suffrages. It is by these opinions, and these suffrages that her constitution and magistrates have been chosen.

"The government of the republic feels that the tranquillity of Europe depends upon the tranquillity of each state which forms a part of it.—After having made the greatest efforts to terminate a war which for so long a time desolated Europe, it hopes that the influence of cool wisdom in all those nations within the sphere of its alliance, will destroy all uncertainty and agitation. The wisest citizens of the Italian Republic, reflecting on the diversity of elements of which they were composed, became convinced, that to prevent the injurious effects which might arise from the rivalship, the pretensions, and the enmities of their fellow-citizens, it was necessary to call in the aid of the ascendancy of a foreigner, who should be superior to those passions, and who would not by his conduct give rise to disorders which might not only disturb the tranquillity of the Italian Republic, but trouble the repose of Europe.

"It was from a deep impression of these circumstances, that they felt themselves bound to represent to the First Consul, that their country ought, in the first moments of its political existence, to be secured in its independence, guarded against the dangers with which it might be threatened, and wisely directed in the choice of means for its future preservation.

"Such, citizen, are the result of the convocation of the Italian Consulta at Lyons. I beg you will communicate to the government where you reside, the notification which I have the honour of making to you. I have no doubt but that it will see in this event, a new proof of the desire which animates the government of the republic to consolidate, by every means in its power, the general tranquillity of Europe, and to guarantee permanently the relations which unite the different states.

(Signed) "*C. M. Talleyrand.*"

Treaty of Peace between the Republic of France, and his Majesty the King of Spain.

[Preamble in the usual form.]

Art. I. There shall be peace, amity, and good understanding between the French Republic and the kingdom of Spain.

II. In consequence, all the hostilities between the two contracting powers shall cease from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; and none of them shall, from that period, furnish against the other, in any quality, or under any title, any aid or contingent, either in men, horses, provisions, money, warlike stores, ships, or other articles.

III. Neither of the contracting powers shall grant a passage through their territories to any troops at war with the other.

IV. The French Republic restores to the King of Spain all the conquests which she has made from him in the course of the present war; the conquered places and territories shall be evacuated by the French troops within a fortnight after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

V. The fortified places, of which mention is made in the preceding article, shall be restored to Spain, with the cannon, warlike stores, and other articles belonging to those places, which shall have been in them at the moment of the signing of this treaty.

VI. All sort of military contributions, requisitions, and payments, shall entirely cease from the date of a fortnight after the signing of the present pacification; all the arrears due at that period, even bills and promissory notes, given for these objects, shall be of no effect: what shall have been taken or received after the above-named period, shall be gratuitously restored, or paid for to the amount of its value.

VII. There shall be immediately named by both sides, commissioners, for the purpose of adjusting a treaty of limits between the two powers: they shall, as much as possible, take as the basis of this treaty, with respect to the territories which were disputed before the present war, the tops of the mountains which are the sources of the rivers of France and Spain.

VIII. Neither of the contracting powers can, at the expiration of a month after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, maintain on their respective frontiers more than the number of troops they had usually been accustomed to have stationed there previous to the present war.

IX. In exchange for the places restored by the fourth article, the King of Spain, for himself and his successors, gives up and abandons to the French Republic, all right of property in the Spanish part of St. Domingo, one of the Antilles, a month after the ratification of the present treaty shall be known in that island. the Spanish troops shall be in readiness to evacuate the places, ports, and establishments which they at present occupy, in order to give them up to the troops of the French Republic as soon as they shall arrive to take possession of them: the places, ports, and establishments, of which mention is made above, shall be delivered up to the French Republic, with the cannon, warlike stores, and articles necessary for their defence, which shall be in them at the moment when the present treaty shall be known at St. Domingo: the inhabitants of the Spanish part of St. Domingo, who, from inducements of interest, or other motives, shall prefer removing with their property into the dominions of his Catholic Majesty, shall be able to do so within the space of a year from the date of the treaty; the respective generals and commanders of the two nations shall concert the measures necessary to be taken for execution of the present article.

X. There shall be respectively granted to the individuals of the two nations, restitution of the effects, revenues, and property of all sorts, detained, seized, or confiscated on account of the war, which has subsisted between the French Republic and his Catholic Majesty; and likewise the most speedy justice with respect to the particular claims which these individuals may have in the states of the two contracting powers.

XI. In the mean time, till there shall be a new treaty of commerce between the contracting parties, all correspondencies and commercial relations shall be re-established between France and Spain, on the footing on which they stood before the present war.

All French merchants shall be allowed to pass into Spain, there to resume their commercial establishments. They shall make new ones according to their convenience, submitting, in common with all other individuals, to the laws and usages of the country.

The Spanish merchants shall enjoy the same privileges, subject to the same conditions, in France.

XII. All the prisoners respectively made since the commencement of the war, without regard to the difference of number and rank, comprehending the seamen and marines captured on board French or Spanish vessels, or those of other nations, as well as in general all those imprisoned on either side on account of the war, shall be delivered up within the space of two months at least after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, without any appeal on either part, discharging, however, the private debts which the prisoners may have contracted during their captivity. The same mode shall be adopted with respect to the sick and wounded, immediately after their recovery or cure.

Commissioners on either side shall be immediately appointed to proceed to the execution of the present article.

XIII. The Portuguese prisoners making a part of the troops of Portugal, who have served with the armies, and on board the ships of his Catholic Majesty, shall be in like manner comprehended in the above mentioned exchange. It shall be the same with respect to

the French troops taken by the Portuguese troops in question.

XIV. The same peace, amity, and good understanding, stipulated by the present treaty between France and the King of Spain, shall take place between the King of Spain and the Republic of the United Provinces, allies of the French Republic.

XV. The French Republic wishing to give a testimony of amity to his Catholic Majesty, accepts his mediation in favour of the kingdom of Portugal, the King of Naples, the King of Sardinia, the Infanta Duke of Parma, and the other States of Italy, for the re-establishment of peace between the French Republic and each of these Princes and States.

XVI. The French Republic, sensible of the interest which his Catholic Majesty takes in the general pacification of Europe, consents likewise to accept of his good offices in favour of other belligerent powers, who shall apply to him, in order to enter into negociation with the French government.

XVII. The present treaty shall not have effect till after having been ratified by the contracting parties; and the ratification shall be exchanged within the space of a month or sooner, from the date of this day.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned plenipotentiaries of the French Republic, and of his Majesty, the King of Spain, in virtue of our full powers, have signed this present treaty of peace and amity, and have put to it our respective seals.*

Done at Basle, the 4th of the month of Thermidor, the third year of the French Republic (22d July, 1795).

(Signed) *François Barthelemi, Domingo d'Yriarte.*

Offensive and Defensive Treaty of Alliance between the French Republic and Spain.

[Preamble in the usual form.]

Art. I. There shall exist for ever an offensive and defensive alliance between the French Republic, and his Catholic Majesty the King of Spain.

II. The two contracting powers shall be mutual guarantees, without any reserve or exception, in the most authentic and absolute way, of all the states, territories, islands, and the places which they possess. And if one of the two powers shall be in the sequel, under whatever pretext it may be, menaced or attacked, the other promises, engages, and binds itself to help it with its good offices, and to succour it on its requisition, as shall be stipulated in the following articles:

III. Within the space of three months, reckoning from the moment of the requisition, the power called on shall hold in readiness, and place in the disposal of the power calling, fifteen ships of the line, three of which shall be three-deckers, or of eighty guns, twelve of which seventy to seventy-two, six frigates of a proportionate force, and four sloops, or light vessels, all equipped, armed, and victualled for six months, and stored for a year. These

* The above treaty was ratified by the National Convention on the 1st of August, and by the King of Spain on the 4th of the same month, in the following terms:

Ratification, on the part of his Catholic Majesty, of the treaty of peace between France and Spain.

"Don Carlos, by the grace of God, King of Castille, Leon, Arragon, the Two Sicilies, Jerusalem, Navarre, Grenada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Majorca, Seville, Sardinia, Cordova, Cadiz, Murcia, Jaen, Algarves, Algesires, Gibraltar, the Canary Islands, the East and West-Indies, and the Islands and Continents of the Ocean; Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Brabant, and Milan; Count of Habsboorg, Flanders, Tyrol, and Barcelona; Lord of Biscay, and Molina, &c.

As by virtue of the full powers we have conferred on Don Domingo d'Yriarte, knight of the royal order of distinguished Spaniards of Charles III. and our minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to the King and Republic of Poland, to treat of the conditions of peace with the French Republic, and of those alike given by the French Republic to her ambassador in Switzerland, Don Francisco Barthelemi, these plenipotentiaries have determined on, concluded, and signed on the 22d of July, of the present year, the definitive treaty of peace, which consists of a preamble and seventeen articles, the whole in the French language.

For these causes, having seen and examined the aforesaid seventeen articles, I have approved of and ratified all they contain, as, by virtue of these presents, I approve and ratify them with all my power, and in the best and most extensive form; promising, on the faith and word of a King, to observe and accomplish them, and to cause them to be completely observed and accomplished, as if I myself had signed them.

In faith of which, I have sent off these presents, signed with my hand, sealed with my own secret seal, and countersigned by my counsellor and first secretary of state and dispatches.

Given at Ildephonso, the 4th day of August, 1795.

(Signed) *Yo el Rey.*

(Countersigned) *Emmanuel Godoy.*

Great Secret Seal of Spain.

naval forces shall be assembled by the power called in the particular port pointed out by he power calling.

IV. In case the requiring power may have judged it proper for the commencement of hostilities to confine to the one-half the succour which was to have been given in execution of the preceding article, it may, at any epoch of the campaign, call for the other half of the aforesaid succour, which shall be furnished in the mode and within the space fixed. This space of time to be reckoned from the new requisition.

V. The power called on shall in the same way place at the disposal of the requiring power, within the space of three months, reckoning from the moment of the requisition, eighteen thousand infantry, and six thousand cavalry; with a proportionate train of artillery to be readily employed in Europe, and for the defence of the colonies which the contracting powers possess in the Gulf of Mexico.

VI. The requiring power shall be allowed to send one or several commissioners for the purpose of assuring itself whether, conformably to the preceding articles, the power called on has put itself in a state to commence hostilities on the day fixed with the land and sea forces.

VII. These succours shall be entirely placed at the disposal of the requiring power, which may leave them in the ports and on the territory of the power called on, or employ them in expeditions it may think fit to undertake, without being obliged to give an account of the motives by which it may have been determined.

VIII. The demand of the succours stipulated in the preceding articles, made by one of the powers, shall suffice to prove the need it has of them, and shall bind the other power to dispose of them, without its being necessary to enter into any discussion relative to the question whether the war it proposes be offensive or defensive; or without any explanation being required, which may tend to elude the most speedy and exact accomplishment of what is stipulated.

IX. The troops and ships demanded shall continue at the disposal of the requiring power during the whole duration of the war, without its incurring, in any case, any expense. The power called on shall maintain them in all places where its ally shall cause them to act, as if it employed them directly for itself. It is simply agreed on, that during the whole of the time when the aforesaid troops or ships shall be on the territory, or in the ports of the requiring power, it shall furnish from its magazines or arsenals whatever may be necessary to them, in the same way and at the same price as it supplies its own troops and ships.

X. The power called on shall immediately replace the ships it furnishes, which may be lost by accidents of war or of the sea. It shall also repair the losses the troops it supplies may suffer.

XI. If the aforesaid succours are found to be, or should become insufficient, the two contracting powers shall put on foot the greatest forces they possibly can, as well by sea as by land, against the enemy of the power attacked, which shall employ the aforesaid forces, either by combining them, or by causing them to act separately, and this conformably to a plan concerted between them.

XII. The succours stipulated by the preceding articles shall be furnished in all the wars the contracting powers may have to maintain, even in those in which the party called on may not be directly interested, and may act merely as a simple auxiliary.

XIII. In the case in which the motives of hostilities being prejudicial to both parties, they may declare war with one common assent against one or several powers, the limitations established in the preceding articles shall cease to take place, and the two contracting powers shall be bound to bring into action against the common enemy the whole of their land and sea forces, and to concert their plans so as to direct them towards the most convenient points, either separately or by uniting them. They equally bind themselves, in the cases pointed out in the present article, not to treat for peace unless with one common consent, and in such a way as that each shall obtain the satisfaction which is its due.

XIV. In the case in which one of the powers shall act merely as an auxiliary, the power which alone shall find itself attacked may treat of peace separately, but so as that no prejudice may result from thence to the auxiliary power, and that it may even turn as much as possible to its direct advantage. For this purpose advice shall be given to the auxiliary power of the mode and time agreed on for the opening and sequel of the negotiations.

XV. Without any delay there shall be concluded a treaty of commerce on the most equitable basis, and reciprocally advantageous to the two nations, which shall secure to each of them, with its ally, a marked preference for the productions of its soil, or manufactures, or at least advantages equal to those which the most favoured nations enjoy in their respective states. The two powers en-

gage to make instantly a common cause to repress and annihilate the maxims adopted by any country whatever, which may be subversive to their present principles, and which may bring into danger the safety of the neutral flag, and the respect which is due to it, as well as to raise and re-establish the colonial system of Spain on the footing on which it has subsisted, or ought to subsist, conformably to treaties.

XVI. The character and jurisdiction of the consuls shall be at the same time recognized and regulated by a particular convention. Those anterior to the present treaty shall be provisionally executed.

XVII. To avoid every dispute between the two powers, they shall be bound to employ themselves immediately, and without delay, in the explanation and developement of the VIIth article of the treaty of Basle, concerning the frontiers, conformable to the instructions, plans, and memoirs, which shall be communicated through the medium of the plenipotentiaries who negotiate the present treaty.

XVIII. England, being the only power against which Spain has direct grievances, the present alliance shall not be executed unless against her during the present war; and Spain shall remain neuter with respect to the other powers armed against the Republic.

XIX. The ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged within a month from the date of its being signed.

Done at Ildephonso, 2 Fructidor, (Aug. 19) the 4th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed) *Perignon*, and the *Prince of Peace.*

The Executive Directory resolves on and signs the present offensive and defensive treaty of alliance with his Catholic Majesty the King of Spain, negotiated in the name of the French Republic by Citizen Dominique Catherine Perignon, general of division, founded on powers to that effect, by a resolution of the Executive Directory, dated 20 Messidor (Sept. 6) and charged with its instructions.

Done at the National Palace of the Executive Directory, the fourth year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

Conformable to the original.

(Signed) *Réveilliere Lépeaux*, president.

By the Executive Directory.

Legarde, secretary general.

This treaty was ratified on the 26 Fructidor, (Sept. 12) by the Council of Elders.

AMERICAN DISCRIMINATING DUTIES.

The late discussion, in Parliament, relative to the *discriminating* duties, imposed in America, has suggested to us the propriety of giving an account of those duties, somewhat more accurate than our readers in general may, probably, be in possession of. The discriminating duty is an additional duty imposed on goods imported in foreign bottoms; thus, tanned leather, imported in American bottoms, pays a duty of 15 per cent. *ad valorem;* and in foreign bottoms, it pays a duty of 16½ per cent. There are but five different rates, in these duties, which rates are as follows:

Salt	in American bottoms 12 cents. in foreign bottoms 13⅕ c. per bushel.
Teas, china ware, and all other articles, liable to higher duties than 12½ per cent. imported direct from China or India	pay 50 per cent. more in foreign bottoms than in American bottoms.
The same sort of goods imported from Europe	pay 25 per cent. more in foreign bottoms than in American bottoms.
All goods imported from China or India, direct, not liable to more than 12½ per cent. duty	pay 12½ per cent. in foreign bottoms, and *nothing* in American bottoms.
All other goods, from what country soever	pay 10 per cent. more in foreign bottoms than in American bottoms.

From this statement, it will be perceived, that British manufactures, imported into America, in British ships, pay 10 per cent. more than the same sort of goods pay, when imported in American ships. This additional duty removed, says a gentleman (who *ought* to know better), "our manufactures will arrive "*cheaper* in America, where, of course, *more* "*of them will, from this cause, be, in future,* "*consumed.*" This is a mistake. The abolishing of the discriminating duties will have no effect at all on the price of the goods, when they arrive at market; because, they are *now* all carried in American bottoms, and, therefore, pay *none* of the discriminating duties; *less* they cannot pay; so that the hope of an extension of market, from the measure about to be adopted, is founded on an error arising from ignorance of the present situation of the trade. The fact is, that the question relates solely to *navigation*, and not at all to commerce. Neither country will import or export less, or more, goods, in consequence of any change in the present regulations; but this change may, and will, have a material

effect on the navigation of both countries; it will greatly tend to preserve that of America, and to prevent Great-Britain from obtaining, in her intercourse with those States, some compensation for the great loss, which, in consequence of the peace, her navigation will elsewhere sustain. The measures, now about to take place, in the two countries, though, in appearance, perfectly reciprocal, will have not the least reciprocity in their operation. The removing of the countervailing duties here will keep all the carriage of American produce (from America to England) in the hands of America; whereas the removing of the discriminating duties there will throw not the smallest portion of the carriage of English goods (from England to America) into the hands of England; because the *freight* will always be lower in America than in English ships.—Manifest, however, as is the injury, which we shall suffer from the proposed repeal of the countervailing duties, we prefer the suffering of that injury to a breach of national faith, which faith, we think, obliges us to take off the countervailing, as soon as the Americans have taken off their discriminating, duties.

[*An Account of the* COUNTERVAILING DUTIES, *will be found in a subsequent page of this work.*]

CRITICAL NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

19. *Fore Thoughts on the General Pacification of Europe.*—This pamphlet was published in 1800, soon after the rejection of Buonaparté's first overtures for peace. It is not, therefore, strictly speaking, a *new* work; but, as it relates to the great subject, which, at present, occupies the attention of the public, we think it right to present it to the notice of our readers.—The author, after having shewn the danger of any peace with France, 'till she shall have openly and unequivocally disavowed her new principles of interference in the internal concerns of other states, proceeds to the extent of the territory, and the degree of power, which it would be safe to leave in the hands of France. On this head, he first gives a very accurate and masterly description of the situation, the extent, and the resources, of Belgium, and of the great weight, which the possessions of that country has hitherto insured, and must ever insure, to the possessor, in the balance of power; and, as a conclusion from these premises, he observes, that "it is "manifest, that it will be most just and reasonable, in the negotiations for peace, to "require from France, as the first proof of a "fixed and reflective purpose of giving effect "to peace, *the relinquishment of the Austrian* "*Netherlands*," without which he very truly asserts, that peace must be of short duration, or, if otherwise, destructive to the prosperity, power, and independence of England. This is the principal point insisted on; but the work enlarges on several others, and we hesitate not to pronounce it a very able performance. Who the *author* is we know not; but, be he who he may, we thank him for the instruction, which we have derived from his labours.

20. *On the Probable Effects of the Peace, with Respect to the Commercial Interest of Great-Britain, being a Brief Examination of some Prevalent Opinions.*—The author of this anonymous pamphlet states his object to be, to remove the unfounded fears, which have been excited by the preliminaries of peace, and to dissipate the apprehensions, which, in the minds of his countrymen, "may cloud "our present prospects." To effect this object, he does not, as one would naturally expect, first state the "*prevalent opinions*," and then proceed to the controverting of them: no; he has chosen a less rugged path of discussion; he has stated his several topics in the form of *queries*, in the selection, or rather the invention, of which, he has taken special care to exclude every thing that might militate against his purpose. In truth he has left the "prevalent opinions" just where he found them, and has only asked himself those questions, for which he had already prepared answers. Like Mr. Chalmers and Sir Frederick M. Eden, he delights much in *figures*, which, prodigally lavished, in such a discussion, are of no earthly use, except that of fatiguing the reader and disguising the ignorance of the writer. For the correctness of tables, which any one may obtain from the Custom-House, and from other public sources, an author can claim no other sort of praise than that, which one would bestow on an amanuensis; and, as to *all* the statements in this work, which are not of that description, they are calculated to answer no purpose but that of imposing upon the ignorant and the listless.

21. *Animadversions on the Curate of Blagdon's Three Publications on the Blagdon Controversy, with some Allusions to his Cambrian Descent, &c. &c.*—This pamphlet is evidently

the offspring of that mixture of hypocrisy and insolence, which is to be found no where in such perfection as in the head and heart of those "*gospel preachers*," who are daily and hourly disgracing that church, which it is their ultimate object to destroy; and who, with shame and sorrow be it spoken, find but too many abettors among those, *whose duty it more immediately is, to detect their arts, and defeat their intentions.* The reason, which this anonymous libeller gives for withholding his name, is, the fear of exposing himself to the *slander* of Mr. Bere and his partisans; but, had he spoken truth, he would have said, that his real reason was, the fear of well-merited chastisement, which he may, however, yet receive; for he is well known; and though we shall not name him at present, we think it our duty to state, that he is one of those many, who owe their preferment to the *sect*, and who are now boiling with rage against the Curate of Blagdon for having cut off the source of that influence, to which they looked for further promotion. This long and tiresome pamphlet does away no one charge, which Mr. Bere has advanced against his persecutors; indeed, it does not attempt refutation; and the scurrility of its language sufficiently denotes the desperateness of the cause, which it is intended to serve. Mr. Bere and all his friends are abused without measure and without mercy; his *relations*, his *wife*, and even his *parents*, are ridiculed, and the enraged "*gospel preacher*," really seems to lament, that the curate has *no child* to participate in the effusions of his malice.—It is certainly beneath Mr. Bere to reply to these abusive animadversions, and we hope they will, by the friends of that gentleman, be treated with the contempt, which they are so well calculated to excite.

22. *An Historical View of the unavoidable Causes of the Non-residence of the Parochial Clergy on their respective Livings; wherein more than one hundred Acts of Parliament are referred to, and many of them amply discussed, during an interval of six hundred years: with a particular Investigation of the Act, 21 Henry VIII, cap. 13, on the Subjects of Non-residence, Farming, &c. And Remedies proposed for improving the Condition of the Clergy. —By the Rev. J. Malham, Vicar of Holton, Dorset; and Curate of St. Edmund's, Salisbury.*

23. *Thoughts on the Residence of the Clergy, and on the Provisions of the Statute of the 21 Henry VIII, cap. 13.—By John Sturges, L. L. D. Chancellor of the Diocese of Winchester.*

24. *Observations on Dr. Sturges's Pamphlet, respecting the Non-residence of the Clergy, in a Letter to Mr. Baron Maseres.*

The subject of non-residence is an important one, and we are fully persuaded, that any one, who wishes to obtain a competent knowledge thereof, will find it in a careful perusal of these works, the title pages of which we have here transcribed. The *order*, too, which we have observed in transcribing, may, we think, be followed, with advantage, by the reader. Mr. Malham's is truly what it professes to be, a history of the causes of non-residence, and a minute investigation of all the laws having reference thereto. Dr. Sturges insists upon the necessity of repealing these laws, of framing a code less harsh, more equitable, and better suited to the present state of the church and of society. The author of the "Observations," on Dr. Sturges's pamphlet, while he allows, that the act 21 Hen. VIII, cap. 13. is extremely harsh in itself, and liable to an unequitable operation, differs, nevertheless, from the Doctor, in some very essential points, as to the *remedy* to be applied. —All the three pamphlets are written with great ability, and are well worthy the attention of those, whose opinions and whose voices are to have weight in the decision of this question, in which the interests of both church and state appear to us to be deeply involved.

24. *A Word to the Alarmists on the Peace. —By a Graduate of the University of Cambridge.*—When the fountain is impregnated with poison, who can hope to drink living waters from the stream? We do not ascribe to the whole University of Cambridge, a concurrence in the principles, promulgated from the press of Benjamin Flower, whence, it seems this pamphlet has issued; but we do think, that it is highly disgraceful to the University and the City of Cambridge, that that press finds countenance and support. The object of the pamphlet before us, is to persuade its readers, that there is no danger to be apprehended from the intercourse, which the peace will thrown open between England and France; and that, of course, all alarm, on that head, is perfectly groundless. We think very differently; for, though we are convinced, that the sensuality of the republican French is so gross, and that their irreligion is so horridly blasphemous, as at first, to disgust rather than allure our countrymen, yet is there great, very great danger, to be apprehended from a familiarity with their vices, especially when viewed in conjunction with that admiration,

which *successful* villainy has never yet failed to excite, in the unthinking beings, who make the great mass of a nation. In the course of his pamphlet the graduate remarks, "that "those only have a determinate object, who "are advocates for continuing the war, *until* "*a prince of the house of Bourbon appears* "*on the throne of France.*" On this passage, one of our most able reviewers has remarked, that there are not, and never have been, *any such advocates;* and that, to hold out the restoration of the house of Bourbon as the object of the war, "is a stale democratical "falsehood, which has been exposed and "refuted a thousand times." *Tant pis pour nous!* We, for our parts, must confess, that we always thought differently; and we are well convinced, that if the restoration of the house of Bourbon had been openly and decidedly declared to be the object of the war, and if that declaration had been faithfully adhered to, the war would have ended long ago, and in a manner that would have spared us all the anxiety and alarm, which the graduate of Cambridge is so kindly endeavouring to remove.

REPUBLIC OF THE SEVEN ISLANDS.

To the Editor.

Sir,

The anxiety arising from the long delay of the Definitive Treaty has been in some degree alleviated by the assurance, recently given, that that Treaty, whenever it arrives, will be found, in every essential article, strictly conformable to the Preliminaries. This assurance has naturally turned back the attention of the Public to the Preliminary Treaty: and in considering anew, I have been much struck with the truth of a remark made long ago by you, Sir, as Editor of the Porcupine—that of all the questions, by which the interests of so large a portion of mankind have been affected, few have ever received so imperfect a discussion as the late *Preliminary Treaty.*

In the debates, as well as in the pamphlets written upon the subject, much of the matter of this Treaty has been but lightly touched upon: but one, and that perhaps the most important article of the whole, has, so far as I have observed, been entirely omitted.

I allude, as you may believe, to that article which relates to the new REPUBLIC of the SEVEN ISLANDS.

And yet, Sir, this is perhaps the stipulation that most decisively marks the character of the whole transaction.

Some Treaties have obtained their designation from the place at which they were negotiated; as the *Treaty of Utrecht* (for which the ministers who advised it were impeached); some from the name of the person who concluded them; as the *Methuen Treaty* (supposed to be abrogated by that now under our consideration):—but of *this* Treaty the celebrity through all future ages will be best secured by the single denomination of "*The Treaty of the Seven Islands.*"

I presume, it will be admitted as a general principle, that, in the conduct of any negotiation, those stipulations are to be considered as most advantageous and desirable, which secure the greatest apparent concession to yourself, with the least violence to the feelings (or in other words the least detriment to the interests) of the enemy.

This characteristic excellence, indeed, is not confined exclusively to that article of the present Treaty of which I am speaking; but is common in a great degree to them all.

The article for instance by which we stipulate for the *Evacuation of Egypt* is so expressed as to *seem* to intend the evacuation *by the French;* and implies therefore a considerable concession made to us:—Whereas in fact it is *we* who are to evacuate Egypt, the French being already gone;—and there is in fact, therefore, nothing in this stipulation in the remotest degree injurious to the feelings or interests of that susceptible people.

In the following article,—that relating to *Portugal*—the same advantage is taken, perhaps, even with more dexterity and success.—We stipulate for the *Integrity* of the dominions of our Ally, in terms which amply discharge our faith, and secure our honour:—while at the same time the construction, which is mutually agreed to be put upon the word *Integrity,*—namely that of a *cession of territory* both in Europe and America,—saves the feelings of the French, and makes it impossible for them to object to a demand, which otherwise they would probably have resisted to extremities.

But in neither of these cases is this happy contrivance to reconcile contending interests more fully exemplified than in the article respecting the *Seven Islands.*

And here I have to notice, *in limine,* a gross misapprehension which the disaffected naturally encourage; and by which even well-meaning people are occasionally misled:—it is asked where and what these same

SEVEN ISLANDS are?—As if the Treaty under consideration were a *definitive* instead of a *preliminary* Treaty!—A manifest confusion of intellect in those who can put such a question.

When, indeed, the *definitive* Treaty comes to a conclusion, it is not improbable that the very names and situations of these islands may be specifically adjusted.—In the mean time it is surely sufficient for any reasonable man to be apprized, that Great-Britain balances her cessions of every thing to France, and of almost every thing to Spain and Holland; her evacuation of Egypt and Malta; her losses of territory and trade; and her apprehension of republican principles;—by the establishment, in some part or other of the known world, of a REPUBLIC to consist of SEVEN ISLANDS.

The question, in this state, is capable of being considered in three distinct points of view:—*geographical; arithmetical;* and *political.*—And in all of them we shall have occasion to admire more than sufficiently the wisdom, foresight, temper, and magnanimity of those, who have brought this negotiation to so happy an issue.

If we begin by putting aside for the present the political part of this consideration,—the acknowledgement which we require from France is no more than that of the *existence* of *seven islands;*—certainly not a very harsh demand, nor obviously in itself a very advantageous concession: but he must be very ignorant or very presumptuous who should assert it to be wholly unimportant.

The most remote and complicated deductions of science have their origin in demands and concessions apparently as little capable of being disputed. It is the concession itself, not the thing conceded that we are to value.

In this view, indeed, the acknowledgement that "*two and two make four*" (reserving for the definitive treaty the question of two "*what*") would have answered the purpose equally well.—And the same spirit of accommodation, would probably have induced the First Consul to subscribe *this* acknowledgement, which had led him to admit in such unqualified terms, the "*insularity* "of certain portions of land surrounded by "the sea."

M. Talleyrand's addition of "*United*" *Islands*—(for so it stands in the French copy of the treaty) appears to have been a concession beyond what was required; and was, no doubt, intended by that quaint statesman as an humourous allusion to the late union in the British Empire.

It is very properly omitted in the English translation: the accuracy of our foreign office having presently discovered that to unite islands *as islands,* (however as kingdoms or states it may be practicable)—would be in some measure to detract from that *insular* character, which in all ages of the world islands appear to have maintained; and which it must be the first object of a British minister to transmit unimpaired to posterity.

I next come to the *arithmetical* part of the question.

No man who is acquainted with the power of numbers, but must be aware that in the number SEVEN there is a mystery of high antiquity and deep reverence; that SEVEN has been remarkable for it's operations in the physical and moral world, ever since the creation!

There are SEVEN *colours* in the rainbow; SEVEN *notes* in musick; and SEVEN *deadly sins.* There *used* to be SEVEN *days in the week* (and it is whispered that there is a secret article in the present treaty to restore them); there are still no more than SEVEN *planets,* unless (as is confidently reported in the ministerial circles) the national institute has been persuaded to acknowledge the *Georgium Sidus.*

There had been SEVEN *plagues of Egypt* when the French got possession of it.—We know of but SEVEN *wonders of the world* up to the formation of the present administration.—There were SEVEN *wise men* before Mr. Addington: and only SEVEN *champions of Christendom,* until Lord Hawkesbury by negociating the present treaty entitled himself to be reckoned as the *eighth.*

Goliah had SEVEN *fingers* on each hand, and SEVEN *toes* on each foot;—which I omit to enumerate, because I will fairly own I do not see their application to the present question.—And from motives of greater delicacy I pass over the SEVEN *senses* out of which people are vulgarly said to be frightened, when they prostrate themselves at the feet of a gigantic enemy.

It is plain from this deduction, that if numbers were to enter for any thing into our consideration,—a number could not easily have been selected more likely to be productive of the happiest consequences.

It has been suggested, indeed, that with this determined predilection for a State *consisting of* SEVEN *parts,* it is surprizing that we should have overlooked one that was ready made to our hands; and, that, instead

of setting about the creation and confirmation of a Republic that nobody ever heard of—we did not turn our thoughts and endeavours to secure the independance of the SEVEN UNITED PROVINCES.

I will only ask, is such a demand in the spirit of this Treaty? Would the enemy have been pleased with it? And was it our policy to irritate him? Could we expect, or presume, to ask as a condition of peace the concession of one of the very points on which the war began? Would not this have been to renew discussions, now happily like to be forgotten? And to inflame animosities which it was our business to heal?

But I will honestly confess I do not see the same objection to a demand, which might, I think, have been ventured without offence,—that of the acknowledgement of the *independance of the* SEVEN DIALS:—which if granted, might have been attended with obvious benefit; for when a French ambassador has once taken up his residence in this capital, would it be a trifling advantage to have established some privileged place without the verge of *his* court,—some sequestered spot into which *his* writ would not run,—where those who who chanced to be disagreeable to him, might retire out of the reach of his displeasure?

It remains to consider the subject in a *political* point of view. And here the question of *where* this Republic of Seven Islands is to be found?—does properly force itself upon our consideration.

I confess to you, Sir, I was for some time considerably embarrassed by this question; and the more so, as I saw a perverse and determined endeavour on the part of the ill-disposed to represent these Islands, the political existence of which Great-Britain had sacrificed so much to ascertain, as territories of which the natural existence was hardly known or worth knowing.—Even among the friends of ministers the most erroneous notions prevailed upon this subject.—Need I remind you of the distich, which was emblazoned in the illuminations of one of the public offices on the night of the celebration of the preliminaries?

"What surprizing advantages we have obtained in negotiation over M. Otto!
"We give up nothing but all our conquests, and make him acknowledge *Cerigo* and also *Cerigotto!*"

The couplet is, you will observe, somewhat too luxuriant: which is to be attributed perhaps rather to the political delirium that prevailed so generally at the moment, than to any poetical phrenzy peculiar to the writer.—We may trust to the *Definitive Treaty*, when it comes, to lop all such exuberances whether of poetry or of politics.

But is not the insinuation here plainly conveyed, that the Islands acknowledged by M. Otto are no other than the *current Islands* formerly belonging to Venice? Ceded to France by the treaty of Campo Formio;—afterwards conquered from France by Russia and Turkey;—and erected into an independant state by those powers, in conjunction with Austria?—As if *our* interference was necessary to give effect to what all these powers together had already determined! And as if we could have any thing to do with a state at the farthest end of the Mediterranean, at the moment when, for reasons too wise to be instantly disclosed, and with a magnanimity too great to be immediately understood, we are abandoning that sea altogether!

This was too extravagant to obtain credit. Those, however, who pretended to be in the secret, had a more plausible story to tell. The REPUBLIC of the SEVEN ISLANDS according to *them*, was to consist of the Islands which *we restore* to France and her allies by the present happy settlement. MARTINIQUE, TOBAGO, ST. LUCIA, in the West-Indies; MALTA and MINORCA, in the Mediterranean; and the Islands of ST. PIERRE and MIQUELON, on the Coast of Newfoundland, make just SEVEN ISLANDS. And those short-sighted politicians who have hitherto wondered at our restoring all these conquests apparently without any equivalent, would perhaps be ready to allow, that we had obtained much more than an equivalent, and had in fact made over to the Enemy rather the seeds of distraction than the means of strength, by a stipulation that interests so discordant, and territories so distant, should be united under one government.

I own this solution was much more probable if it had been to be believed that the conductors of the negotiation were at all foolishly solicitous about the strength of the Enemy. But does this appear on the face of any part of the Treaty? Can any man point out to me a single provision against the aggrandizement of France? A single trait of jealousy, or apprehension on that subject? Is not the obvious and laudable policy of the whole transaction to make England retreat within herself, and in herself alone look for strength and consolation? To secure to ourselves the protection of France, instead of attempting to curb her power? And

with these views and for these purposes may not the time come, when to have obtained beforehand from the First Consul the pledged acknowledgement of the *independence* of the REPUBLIC of the SEVEN ISLANDS of GREAT-BRITAIN, IRELAND, JERSEY, GUERNSEY, ALDERNEY, WIGHT, and MAN, may be the best proof of the foresight, and the proudest trophy of the spirit, which distinguish this above all the diplomatic exertions of the day? And would not such an arrangement be the best and most natural consummation of a Treaty, which, negotiated with a happy mixture of firmness and conciliation, has already had the effect of restoring to this Country all the blessings of peace, except commerce, confidence, and security; and of relieving it from all the evils of war, except expense, anxiety, and danger?

I am,

Sir,

Your obedient humble Servant,

SEPTIMIUS.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

In neither House of Parliament were the proceedings of last week of any particular importance. During the whole of the week there was nothing that could with propriety be called a debate.

In the House of Lords (Friday, March 19) some little discussion took place on the reading of Crewe's Divorce Bill. It was strenuously opposed by the *Lord Chancellor*, *Lord Redesdale*, *Lord Auckland*, and the *Bishop of Rochester*; and defended by *Lord Mulgrave*, *Lord Cathcart*, and the *Duke of Clarence*. The *Lord Chancellor* took the lead in opposing the bill. After a long conversation, and several explanations on both sides, the bill was rejected.

The royal assent was on the same day given by commission to the Exchequer Loan Bill, the Annual Indemnity, the Expiring Laws, the Cinnamon Duty, and the Greenland Whale Fishery Bill, and to fourteen others of a private or local nature.

Some conversation also took place on Monday (March 22) upon *Lord Pelham's* moving that the order of the day for taking into consideration his Majesty's message relative to the civil list should be discharged, and a new one for summoning the Lords thereupon for that day se'nnight.

Nothing worthy of particular notice was done in the House of Commons on Thursday (March 18). The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* gave notice of his intention to propose, on Monday, a vote, for certain miscellaneous services; instead of proposing it on Friday, as he had originally given notice. Some reports and accounts were then brought up, and the House adjourned at an early hour.

The following day was nearly as unimportant. On the third reading of the Irish Revenue Bill, *Mr. Jones* objected to it, as confirming a former bill, for repealing the duty on Irish places and pensions, held by absentees. *Mr. Robson* took the same ground, and divided the House on the question. He was unsupported in his opposition, and the bill passed. The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then moved for the production of some papers relative to the Income Tax. This gave rise to a question from *Mr. Jones*, whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer meant to make them the ground of any motion. The *Chancellor* objected to the question as improper, and was supported by the *Speaker*; on which the conversation dropped. The second reading of the Coroners' Bill, was then ordered, for Tuesday, and the House adjourned.

On Monday (March 22) after some observations from *Lord Temple* and the *Speaker*, the petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the City of London, praying the repeal of the Income Tax was ordered to lie on the table. *Lord Belgrave* then rose and moved for leave to bring in a bill relative to the 7th of William III. known by the name of the Treating Act. The words of that act were, he said, obscure and mysterious, and called for some amendment, previous to the general election. The whole act was, in truth, defective, but at present he thought it would be sufficient to repeal a part only, for the purpose of introducing more efficient clauses. It would, he said, be the object of his bill to render incapable those persons who had offended against this act, and to make the punishment attach, as well upon the unsuccessful, as the successful candidate. Leave was given to bring in the bill. After forwarding some business then before it, the House adjourned.

The next day some petitions were brought up by *Mr. Corry*. They related to the maintenance of the Protestant Charter Schools in Ireland, and the Dublin House of Industry. By some informality, however, in the mode of presenting them, they could not be received by the House. *Mr. Jones* gave notice of his intention to bring forward a motion, relative to the Polygar war, on that day fortnight. The treaty act was then read a second time, and or-

The late insurrection of the blacks in Tobago was put an end to by the prompt and judicious conduct of Col. Carmichael. He had not, it seems, more than two hundred men to resist the attack of some thousand of blacks. The attacks were not made, however; and, in the course of the night of the 25th of December, about thirty of the ring-leaders were discovered and made prisoners. One of them was, at day-break, hanged at the signal-staff, his body being lowered and hoisted about thirty times, and a signal gun being fired at each time, which led the insurgents to believe, that most of their chiefs had perished in this summary manner. This artifice produced all the effect of reality, and restored tranquillity to the island.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The last eight days have been distinguished by little that is worthy of particular remark. Fresh difficulties are said to have occurred in the conclusion of that definitive treaty, in which the clear and comprehensive preliminaries had, according to the assertions of their admirers, left the contracting parties "*nothing to higgle about.*" Far be it from us, however, to complain of the delay: we wish it may be yet much longer; and, were the negociators to adjourn *sine die*, we are certainly amongst those who would feel pleasure at the event. What are the particular points in dispute, it would be presumption in us to attempt to state; but every one must know, that if our ministers conclude a treaty, which shall sanction, either actively or passively, those encroachments, which France has made since the signing of the preliminaries, they will expose their country to destruction, and themselves to impeachment. They have, therefore, the strongest possible motives for endeavouring to obtain a relinquishment of those encroachments, in some of which France will most assuredly persevere, even to the renewal of hostilities. The existence of these opposite and powerful interests would sufficiently account for a much longer delay than that which we have experienced. There is, too, another point, on which, we imagine, some discussion must have arisen, and which will not be easily adjusted. Whatever may be the hopes of his Majesty's servants, with respect to the operations of the French fleet and army, now in the West-Indies, they will not, we presume, like to come before parliament with a definitive treaty, which shall not relieve the country from the alarm justly entertained as to the ultimate object of that formidable armament. Next to having prevented the sailing of the fleet, the best measure will be to stipulate for its speedy return. While that fleet remains there, we must there keep and support a fleet of force nearly equal; nor can we, during the same period, materially reduce our establishments in Europe. Our war expense will then continue, and while that continues, so long will the nation be filled with discontent against the authors of the peace. Yet, to such a stipulation as is here spoken of, it will be very difficult to obtain the consent of Buonaparté, who is not less desirous of creating discontent in England herself, than he is of ruining her colonies and her commerce. One or the other of these ends, the keeping of his fleet in the West-Indies is sure to effect; and with this persuasion in his mind, it will require the very highest of Lord Hawkesbury's high tones, to deter him from persevering in his present and obvious intention.

As to *parties* in this kingdom, much as has been said and written about them, we, for our parts, can form no opinion. There prevails, among all classes of people, not excepting the highest and best informed, that sort of consternation, which is generally produced by a rapid succession of astonishing and fearful events. Were we to look back for a period in our history similar, in this respect, to the present, we should perhaps find it in the reign of Henry VIII, when the conduct of a sovereign, in every point of his character exactly the opposite of George the Third, produced exactly the same sort of feeling, which has now been produced by the terror of Buonaparté. It is thought by some, that the acts of France, since the signature of the preliminaries, and the intentions, of which those acts are so unequivocal an indication, have altered the opinions, and will alter the language and the conduct, of many of those persons, who supported the measures of administration in regard to the peace. This is, indeed, a very fair ground for a change, and no less fair a ground for union between those who have disapproved of the preliminaries and those who supported them. As the ministers, if they fail in obtaining a definitive treaty on the *real* basis of the preliminaries, would act with perfect consistency in renewing the war; so, should they depart from that basis, the opposition of the men, who supported those preliminaries, would be no less consistent. "France" (to borrow the elegant language of a noble Earl) "at the "signature of the preliminaries, presented an

" object that the eye could scan; that the " understanding could comprehend: but she " has since suddenly shot up to gigantic sta- " ture: her head reaches the clouds, and her " arms extend from the east to the west." Those, therefore, who hoped that a peace, which sacrificed so largely to her ambition, would arrest her progress in disturbance and subjugation, having now had convincing proofs that their hopes were groundless, would be amply justified in withdrawing the support which was founded upon those hopes. Indeed, were not perfect unanimity a thing incompatible with the nature of a numerous popular assembly, we might hope to see it produced in parliament by the recent conduct of France. Those who have uniformly disapproved of the peace have now fresh reasons in support of their opinions; those who gave it their assent, as the last sacrifice to an ambitious enemy, have seen that that sacrifice was of no avail; those who disapproved of a war against the principles of France, may be justly alarmed at, and consistently support a war against, her power; while the ministers themselves have the strongest and simplest of all reasons to support them, namely, the unequivocal and flagrant breach of her engagements. Let it not be supposed, however, that we entertain a hope of seeing any such coincidence. The people are become gentle and meek; an enthusiastic attachment to country no longer warms their hearts; the pride of their rude ancestors has given place to a polished condescension and submissiveness; the love of England has yielded to the love of mankind; and, as it ought to be, so it is, the parliament is the epitome, the moral as well as the legal representative of the nation.

If we examine into the means, which France has made use of, in the subjugation of those countries, which are now smarting under her lash, we shall find, that, in every instance, her progress has commenced by the enslaving of *the press*. The press is a powerful instrument; she, of all nations, best knows its force; and she, therefore, wisely takes care, that that force shall not be employed against herself. The British press, of all others, she dreads most. Buonaparté is much more afraid of this press than he is of the Pope, or of the Goddess of Reason, or even of Mahomet, zealous as he is in the Mussulman religion. Not only does he attend to what we publish on the subject of his politics, but our remarks on the morals and amusements of his court and his capital attract his notice, and occasionally draw forth the animadversions of his official Gazette. Of these animadversions he has of late been unusually liberal. He has emitted his venom on all those who have ventured to question the moderation and sincerity of his views, and has given us no very unintelligible hint, that such disbelief may, ere long, be followed with chastisement. The ministerial print has already cried *peccavi;* and this, while it will doubtless serve as an example to other offenders, enables us to form a tolerably correct judgment of the disposition of those, who will possibly have it in their power to torture us into silence. Nor has the Grand Consul confined himself to a censorship over the language and sentiments of our newspaper writers. He has boldly entered the chapel of St. Stephen, and, as far as words can go, has been no awkward imitator of a " great man" of our own country, whom, in more than one trait, he seems to have chosen as a model. Cromwell, indeed, sent a troop of horse to silence those who had the hardihood to dispute *his* moderation and sincerity. But Buonaparté is only a young man yet; and, we have no doubt, that he lives in hopes to see the day, when a second Pride's Purge shall consummate what the Moniteur has so happily begun. We are perfectly serious. It is in the nature of upstarts to be presuming; and it cannot be denied, that the experience which Buonaparté has already had of our baseness, is well calculated to encourage his presumption. The gross violation, the open and daring defiance of the laws of our country, committed with impunity by the bearers of the preliminary treaty, was, we fear, the beginning of a series of acts, under which the constitution of England is destined to perish.

The intelligence from the United States of America, which comes down as late as the 12th of February, is rather uninteresting. A law has been passed, to abolish the addition, which was, in 1800, made to the judiciary department; but the proposed law for removing the *discriminating duties* had not passed; and, indeed, if we are to judge from appearances, we should think there was some doubt of its passing at all. The northern states, who are the great maritime carriers, still persisted in their opposition to the repeal; and, though we are fully persuaded, that they are mistaken in their notions on the subject, we are by no means certain, that those notions will not prevail, because the error, if it be one, has the great advantage of being popular. If this should be the case, the justness of the reasoning of General Gascoigne, and the other members of parliament, who contended that the repeal of our countervailing duties was *premature*, will be fully established. Indeed, it would have been quite time for us to pass a law respecting these duties, when we

had received information of the repeal of the discriminating duties having actually passed into a law.

Since the foregoing part of our summary was written, we have received Paris papers down to the 22d instant. From their contents it would appear, that a frigate had just arrived at Brest from St. Domingo, but that no intelligence, brought by her, had transpired. These papers contain an account of proceedings in Switzerland; by which it evidently appears, that the Valais will, without further ceremony, be seized on as the property of France; and the conjectures of those, who predicted the subjugation of the whole of the Helvetic republic, will not, we imagine, wait long for a fulfilment. At Milan it was thought, that the states of Genoa would be *united to the Italian Republic*, and this conjecture is mentioned in the French papers without any contradiction or comment. It is not immaterial to observe, that the French official paper of the 22d, resents, with great bitterness, the statements, which the English prints have given of the financial affairs of the Republic; and that it concludes with observing, that, *should the war be renewed*, the Republic has less reason than heretofore to dread its consequences.

It was yesterday stated by the ministers, through the channel of their official paper, the True Briton, that they will put their hands to no definitive treaty, "which shall "not *secure to us all the preliminaries held* "*out;*" but their idea of what is "held out" by the preliminaries is easily gathered, their observing, that the seizure upon Italy was not a measure which "could have justified them in breaking off the negotiation." Neither, then, was the affair of Elba, of Guiana, of the Valais, of Louisiana, and the Floridas; and we may, therefore, expect a treaty, in which we shall sanction all, or the far greater part, of these dangerous encroachments.

*** *A Letter to Sir Joseph Banks will be inserted in a future page.*

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

Colonel Pierre Frederick Count de Meuron to be Major-General in the Army. Commission dated January 1, 1798.

DEATHS.

Deaths.—At Gibraltar, General O'Hara, Governor of that Fortress.—At Demarara, January 7, Patrick Ludovick Colquhoun, second son of Sir James Colquhoun, of Luss, Bart.—At his house, in Pulteney Street, Bath, on Tuesday, the 16th inst. suddenly, the Rev. Ashburnham Philip Newman, of Thornbury Park, Gloucestershire, Prebendary of Ampleford, in the Cathedral of York, and Rector of Ackworth, in the same county.—On Monday last, at St. Alban's, the Dowager Lady Lade.—On Wednesday afternoon, the Earl of Fauconberg.

PRICE OF STOCKS.

ENGLISH three per cent. consols.

Saturday.....	69⅛ ¼ 9	Wednesday	69⅛ ¼ ⅛ 9
Monday	69 8⅞ 9⅛	Thursday	69 ¼ ⅝ ⅜
Tuesday	69 8⅞ 9	Friday	69⅛ ¼ ⅝ ¼ ⅛

AMERICAN STOCKS.—Eight pr. c. 112¼.

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 55 f.

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s.	s.		s.	s.
Eng. Wheat per q.	67	to 85	Hops per cwt.	71	to 142
Foreign	44	88	Hay per load	72	110
Rye	35	40	Beef, per stone,	4s. 6d. to 6s. 0d.	
Barley	38	45			
Malt	45	55	Mutton ..	5s. 6d. to	6s. 8d.
Oats	16	24	Veal	6s. 9d. to	7s. 9d.
Pease	35	46	Pork	5s. 10d. to	8s. 0d.
Beans	38	45	Tallow.....	4s. 9d.	
Flour per sack....	65	70	Average of sugar		
Seconds	53	58	per cwt.....	38s. 8d.	
Coals per chal.	35	42	Bread, 11½d. the quart. loaf.		

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

HAMBURGH..	32 4 2½ us.	NAPLES	45
ALTONA	32 5 2½ us.	GENOA	48¼
CADIZ.....	38¾ eff.	LISBON	69½
MADRID	39¼ eff.	OPORTO.....	69½
LEGHORN	52⅜	DUBLIN.....	12

Observations on the Weather, near Guildford, in Surrey, for the Month of March, 1802.

Days.	Moon's Age.	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barometer. Inches. M.	Barometer. Inches. A.	Thermometer. Degrees. M.	Thermometer. Degrees. A.
18		Fine.	sw	sw	30,1	30	41	51½
19	○	Fair. Win.	sw	sw	29,67	29,6	44	46½
20		Fair.	w	nw	29,55	29,6	42	49
21		Rain.	sw	sw	29,4	29,3	42	45
22		Rai. Win.	sw	sw	29,3	29,2	47	49
23		Fair.	nw	nw	29,9	29,9	43	49
24		VeryFine	nw	sw	30	30	46	60

LONDON,

LONDON, March 27 to April 3, 1802.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Definitive Treaty of Peace between the French Republic, His Majesty the King of Spain and the Indies, and the Batavian Republic, (on the one Part); and His Majesty, the King of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, (on the other Part.)

The First Consul of the French Republic, in the Name of the French People; and His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, being equally animated with a desire to put an end to the Calamities of War, have laid the foundation of Peace, by the Preliminary Articles, which were signed in London the 9th Vendémiaire, an 10, (or the 1st of October, 1801.)

And as by the 15th Article of the Preliminaries it has been agreed on, "That Plenipotentiaries should be named on the part of each Government, who should repair to Amiens, and there proceed to arrange a Definitive Treaty, in concert with the Allies of the Contracting Powers."

The First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, has named as Plenipotentiary the Citizen Joseph Buonaparté, Counsellor of State.

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, has named the Marquis Cornwallis, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, one of His Majesty's Privy Council, General in his Majesty's Army, &c. &c.

His Majesty the King of Spain and the Indies, and the Government of the Batavian Republic, have appointed the following Plenipotentiaries, to wit, His Catholic Majesty has named Don Joseph Nicolas d'Azara, his Counsellor of State, Grand Cross of the Order of Charles III. Ambassador Extraordinary of His Majesty to the French Republic, &c. &c.

And the Government of the Batavian Republic has named Roger Jean Schimmelpenninck its Ambassador Extraordinary to the French Republic, &c.

Which said Plenipotentiaries having duly communicated to each other their respective powers, which are transcribed at the conclusion of the present Treaty, have agreed upon the following Articles:

Article I. There shall Peace, Friendship, and Good Understanding between the French Republic, His Majesty the King of Spain, his heirs and successors, and the Batavian Republic, on the one side, and His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, his heirs and successors, on the other part.

The Contracting Parties shall use their utmost efforts to preserve a perfect harmony between their respective Countries, without permitting any act of hostility whatever by sea or by land, for any cause, or under any pretext.

They shall carefully avoid every thing which might for the future disturb the happy Union now re-established between them, and shall not give any succour or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who would wish to injure any of them.

II. All the prisoners made on one side and the other, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried off or delivered up during the war, and up to the present day, shall be restored without ransom in six weeks at the latest, to be reckoned from the day when the Ratifications of the present Treaty are exchanged, and on paying the Debts which they shall have contracted during their captivity. Each of the Contracting Parties shall respectively discharge the advances which shall have been made by any of the Contracting Parties for the support and maintenance of prisoners in the countries where they have been detained. There shall be appointed by mutual consent for this purpose a commission, especially empowered to ascertain and determine the compensation which may be due to any one of the Contracting Parties. The time and the place shall likewise be fixed by mutual consent for the meeting of the Commissioners who shall be entrusted with the execution of this Article, and who shall take into account, not only the Expenses incurred on account of the Prisoners of the respective Nations, but likewise on account of the Foreign Troops, who before being taken, were in the pay, and at the disposal of one of the Contracting Parties.

III. His Britannic Majesty restores to the French Republic and its Allies, viz. His Catholic Majesty and the Batavian Republic, all the possessions and colonies which respectively belonged to them, and which have been either occupied or conquered by the British Forces during the course of the present War, with the exception of the Island of Trinidad and of the Dutch possessions in the Island of Ceylon.

IV. His Catholic Majesty cedes and guarantees in full property and sovereignty the Island of Trinidad to His Britannic Majesty.

V. The Batavian Republic cedes and guarantees in full property and sovereignty to His Britannic Majesty all the possessions and establishments in the Island of Ceylon, which previous to the War belonged to the Republic of the United Provinces, or to the Dutch East-India Company.

VI. The Port of the Cape of Good Hope remains to the Batavian Republic in full sovereignty in the same manner as it did previous to the War.

The Ships of every kind belonging to the other Contracting Parties shall be allowed to enter the said Port, and there to purchase what provisions they may stand in need of as heretofore, without being liable to pay any other imposts than such as the Batavian Republic compels the Ships of its own Nation to pay.

VII. The territories and possessions of Her Most Faithful Majesty are maintained in their integrity, such as they were antecedent to the War. However the boundaries of French and Portuguese Guiana are fixed by the River Arowary, which empties itself into the Ocean above Cape North, near the Islands Nuovo and Penetentia, about a degree and a third of North latitude. These boundaries shall run along the River Arrowary, from its mouth the most distant from Cape North to its source, and afterwards on a right line, drawn from that source, to the Rio Branco towards the West.

In consequence, the Northern Bank of the River

Arowary, from its said mouth to its source, and the territories that lie to the North of the line of the boundaries laid down as above, shall belong in full sovereignty to the French Republic.

The Southern bank of the said River, from the same mouth, and all the territories to the South of the said line, shall belong to Her Most Faithful Majesty.

The navigation of the River Arowary, along the whole of its course, shall be common to both Nations.

The arrangement which have been agreed upon between the Courts of Madrid and Lisbon, respecting the settlement of their boundaries in Europe, shall nevertheless be adhered to conformably to the stipulations of the Treaty of Badajos.

VIII. The territories, possessions, and rights of the Sublime Porte, are maintained in their integrity, as they were before the War.

IX. The Republic of the Seven Islands is recognized.

X. The Islands of Malta, Gezo, and Comino, shall be restored to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, to be held on the same conditions on which it possessed them before the War, and under the following stipulations:

I. The Knights of the Order, whose *Langues** shall continue to subsist, after the exchange of the Ratification of the present treaty, are invited to return to Malta, as soon as the Exchange shall have taken place. They shall there form a general Chapter, and proceed to the Election of a Grand Master, chosen from among the Natives of those Nations which are to preserve their *Langues*, unless that Election has been already made since the Exchange of the Preliminaries.

It is understood that an Election made subsequent to that epoch, shall alone be considered valid, to the exclusion of any other that may have taken place at any period prior to that epoch.

---

* The word *Langue* may be translated by that of *Class* or *Tribe*. The Order of Malta (otherwise, and, indeed, more properly, called the Order of St. John of Jerusalem) is a religious and military association, the rules of which prescribed, that the Knights should be chosen from amongst the Catholic Nobles of Europe. The whole number of them was a thousand, five hundred of whom were obliged to live in the Island, while the other five hundred were permitted to be absent, and generally resided in the seminaries of the Order, in the different countries that had the privilege of sending the Knights. This privilege was enjoyed by Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, Germany, and Bavaria. The Knights were considered as consisting of eight *Classes* or *Tribes* (commonly called *Langues*) of which Spain and Portugal furnished two, Italy one, Germany one, Bavaria one, and France three. The number of Knights sent by France was, then, about three hundred and thirty-nine out of the thousand. France is now to send none; but, in lieu thereof, she creates a Maltese *Langue*. She could not, indeed, send Knights to the Order, because she does not acknowledge the Catholic Religion; but to prevent her share of influence in the affairs of the Order from passing into other hands, she creates a new *Langue* to consist of the natives of the Island, which, by so doing, she destroys the constitution of the Order in dispensing with *noble birth*, which has always been considered as a qualification indispensably necessary.

2. The Governments of the French Republic, and of Great-Britain, desiring to place the Order and Island of Malta in a state of entire independence with respect to themselves, agree that there shall not be in future either a French or an English *Langue*; and that no individual belonging to either the one or the other of these Powers shall be admitted into the Order.

3. There shall be established a Maltese *Langue*, which shall be supported by the territorial revenues, and commercial duties of the Island. This *Langue* shall have its peculiar dignities, an establishment and a mansion house. Proofs of Nobility shall not be necessary for the admission of Knights of this *Langue*; and they shall be moreover admissible to all offices, and shall enjoy all privileges in the same manner as the Knights of the other *Langues*. At least *half* of the Municipal, Administrative, Civil, Judicial, and other employments depending on the Government, shall be filled by inhabitants of the Islands of Malta, Gezo, and Comino.

4. The Forces of His Britannic Majesty shall evacuate the Island, and its dependencies, within three months from the exchange of the Ratifications, or sooner if possible. At that epoch it shall be given up to the Order in its present state, provided the Grand Master, or Commissaries, fully authorized according to the Statutes of the Order, shall be in the Island to take possession, and that the force which is to be provided by His Sicilian Majesty, as is hereafter stipulated, shall have arrived there.

5. One half of the Garrison, at least, shall be always composed of native Maltese; for the remainder, the Order may levy Recruits in those Countries only which continue to possess the *Langues*. The Maltese Troops shall have Maltese Officers. The Commandership in Chief of the Garrison, as well as the nomination of the Officers, shall pertain to the Grand Master, and this right he cannot resign even temporarily, except in favour of a Knight, and in concurrence with the advice of the Council of the Order.

6. The independence of the Isles of Malta, of Gezo and Comino, as well as the present arrangement, shall be placed under the protection and guarantee of France, Great-Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia.

7. The Neutrality of the Order and of the Island of Malta, with its dependencies, is hereby proclaimed.

8. The Ports of Malta shall be opened to the Commerce and the Navigation of all Nations, who shall there pay equal and moderate Duties: these Duties shall be applied to the maintenance of the Maltese *Langue*, as specified in paragraph 5, to that of the Civil and Military Establishments of the Island, as well as to that of a general Lazaret, open to all colours.

9. The States of Barbary are excepted from the conditions of the preceding paragraphs, until, by means of an arrangement to be procured by the Contracting Parties, the system of hostilities, which subsists between the States of Barbary, and the Order of St. John, or the powers possessing the *Langues*, or concurring in the composition of the Order shall have ceased.

10. The Order shall be governed, both with respect to Spirituals and Temporals, by the same Statutes, which were in force, when the Knights left the Isle, as far as the present Treaty does not abrogate them.

11. The Regulations contained in the Paragraphs 3, 5, 7, 8, and 10, shall be converted into Laws and perpetual Statutes of the Order, in the customary manner; and the Grand Master, or, if he shall not

be in the Island at the time of its restoration to the Order, his Representative, as well as his Successors, shall be bound to take an Oath for their punctual observance.

12. His Sicilian Majesty shall be invited to furnish 2000 Men, Natives of his States, to serve as a Garrison in the different Fortresses of the said Islands. That force shall remain one year, to bear date from their restitution to the Knights; and if, at the expiration of this term, the Order should not have raised a force sufficient, in the judgment of the Guaranteeing Powers to garrison the Island and its Dependencies, as is specified in the 5th Paragraph, the Neapolitan Troops shall continue there until they shall be replaced by a Force deemed sufficient by the said Powers.

13. The different Powers designated in the 6th Paragraph, to wit, France, Great-Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia, shall be invited to accede to the present Stipulations.

XI. The French troops shall evacuate the kingdom of Naples and the Roman States; the English Forces shall also evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and generally all the Ports and Islands, that they occupy in the Mediterranean or the Adriatic.

XII. The Evacuations, Cessions, and Restitutions, stipulated by the present Treaty, shall be executed in Europe within a month; on the Continent and Seas of America and Africa in three months; on the Continent and Seas of Asia in six months, which shall follow the Ratification of the present Definitive Treaty, except in case of a Special Reservation.

XIII. In all cases of Restitution, agreed upon by the present Treaty, the fortifications shall be restored in the condition they were in at the time of signing the Preliminaries; and all the works which shall have been constructed since their occupation, shall remain untouched.

It is agreed besides, that in all the stipulated cases of Cessions, there shall be allowed to the inhabitants, of whatever rank or nation they may be, a term of three years, reckoning from the notification of the present Treaty, to dispose of all their properties, whether acquired or possessed by them, before or during the continuance of the present War; during which term of three years, they shall have free and entire liberty to exercise their religion, and to enjoy their fortunes. The same power is granted in the Countries that are hereby restored, to all persons, whether inhabitants or not, who shall have formed any establishments there, during the time that those Countries were in the possession of Great-Britain.

As to the Inhabitants of the Countries restored or ceded, it is hereby agreed, that no person shall, under any pretence, be prosecuted, disturbed, or molested, either in person or property, on account of his political conduct or opinion, or for his attachment to any of the Contracting Parties, on any account whatever, except for debts contracted with individuals, or for acts subsequent to the present Treaty.

XIV. All the Sequestrations laid on either side, on Funds, Revenues, and Credits, of what nature soever they may be, belonging to any of the Contracting Powers, or to their Citizens, or Subjects, shall be taken off immediately after the Signature of this Definitive Treaty.

The decision of all claims among the individuals of the respective nations, for debts, property, effects, or rights, of any nature whatsoever, which should, according to received usages, and the Law of Nations, be preferred at the epoch of the Peace, shall be referred to the competent Tribunals: in all those cases speedy and complete justice shall be done in the countries wherein those claims shall be respectively preferred.

XV. The Fisheries on the coasts of Newfoundland, and of the adjacent islands, and in the Gulph of St. Laurence, are placed on the same footing as they were before the War.

The French Fishermen of Newfoundland and the inhabitants of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, shall have liberty to cut such wood as may be necessary for them in the Bays of Fortune and Despair during the first year, reckoning from the Ratification of the present Treaty.

XVI. To prevent all grounds of complaint and disputes which might arise on account of Captures which may have been made at sea subsequent to the signing of the Preliminaries, it is reciprocally agreed that the Ships and property which may have been taken in the Channel, and in the North Seas, after a space of twelve days, reckoning from the exchange of the Ratifications of the Preliminary Articles, shall be restored on the one side and the other; that the term shall be one month for the space, from the Channel and the North Seas, as far as the Canary Islands inclusively, as well in the ocean as in the Mediterranean; two months from the Canary Islands to the Equator; and, finally, five months in all the other parts of the world, without any further exception, or distinction of time or place.

XVII. The Ambassadors, Ministers, and other Agents of the Contracting Powers, shall enjoy respectively in the Sates of the said Powers the same rank, privileges, prerogatives, and immunities which were enjoyed before the War by Agents of the same class.

XVIII. The branch of the House of Nassau, which was established in the ci-devant Republic of the United Provinces, now the Batavian Republic, having experienced some losses, as well with respect to private property as by the change of Constitution adopted in those Countries, an equivalent compensation shall be procured for the losses which they shall be proved to have sustained.

XIX. The present Definitive Treaty of Peace is declared common to the Sublime Ottoman Porte, the Ally of His Britannic Majesty; and the Sublime Porte shall be invited to transmit its act of accession as soon as possible.

XX. It is agreed that the Contracting Parties, upon requisitions made by them respectively, or by their Ministers, or Officers duly authorized for that purpose, shall be bound to deliver up to justice persons accused of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed within the jurisdiction of the requiting party, provided that this shall only be done in cases in which the evidence of the crime shall be such, that the laws of the place in which the accused persons shall be discovered, would have authorized the detaining and bringing him to trial, had the offence been committed there. The expenses of the arrest and the prosecution, shall be defrayed by the party making the requisition; but this Article has no sort of reference to crimes of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed before the conclusion of this Definitive Treaty.

XXI. The Contracting Parties promise to observe sincerely and faithfully all the Articles contained in the present Treaty, and will not suffer any sort of counteraction, direct or indirect, to be made to it by their Citizens, or respective subjects;

and the Contracting Parties guarantee, generally and reciprocally, all the stipulations of the present Treaty.

XXII. The present Treaty shall be ratified by the Contracting Parties, as soon as possible, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in due form at Paris.

In testimony whereof, we, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries, have signed with our hands, and in virtue of our respective full powers, the present Definitive Treaty, causing it to be sealed with our respective seals.

Done at Amiens, the 4th Germinal, in the year 10 (March 25, 1802.)

(Signed) BUONAPARTE,
CORNWALLIS,
AZARA, and
SCHIMMELPENNICK.

(A correct Copy.) *J. Buonaparté.*

TO SIR JOSEPH BANKS, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

The following article, extracted from the official French paper of the 18th instant, is not only so little honourable to your own character, but so insulting to the Society over which you have long presided, and so repugnant to the genuine feelings of an Englishman, that the public voice demands from you an explanation of the letter, if it be authentic, or a disavowal of it, if it be a forgery.

National Institute.

Letter of Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society of London, to the President and Secretaries of the National Institute of France.

London, January 21.

Citizens—Be pleased to offer to the National Institute my warmest thanks for the honour they have done me in conferring upon me the title of associate of this learned and distinguished body.

Assure at the same time my *respectable brothers*, that I consider this mark of their esteem as *the highest and most enviable literary distinction which I could possibly attain.* To be the first elected to be an associate of *the first literary society in the world*, surpasses my most ambitious hopes, and I cannot be too grateful towards a society which has conferred upon me this honour, and towards a nation of which it is the literary representative—a nation which, during the most frightful convulsions of the late most terrible revolution, *never ceased to possess my esteem*; being always persuaded, even during the most disastrous periods, that it contained many good citizens who would infallibly get the upper hand, and who would re-establish in the heart of their countrymen the empire of virtue, of justice, and of honour.

Receive more especially, citizens, my warmest acknowledgements for the truly polite manner in which you communicated this agreeable intelligence.

I am, with sincere esteem for your distinguished talents, &c.

JOSEPH BANKS.

Now, Sir, notwithstanding my disgust at this load of filthy adulation, I shall trouble you with some calm remarks upon it. Supposing your acceptance of the nomination to be perfectly consistent with your dignity (which, however, I deny), there would be no material objection to the first and concluding paragraphs of your letter, which would have been amply sufficient for the purpose of acknowledgement: but the intermediate part is highly reprehensible; it is replete with sentiments which are a compound of servility, disloyalty, and falsehood; sentiments which ought never to be conceived by an English heart, never written by an English hand, and least of all by yours, distinguished as you are by repeated (out of respect to his Majesty I will not say unmerited) marks of royal favour, and elevated to a station in which the country might be excused for looking up to you as the jealous guardian, not the betrayer, of its literary credit. Your "*respectable brothers*" of the French Institute may perhaps be intoxicated by the incense which you have lavished before their altar of Atheism and Democracy; for, although they were companions of the *respectable Buonaparté* in his expeditions, and plundered libraries and cabinets with as much alacrity, and as little scruple, as he displayed in treasuries and in churches, I do not believe that the ungrateful nations whom they robbed ever composed such a brilliant eulogium on their talents and their virtues. No, Sir, it was reserved for the head of the Royal Society of London, to assure an exotic embryo academy that he is more proud of being a mere associate of the latter than president of the former; that he considers their election of him as "*the highest and most enviable* "*literary distinction which he could possibly* "*attain*;" and that he deems them *the first literary society in the world.* Sir, I have read with pleasure and with profit many volumes published by the Royal Society, and, with due submission to you, I assert that the cultivation of science is more indebted to their exertions than to those of any other institution whatsoever. But I am yet to learn the merits of this novel association of revolutionary philosophers into which you have been enlisted. What acts, but acts of robbery, have we seen of theirs? Where are the proofs of their pre-eminence? It is incumbent on you to produce those proofs, and to convince the British literati that your contempt of them is just.

But the plenitude of your joy admits no consideration for English societies, or the English nation: you exult in your new honours, and your gratitude knows no limits

but those of France; it overleaps the cradle of the infant institute, and expands itself throughout a nation which, you say, has "*never ceased to possess your esteem during the most frightful convulsions of the revolution; being always persuaded, even during the most disastrous periods, that it contained many good citizens who would infallibly get the upper hand* (as you elegantly express it) *and who would re-establish in the heart of their countrymen the empire of virtue, of justice, and of honour.*" Really, Sir, I know not which excites the greater admiration, the impetuous torrent of your esteem which bears away the feeble impediments of loyalty, patriotism, morality, and religion, or the wonderful sagacity of your prognostics, some of which are accomplished, and for the rest we must wait the Consul's leisure. The *good Citizen Buonaparté* has already *got the upper hand*, but when he will re-establish the empire of virtue, of justice, and of honour, in the heart of the republican Frenchmen (where I suspect they never had much foundation) your penetration only can foresee. As to religion, you seem yourself to despair of its restoration, since you do not even mention it; or perhaps you deemed it a matter of too little importance to merit the consideration of philosophers.

I must not omit another observation, that the French people "*never ceased to possess your esteem during the most frightful convulsions of the revolution.*" There is a singular coincidence between the sentiment and the time at which it is uttered. Your letter is dated January 21. Sir, the 21st of January was the day on which the ill-fated Louis XVI. was executed by his traitorous subjects; and it is the anniversary of that day which you select to assure his assassins that "*they never ceased to possess your esteem!!!*" I will not assert that you designedly combined the declaration and the date; but the French Jacobins are too quick-sighted not to remark the circumstance, and to deduce their inference; and the English Jacobins will do the same: nay, I verily believe that this circumstance, together with an opportunity (which they are ever ready to embrace) of wounding the pride of Englishmen, were the motives which induced the publication of your letter.

But after all, Sir, why this display of gratitude? You must acknowledge it to be, at least, superfluous; because the French nation by electing you a member of their Institute merely discharged an old account. *You* understand me, Sir; but as the public are probably not so well informed, I must solicit their attention to the following anecdote. Soon after the judicial murder of Louis XVI. one of the officers who accompanied the unfortunate La Pérouse returned to Europe with numerous specimens of natural history, collected during the early part of his voyage of discovery. In these latitudes he first obtained intelligence of the revolution, and, being a man of honour, felt that he was accountable only to the Crown of France, from which he had accepted his commission. Accordingly he brought his vessel to an English port, from whence, by permission of our government, the cargo was conveyed to London, and committed to the custody of a nobleman, who, at that time, was the agent of the French Princes. This nobleman, having communicated the circumstance to Louis XVIII. was instructed to offer to the Queen any part of the curiosities of which her Majesty might approve, and to present the remainder to the British Museum. You must remember, Sir, that, in pursuance of these instructions, the entire (or nearly the entire) collection was confided to you, in order to be deposited in the Museum; and you cannot forget, that you disposed of it by sending it all to France, with no authority but your own, with no pretence except that *the philosophers of the two nations were not at war.* Thus, Sir, you imposed an obligation on the French, which they have repaid, it seems, to your exquisite gratification. By the sacrifice of what duties and what principles that obligation was imposed, it is not for me to say; but I will, without hesitation, assert, that your acknowledgement of its discharge has brought disgrace upon your country, and discredit on the Royal Society, the guardianship of whose honour was confided to you by your Sovereign.

I am, Sir, &c. &c.

*Misogallus.**

---

* Lest the correctness of the translation of Sir Joseph's letter should be questioned, we have inserted the letter as it appears in the Moniteur.

* *Institut National.*

Traduction d'une Lettre de Sir Joseph Banks, Président de la Société Royale de Londres, aux President et Secrétaires de l'Institut National de France.

Londres, 21 Janvier, 1802.

Citoyens—Veuillez offrir à l'Institut National l'expression de ma reconnaissance, pour l'honneur qu'on m'a fait en me donnant le titre d'associé de ce corps savant et distingué.

Assurez en même temps mes respectables confrères que je considére cette marque de leur estime comme la première et la plus agréable des distinc-

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

In the House of Lords, on Thursday and Friday, nothing was done worthy of particular notice. On Monday, before the order of the day was read, *Lord Suffolk* rose, to turn the attention of the House to those disabled officers, whose valour in the service of the country deserved every reward, but who must, according to the present usage of the service, be now turned adrift, with the scanty remuneration of a year's pay. The noble Lord declared that it was not his intention, for the present, to make any motion on the subject, as he rather wished to transfer to his Majesty's ministers the popularity attending such a measure. The order of the day was then read, for taking his Majesty's Message relative to the Civil List into consideration. This question produced in both Houses a very animated debate. The question was opened, in the House of Peers, by *Lord Pelham*. The noble Lord, after briefly adverting to the heads of the report on the Civil List, explaining the different items, and defending those who had been in charge of this branch of the public service, concluded by moving an address to his Majesty, expressive of the affection, loyalty, and attachment of the House, to his person and dignity, and of its intention to take the subject into immediate consideration, and concur in any prompt and effectual measure for relieving the present Civil List embarrassments. He was followed by *Earl Fitzwilliam*, who, giving his hearty assent to that part of the address which expressed the affection of the house to his Majesty, opposed that part of it which pledged the House for the payment of arrears, without examination of the subject, and moved to amend the motion by inserting instead of that pledge, the words "and we will enquire into the causes that have occasioned "those arrears and embarrassments." This amendment was supported by *Lord Holland* and *Lord Caernarvon*, and objected to by *Earl Moira*, *Lord Hobart*, *Lord Pelham* and *Lord Westmoreland*. By the supporters of the amendment it was urged, that the papers before the House were not sufficient for the elucidation of the subject, and that had they been so, it would not be respectful to his Majesty, or decorous to the public for the House to express its readiness to pay off the arrears, before any enquiry had been made as to the manner in which they were incurred; that the arrears had arisen from the prodigality of ministers, and not from any additional expense in the maintenance of his Majesty's household; that in violation of a positive Act of Parliament to the contrary, they had been accumulating for sixteen years; and that when so large a sum was called for, in such a manner, at the close of an expensive war, it was the duty of their Lordships to enter into a rigid investigation of all the circumstances that gave rise to so extraordinary a demand. To this it was answered, by the defenders of the address, that the House had for a considerable time been in possession of sufficient evidence to form its judgment; that a committee of enquiry, in such cases, was unusual; that the arrear had arisen from unavoidable circumstances; and, that it was incumbent on the House to support the splendour and dignity of the throne.—*Earl Moira*, agreeing in general principle with the supporters of the motion, was yet of opinion that it might be proper to produce additional documents for the consideration of the House. On the question being put, there appeared for the amendment four, against it sixty.

In the House of Commons on Thursday, (March 25) in a committee of supply, *Mr. Robson* opposed the resolution for granting 45,000*l.* to indemnify Lord St. Vincent and Lord Grey against American claims.—This sum he contended ought not to be granted, as the acts it was meant to indemnify were arbitrary and illegal. The commanders had erected Admiralty courts on their own authority, and ought to abide by the consequences. *Mr. Vansittart* in reply stated, that the noble lords in question had merely obeyed the orders of government in what they had done. The Court of Admiralty at Martinique had been properly established, and had acted in the ex-

---

tions littéraires que je pusse recevoir. Etre le premier choisi pour associé de la première société littéraire du monde, surpasse mes vœux les plus ambitieux; et je ne puis être trop reconnaissant envers la société qui m'a conféré cet honneur, et envers la nation dont elle est la représentation littéraire; nation qui, pendant les convulsions les plus affreuses de la plus terrible révolution, n'a jamais cessé d'avoir mon estime, dans la persuasion où j'ai toujours été, même pendant les périodes les plus désastreuses, que les bons citoyens y étaient en nombre considérable, qu'ils reprendraient infailliblement le dessus, et qu'ils rétabliraient dans le cœur de leurs compatriotes l'empire de la vertu, de la justice, et de l'honneur.

Recevez en particulier, citoyens, tous mes remercimens pour la manière vraiment obligeante dont vous m'avez communiqué cette bonne nouvelle.

Je suis avec une estime sincère pour vos talens distingués, etc.

Signé, JOSEPH BANKS.

ecution of its office with the strictest justice. It was, therefore, highly improper that the noble lords should suffer for their obedience to the orders of government. *Mr. Vansittart* was seconded by *Mr. Jones* and *Mr. Nicholl*. *Mr. Johnston* opposed the indemnification on the ground of the officers having acted illegally. Orders had only been issued to detain neutral ships trading with the enemies colonies, not to condemn and dispose of them. But the officers, conscious that their proceedings were irregular, fearing a revocation of their order, perhaps knowing that it was revoked, had constituted an irregular court, and hurried the condemnation of the vessels. If some indemnification was to be granted, let it only be as much as would make their gains in the West-Indies equal to the claims against the noble lords. The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then rose, and fully vindicated the noble lords from the charges made by *Mr. Johnston*. He was followed by *Captain Markham* and the *Attorney General*. *Captain Markham* explained that many of the captured vessels had necessarily been brought to adjudication from their containing perishable commodities. The resolution was finally agreed to.

Some conversation took place the next day, on the objections of *Mr. Baker* and *Mr. Robson*, to some articles of Irish miscellaneous service. Explanations were given by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* and *Mr. Corry*, and the sums, none of them of great magnitude, were voted. The articles of service were twenty-two.

On Monday (March 29) came on the debate on the subject of the Civil List debt. It was long and important. The House having resolved itself into a committee, the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, in a speech of great length and detail, went into the question before the House. The hon. gentleman began, by declaring that, for the support of the motion he was about to make, he should not rely on the mere feelings of the committee, not even on its generosity, but on its justice. From the documents now before it, that committee was fully able to form a competent judgment on the present subject. Documents more clear, distinct, and satisfactory, were never laid before the House. It might now be seen, how fallacious were the opinions of those, who represented the royal income as enormous. That income was, in truth, not more than equal to the income of any former King of England. Looking to the revenue enjoyed by former sovereigns, the hon. gentleman urged that they had the power not only of filling their coffers, but of carrying on, without difficulty, the most oppressive measures against their subjects. Parliament had very little power of restraining favouritism, prodigality, or corruption.

The hon gentleman then entered into the history of the settlement of the King's revenue by Parliament, and of the various applications that had been made to the House for the relief of the Civil List debts. It was for the House to say whether, considering all the circumstances, the present assistance ought not to be granted. In the information now given to Parliament, relative to the debt, there was not the least room for doubt or cavil. No concealment had been used. No imputation of mismanagement could be made; no instance of corruption, or of profusion shown, in the use of the Civil List revenues. The hon. gentleman, in support of his assertion, quoted page 66 of the Report, where, on comparing the charges of the Civil List establishment of increase and decrease of charges upon an average of sixteen years, from the 5th of January, 1786, to the 5th of January last, the account stood thus:

	INCREASE. On an Average of Sixteen Years.			DECREASE.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1st Class.....	4,613	12	11¼	0	0	0
2d	0	0	0	186	14	9
3d	8,102	14	0¾	0	0	0
4th	24,747	11	0½	0	0	0
5th	0	0	0	100	7	5
6th	0	0	0	7,150	3	6¼
7th	0	0	0	8,109	8	3
8th	0	0	0	14	3	6¼
Occasional Payments	58,500	3	5¼	0	0	0
	95,964	2	2¼	15,560	17	5½
Deduct Decrease	15,560	17	5½			
Net Increase....	80,403	4	8¾			

Appealing to the committee, whether it was possible, even for an individual, to maintain his rank in society, without an additional expenditure, the hon. gentleman declared his conviction, that the present debt of the Civil List would not be considered as excessive; more especially when it was considered that a great part of it was contracted during a period of war. Not that he meant to attribute the increase to war, merely as war, for during that time we had met three years of scarcity. He then referred to various items of the account, which he explained. It had been made a ground of complaint, that Mr. Burke's bill had not been adhered to. Of

that bill the wording was loose and indeterminate. But, in his opinion, the spirit of its provisions had been complied with. After going at great length into the various heads of expenditure, and defending those who administered the civil list from any imputation of profusion, he concluded by moving, "That it is the opinion of this "Committee, that a sum not exceeding "990,053*l.* be granted to his Majesty, to "discharge arrears and debts due and "owing on the Civil List, on the 18th of "January, 1802."

Mr. Fox, then rose, and in a long and animated speech opposed the motion. Solemnly disclaiming any wish to treat with unnecessary severity the expenses of the Civil List, and declaring that his feelings always, and more particularly at that moment, were adverse to ill humour, and to rigour, he could not, he said, suffer the present call upon the purse of the country to be passed over without some animadversion. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had gone at length into a history of the subject, which seemed to have no connection with, or influence upon, the question now before the House. The right hon. gentleman had also, he said, made a long enumeration of the burdens which at the present time pressed upon the Civil List, and had dwelt much upon the greatness of the revenue of his Majesty's predecessors; but he had neglected to state that those revenues were equally burdened with that of his Majesty. This was not a candid mode of comparison. It had been said by the right hon. gentleman, that when his Majesty's Civil List was settled at 800,000*l.* many persons foresaw that such a sum would be inadequate. This, however, he could not admit. From the sort of ministry that was then in power, it was not easy to believe but that they would have dared to propose a larger establishment had they conceived it necessary. That they did not think it necessary was, therefore, a fair conclusion. Nine years after that establishment, an application was made to Parliament to pay a debt of 550,000*l.* Though opposed by a highly respectable minority, the debt was paid; unwisely, as he thought, since too much liberality in the House only emboldened ministers to prodigality. But the House did not stop there. It raised the Civil List to 900,000*l.* a sum which, as Sir Fletcher Norton observed, in his speech to the Sovereign, was "great beyond his Majesty's "utmost wants." That speech had received the thanks of the House, had been inserted on its journals, and was worthy of being remembered.

About that period a bill was brought into that House by Mr. Burke, for confining the expenditure of the Civil List within its proper bounds. That bill clearly laid down a mode for the payment of salaries, by which the salary of the highest class was not to be paid, till that of the class below was discharged. This act had been said to be loosely worded. That it was so, he could not allow. However that might be, the spirit of it was precise and obvious. As a friend to the monarchy, he could not acquiesce in the payment of this arrear. It was essential to monarchy that the King should have a revenue for the Civil List independent of Parliament. The King, however, was dependent on Parliament, if he was from time to time obliged to come to it, for the payment of the Civil List debts. Ministers ought not to be suffered to exceed the sum granted, as in so doing they were, in truth, setting their own authority above that of the House.

The hon. gentleman then entered into an examination of several of the charges in the account before the committee, which he commented on, with great severity, as having been incurred without the smallest necessity. Gentlemen had been sent on missions to different courts, where we had already ambassadors, who were capable of doing all that was to be done by those who filled the new appointments. The office of third secretary of state had been revived without reason, and in violation of the law.

One obs rvation of the right hon. gentleman was, he said, of a sound most harsh and dissonant to his ear. It was that for law charges by prosecutions. By those prosecutions, the innocence of the parties had been fully established, and now, after being reduced nearly to beggary, their last penny was to be squeezed from them to pay the expense of their prosecutions.

On the ground, therefore, of all these considerations, it was his opinion that the motion should be rejected, and an address presented to his Majesty, entreating that he would be graciously pleased to confine the expense of the Civil List within 900,000*l.* and to establish such savings as might create a sinking fund, to pay off the debts contracted by the misconduct of ministers.

He was followed by *Mr. Pitt*, who commenced by commenting with the most sarcastic severity, on what had fallen from the

hon. gentleman with respect to the state prosecutions. It was not his intention, Mr. Pitt said, to argue over again the case of the persons alluded to by the hon. gentleman. The judgment of Parliament had already passed on that subject. The conviction of one of those persons, however, ought not to have escaped the recollection of the hon. member and those who sate near him. There was something in the compassion shown for those persons, which was truly whimsical. It was a subject of most pathetic lamentation, that they would feel peculiar weight in the payment of this 900,000*l.*; yet it could not be forgotten that an hon. member (Mr. Sheridan) had repeatedly urged, with great humour, their extreme poverty, as one of the strongest arguments against the probability of their having any treasonable designs.

With respect to the arguments of the hon. gentleman who spoke last, they seemed to be divided into two parts: as to its being inconsistent with the duty of Parliament to pay the debts of the Civil List, and as to the meaning of Mr. Burke's bill. The hon. gentleman had been particularly unfortunate in his proofs, with regard to the first article. He had not shewn a single case in which the debt had not been paid. It was, therefore, not necessary to argue whether Parliament in granting the Civil List for life, had deprived itself of the power of relieving the crown from occasional embarrassments. To the other part of the argument he should answer, that Mr. Burke himself had never opposed what was now considered as a violation of his bill. If the construction now put upon the bill had been its true one, would it not have been urged by the diligent and watchful framer of the bill?

The right hon. gentleman then entered into a defence of the establishment of a third secretary, and the various missions to the Continent; and concluded by a comparison of the revenue of his present Majesy with that of former sovereigns, gave his hearty assent to the motion made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. Tierney then rose, and after complimenting the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the very candid manner in which he had brought forward the subject, declared that it was his misfortune to differ in some degree from the gentlemen who had spoken on both sides. He certainly was not resolved to oppose the motion entirely, but he thought that a strict investigation was necessary. He would therefore propose that the chairman should leave the chair, report progress, and ask leave to sit again; the papers on the table being referred back to the same select committee, with a direction to furnish the House with further information on certain charges. He concluded by moving that the chairman should leave the chair.

Mr. Rose opposed the motion, and *Mr. Tierney* explained. Before the question was put, *Dr. Laurence* rose, and, in a speech of some length, satisfactorily explained the intentions and conduct of Mr. Burke. After some observations from different members, a division took place on *Mr. Tierney's* motion, which was negatived by 228 voices against 46. The original question was then put and carried; there being 51 against, and 226 for it.

The same day the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* gave notice of his intention to move for the repeal of the Income Tax.

On the succeeding day, some conversation took place on the second reading of the resolution relative to the Civil List. Nothing particular, however, occurred, and the resolution was agreed to.

On Wednesday (March 31) the claims of the Prince of Wales to the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall were brought before the House. They gave rise to a long and animated debate. The claims of the Prince were supported by *Mr. Manners Sutton*, *Sir Ralph Milbanke*, *Mr. Erskine*, *Mr. Fox*, *Mr. Sheridan*, *Mr. Tierney*, *Sir Francis Burdett*, and several other speakers. They were opposed by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, *the Master of the Rolls*, *the Attorney General*, *Lord Hawkesbury*, *Lord Temple*, and *Mr. Ellis*. The debate was opened by *Mr. Manners Sutton*, who, in a long and able speech, stated the claims * of the Prince of Wales. Tracing, from the year 1453 nearly down to the present time, every circumstance relative to the claims made upon, and rights exercised over that Dutchy by the different Heirs apparent, he deduced, as an irresistible inference, the justice of His Royal Highness's present application. The question was not, he said, between the Prince and his father, but between the Prince and the public. The sums arising from the revenues of the Dutchy had been paid into the Treasury, and had been applied to the purposes of the Civil List. Should the

* For a full statement of these claims, vide Register, p. 137 and 185.

claim of the Prince be found as he had stated, and he felt confident that it would, he was sure that the House would not entrench itself under legal forms; that it would not compel the Prince to resort to a court of law, for the purpose of establishing a claim, which no candid man could deny, and no honest man would resist. The claim now brought forward was not suggested at the desire of the Prince: it originated in the throne itself. The strongest motive felt by the Prince for bringing it forward, was his wish to stand well with the public. It was his wish to prove that he had not been a burden; that he had not, great as had been the liberality of Parliament, even received all to which he was entitled. Should the Prince's claim be allowed, and a balance found due, it was not his intention to receive a single shilling. The whole would be appropriated to the discharge of his debts. He concluded by moving, "That a Committee should be appointed to inquire what sums of money had been received, and by whom, on account of the revenues of the Dutchy of Cornwall, from the period of the birth of the Prince of Wales till his attaining the age of 21 years, and how the same had been applied; and also of the sums advanced to His Royal Highness to the 27th of June, 1795, inclusive. The motion was seconded by *Sir Ralph Milbanke*.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, in a speech of great length, opposed the motion. With all due deference to the knowledge of his learned friend, it did not, he declared, appear to him, that the right of the Prince was as it had been stated. The greatest legal opinions were adverse to the claim. The honourable gentleman had cited a great number of precedents, which he thought it unnecessary to notice, as he conceived that the honourable gentleman had fallen into a fundamental error, in not considering the subject in a proper point of view, and particularly according to the practice of the last two centuries. The task imposed upon the House by the motion was of an extent that had never been known in it before. It had no authorized precedent. At all events, he thought the step proposed to the House was improper to be taken; for until it was demonstrated that legal redress out of it was unattainable, he should think that the House was going out of its proper course by entering into an investigation of the subject. A petition of right was, he understood, the proper mode of proceeding in such a case. With respect to the assertion of the honourable mover of the question, that, on enquiry, it would appear, that the Prince had a large arrear due to him, the right honourable gentleman entered into an account of the sums received by the Prince of Wales, and expressed his doubts of the correctness of the calculation of arrear which had been made by the hon. mover. To the virtuous intentions of the Heir Apparent he was happy to bear testimony. He concluded by moving that the other orders of the day be now read.

Mr. Sutton explained, and on the question being put, *Mr. Erskine* rose to support the original motion. In a speech of some length, he went over the arguments which had been urged by Mr. Sutton. In reply to the suggestion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a petition of right had, he said, been prepared, but there was a difficulty in bringing it to a determination. It was checked somewhere, and did not go on. No opportunity could be found of having it determined either by the Chancellor or the Judges. He hoped, therefore, the House would proceed with the enquiry. The *Master of the Rolls* replied to Mr. Erskine, and was answered by *Mr. Fox*, who asserted the claims of the Prince of Wales with great force. He would not, Mr. Fox said, assert that every individual who found it impossible to obtain legal redress was to come to Parliament with his case, but the present case was, he thought, a fair subject for the consideration of Parliament. It was between the Prince and the public. For these, and other considerations, therefore, he was decidedly adverse to the motion for going into the order of the day. The *Attorney General*, *Mr. Tierney*, *Mr. Sheridan*, *Sir Francis Burdett*, *Mr. Ellis*, and two or three other members, delivered their sentiments. The arguments used were nearly a repetition of what had been advanced by the preceding speakers. On the division taking place, there appeared for the order of the day 160, against it 103. The House after going through the remaining orders of the day, adjourned.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Hague, March 20.—Many Orange families, who emigrated at the epoch of the revolution of 1795, have solicited permission to return, offering to pay those contributions to which they would have been subjected had they remained in the country.

Semlin, March 1.—We learn from Belgrade, that the Janissaries, having been informed that the Pacha of Silistria intended to make his entry into that city at the head of 9000 men, declared their determination to shut the gates, and defend themselves to the last extremity. They added, however, that they would receive him with all the honours due to his rank, if he presented himself at the head of 300 men only. In consequence of this, the works begun between the Danube and the Save, are continued night and day, with the greatest activity.

Paris, March 25.

MINISTRY OF THE MARINE.

Proclamation by General Leclerc, General in Chief of the Army of St. Domingo.

" *Head-Quarters at the Cape, 28th Pluviôse, (February* 16*)*

" I am come here in the name of the French Government, bearing to you peace and good wishes. I feared to be encountered by obstacles arising from the ambitious views of the chiefs of the colony, and I am not disappointed. They who announced their devotion to France in their proclamations, thought of nothing less than acting as Frenchmen. If they sometimes spoke of France, it was because their plans were not sufficiently matured openly to disavow it.

" Yesterday, their perfidious intentions were unmasked. General Toussaint sent me his children, with a letter, in which he assures me, that there was nothing he so much desired as the prosperity of the colony, and that he was ready to obey all the orders that I should give him. I ordered him to come before me, and gave him my word, that I would employ him as my Lieutenant-General: he did not reply to this order, further than by phrases, which were only designed to gain time. My orders from the French Government are, that I promptly restore prosperity and abundance. If I suffer myself to be amused by crafty and perfidious artifices, the colony will be the theatre of a long civil war.

" I advance into the country, and am about to manifest to this rebel, the force of the French Government. It can be no longer necessary to prove to all good Frenchmen, inhabiting St. Domingo, what an insensible monster he is. I promise liberty to the people of this island—I shall make them rejoice, and I will respect their persons and property.

" I order as follows:—

Art I. That General Toussaint and General Cristophe, are put out of the protection of the law—all Citizens are ordered to pursue them, and to treat them as rebels to the French Republic.

II. From the day on which the French army shall occupy a position, all officers, whether civil or military, who shall obey other orders than those of the Generals of the army which I command, shall be treated as rebels.

III. The cultivators who, seduced into error, and deceived by the perfidious insinuations of the rebel Generals, may have taken arms, shall be considered as children who have strayed, and shall be sent to their plantations, provided they do not seek to excite insurrection.

IV. The soldiers of the Demi-Brigades, who shall abandon the army of Toussaint, shall be received into the French army.

V. The General Augustin Clervaux, who commanded in the department of Cibao, having acknowledged the French Government, and the authority of the Captain-General, is continued in his rank and in his command.

VI. The General, Chief of the Staff, shall print and publish this proclamation.

(Signed) " LECLERC,
" *General of Division, and Chief of the Staff,*
" DUGUA."

The General in Chief, to the Minister of the Marine and the Colonies.

At the Cape, Pluviôse 28 *(Feb.* 17*), Year* 10.

ARMY OF ST. DOMINGO.

" I have to render to you an account of the taking of Santo Domingo, Port Républicain (Port-au-Prince), Port de Paix, and the submission of several districts of the Island.

" General Kervelegan has entered Santo Domingo; I have not the particulars, but I know that he has been received by the Spaniards, with acclamations, and that nothing equals the hatred that is borne in that country to Toussaint and his adherents.

" The General of Division Boudet and the Rear-Admiral arrived on the 15th (Feb. 4th) before Port Républicain (Port-au-Prince). The frigate La Guerrière was detached to carry the proclamation of government. General Boudet sent his Aid-de-Camp with letters to the civil and military officers. This officer was received by General Age in a suitable manner; but the black and Mulatto chiefs soon began to suspect General Age, who is a white. They rose upon him, and demanded that he should detain General Boudet, the ship's boat, and all the sailors that were in it. General Age caused General Boudet to be told that his authority was misunderstood, and requested him not to attempt a debarkation by force, as this would be the signal for the massacre of the whites, and the burning of the town.

" On the 16th (Feb. 5th), about ten in the morning, General Boudet made a landing on the one side of Lamantin, without encountering any obstacle: he immediately proceeded with his advanced guard upon Fort Biroton. The officer who commanded this fort, after having perceived that this column was French, and composed of Republican troops, conjured them to wait the orders of General Dessalines; but in this interval the officers and garrison came to join the French, and Fort Biroton was occupied by our troops.

" Our troops then began their march for Port Républican (Port-au-Prince). They found drawn up before the gate Léogane, near 4000 blacks. The parleys that took place produced no agreement, when these brigands began to cry out that orders had arrived to receive the French army. A battalion advanced, and was received by a shower of balls and bullets. The signal of attack was then given. The 6th forced the gate of Léogane, and gained the middle of the city at the same time with the fugitives. The Adjutant Commander Darbois took Fort St. Joseph, which was guaded by 400 blacks. The National Fort was evacuated: the small Fort of Bolcon was in like manner given up. All the batteries on the coasts had been dismounted by the excellent dispositions made by Admiral Latouche. The Adjutant-Commandant Pamphill Lacroix, the Aides

de-Camp Duchesaé and Ducos, have been slightly wounded. We have had 15 men killed and 80 wounded. The town has suffered no damage. All the magazines, and even the military chest, have fallen into our hands. The blacks have taken with them a number of whites, the Aid-de-Camp of General Boudet, Citizen Sabes, and the sailors of the ship's boat.

"Before the arrival of the squadron, they had massacred their commandant of artillery Lacombe, who was a white.

"I expect that by the 20th (Feb. 9), General Boudet will have taken Léogane and the Croix de Bouquets.

"I have sent General Humbert with two ships to Port de Paix. He was fired upon with cannon. On the 21st (Feb. 10th) the General effected his landing: the blacks evacuated the two forts, after having done all the damage to them they could,

"On the 23d (Feb. 12), General Humbert was three leagues further than Port-de-Paix: in different attacks which he made upon the blacks, he had some men killed and some wounded.

"General Clervaux, who commanded in the department of Cibao, and whose Head-quarters occupy the interesting position of St. Yago, has submitted. General Clervaux is a man of colour. The mediator of this submission is Citizen Manvielle, Bishop of the French part of St. Domingo.

"The brother of Toussaint, who was at St. Yago, and was commandant of the Spanish part, has been driven from it. I have reason to think that General Laplume, who commands in the southern part, will submit, as General Clervaux has done. I have sent a brigade to reinforce General Clervaux, in order to establish the cordon along the Spanish part.

"Seven hundred men of colour, all capable of bearing arms, of those who were driven away by Toussaint, having requested permission to serve in the army, I have sent two frigates to Cuba, to take them on board.

"Several parleys have been had with Toussaint; but this dissimulating and hypocritical man never keeping any promise he made me, and only seeking to gain time to recover from his first alarm, I have only given him four days to surrender in; when that time is elapsed, I have declared him, by the proclamation annexed, an enemy to the French people.

"To-morrow I shall advance with the divisions of Rochambeau, Hardy, and Desfournaux, upon St. Raphael, Dondon, and Plaisance; a division will go by sea to Gonaives.

"I hope that by the beginning of Ventôse I shall have cleared the whole French part. We shall take no repose till all the troops of Toussaint are dispersed. The cultivators are returning in crowds; nothing can equal the courage and order of the army. I have only praises to bestow. The fleet rivals the bravery and activity of the land army.

(Signed) "LECLERC."

Grenier, Homme d'Affaires to Christophe, and Pascal and Allie, Secretaries to Toussaint, have surrendered to the French army.

General Leclerc, in general orders, states, that in consequence of reports which have been made to him, of the ill conduct of some French soldiers to individuals, he had found it necessary to institute a court-martial, to consist of two superior officers, two captains, one lieutenant, and one captain reporter, who are to try and punish such offenders.

Pierre Bertrand Joseph Boucher, serjeant of the 7th company of the 11th half brigade of marine artillery, has been condemned to death for acts of insubordination to Citizen Roch, Captain-commandant of the Artillery of the marine at Cape François. This sentence was put in execution on the 8th of February.

Rear-Admiral Linois mentions, in a letter to Admiral Villaret, his arrival at St. Domingo, the 25th Pluviôse, after a successful voyage of 28 days. He also gives a detailed account of the loss of Le Dessaix and Le Saint Genare.

Admiral Ganthcaume, in a letter to the Minister of Marine, dated at the Cape, 28 Pluviôse, announces his having arrived there with four sail of the line and a frigate, in 53 days from Toulon; and that he had landed 2300 men, of whom only 13 were sick. The Flute Banal sprang a leak on the 11th Jan. in the Mediterranean, and had not been afterwards heard of him. During his passage he encountered much severe weather.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

The Gazette of last Saturday contains his Majesty's Order in Council to prohibit, for two months, from the 7th of April, the exportation of gunpowder, saltpetre, arms, or ammunition: an Order in Council to prohibit, for two months, from the 10th of April, the exportation of the wood called Lignum Vitæ; and likewise an Order to prohibit, from the 12th of April, for the like term of two months, the exportation of copper in sheets, bars, or such other state, as to be easily converted into a naval store.

Tuesday evening the baptism of the infant daughter of the Countess of Chesterfield took place in Stanhope Street. The Sponsers were their Majesties and the Princess Elizabeth. The Prince of Wales, Dukes of York, Cumberland, Kent, and Cambridge, were invited. The ceremony was performed by the Bishop of Norwich. —All the principal apartments in Chesterfield-house were splendidly illuminated. A detachment of the St. George's Corps, of which the Earl of Chesterfield is Commandant, formed a line from the outer gate to the inner hall, through which the Royal Personages passed.

Marquis Cornwallis arrived in London on Thursday. He landed at Dover with his suite on Wednesday afternoon.

Lord Whitworth will not set off for Paris for a month. He will not depart till some time after the exchange of the Ratifications, which cannot take place these three weeks, as the journey to Madrid from Amiens and back to London, will at least occupy that time.

Very magnificent snuff-boxes, inlaid with diamonds, have been prepared as presents to

Otto and Joseph Buonaparté, on the ratification of the definitive treaty.

The following is the House List for the Governors and Directors of the Bank of England for the year ensuing:

FOR GOVERNORS.

JOB MATHEW, Esq. Governor.
JOSEPH NUTT, Esq. Deputy Governor.

FOR DIRECTORS.

Thomas Amyand, Esq.	Ebenezer Maitland, Esq.
Roger Boehm, Esq.	William Mellish, Esq.
Samuel Bosanquet, Esq.	Sir Richard Neave, Bart.
Alexan. Champion, Esq.	Charles Pole, Esq.
Bicknell Coney, Esq.	John Puget, Esq.
Edward Darell, Esq.	Thomas Raikes, Esq.
Peter Free, Esq.	Edward Simeon, Esq.
Nat. Bogle French, Esq.	Henry Smith, Esq.
Jeremiah Harman, Dsq.	Samuel Thornton, Esq.
Thomas Langley, Esq.	Stephen Thornton, Esq.
Thomas Lewis, Esq.	B. Watson, Esq. and Ald.
Beeston Long, Esq.	Benjamin Winthorpe, Esq.

The Election for Governor and Deputy Governor will be held on Tuesday the 6th, and of Directors on Wednesday the 7th instant, from ten in the forenoon till four in the afternoon.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The Definitive Treaty is at last arrived, and sorry we are to say, that it contains nothing to compensate for the delay, which has taken place in the negotiation. From the length of the time spent at Amiens, one might have expected that the Noble Marquis had, agreeably to the hopes held out by ministers, obtained some conditions tending to arrest the fearful progress of France, and to secure His Majesty's dominions, together with the trade and commerce of his subjects, against the effects of that progress; but, for such conditions we have looked in vain through the articles of the treaty, which, by the courtesy of the First Consul, we have been enabled to lay before our readers several weeks sooner than we should otherwise have been called upon to discharge that melancholy duty. In our next we shall endeavour to shew, that, in several points, the stipulations of the Definitive Treaty are even much more disadvantageous to this country than those of the Preliminary Treaty; in the mean time, we cannot help observing briefly—that Malta is, in reality, and with circumstances peculiarly disgraceful to us, surrendered to France.—To the stipulations respecting prisoners of war is now subjoined an obligation, on this country, to reimburse France for the maintenance of the Russian prisoners, taken in Holland, by which she will obtain re-payment for those very expenses, which she employed to inveigle the Emperor Paul into hostility against us—Not a word is said about the Italian Republic, about Louisiana and Florida, or even about the Island of Elba—Not a word about the monstrous French armament in the West-Indies—Not a word about the permission which our merchants applied for, to bring home their property from the colonies, now to be restored—For the payment of the immense sums due to us for prisoners of war, no specific provision is made, no sort of security obtained, no Island of Tobago is, as was held out, given to us as a pledge for this payment, and we may rest assured, that not a livre will ever be paid—No commercial treaty is mentioned, nor have our negotiators obtained a single hint respecting a relaxation of those restrictions, which the malignant and iron-handed Republic has imposed, and is imposing, on all those nations of Europe, who have heretofore afforded the largest markets for our goods.—The "*integrity*," of our ally, the Queen of Portugal, even the sham "*integrity*" for which we stipulated, is basely given up; the French having now obtained, under our sanction and guaranty, that very part of Guiana, from which they were excluded by the treaty of Utrecht, and which no one but an Addington or a Hawkesbury would ever have permitted them to re-possess—The treaty, in its total omission of reference to former treaties, differs from all instruments of this kind heretofore formed, and gives the sanction of England to the revolutionary doctrines, by which the ancient law and usages of nations are abrogated and trodden under foot, and by which the volume of compacts that France has forced from the different powers, is regarded as the only authentic code of public law.

That any ministry should dare to impose a compact like this on the British nation, will appear incredible to those who know nothing of that nation but what they have gathered from the history of past times, and who, of course, have not witnessed the workings of that democratic poison, which has, at last, completely destroyed every sentiment, by which the people of England were formerly proud to be distinguished. This degeneracy extends to all ranks and degrees. There is scarcely a man to be found, who does not treat with contempt those notions of national honour, of patriotism, and of loyalty, which were so dear in the estimation of his ancestors. There

was a time, when Englishmen would have perished to the last soul, rather than acknowledge their country inferior to France. They now not only make this acknowledgment, but make it without reluctance; and, could they be well assured, that Buonaparté would not deprive them of their guineas and their pence, their wine and their beer, their Billingtons and their buffoons, we most sincerely believe, that they would see him invade their country and seize on its government with as much indifference as they see the changes of the moon.

From such a people, a minister has nothing to apprehend, so long as he can persuade them that his measures have a tendency to contribute to the opulence and the pleasures of the rich, and to increase the food and diminish the labour of the poor: so long as he can, by whatever trick, succeed in this deception, so long may he banish from his mind all remembrance of responsibility. The alarm, therefore, that ministers evidently feel on account of the change, which, from the gloomy appearance of London, on the nights of Monday and Tuesday last, appears to have taken place in the public mind, is totally groundless. It is true, indeed, that, in spite of the brilliant example of the public offices, in spite of the application of some hundreds of pounds of the public money to this laudable purpose, the windows of few individuals were lighted, and those few not without very great reluctance. The second night there was hardly a light to be seen at the West end of the town; and, we venture to assert, that, had it not been for the zeal of a band of independent gentlemen, who were poured out from the General Post-Office, and who came roaring along Cheapside, Fleet-Street, and the Strand, there would not, on either night, have been a hundred private houses illuminated in the cities of London and Westminster. Yet, we conjure the Noble Lord, under whose auspices the negotiation has been conducted, not to be depressed by the recollection of these gloomy appearances; for, he may be well-assured, that they were produced, not by any information, which the people had acquired respecting the disgraceful terms of the peace, but merely by their disappointment as to the effects of that peace on the profits of their trade and on the price of provisions. If therefore his Lordship, who, according to the opinion of one of his eulogists, has "an *hereditary disposition to office*," wishes to preserve that office to the end of his days, he has nothing to do but to keep labour at a high price and provisions at a low one. The proceedings at Mark Lane and at the Baker's Company are, now-a-days, of infinitely greater importance than those in St. Stephen's Chapel, or in the Councils and Cabinets of Europe. The quartern loaf is the focus of all our notions of good and evil, political and moral: it is, in fact, become the palladium of our country, and it ought, in the opinions of many persons, to have been inserted in lieu of those lillies, which, in the language of the Poet Laureat, we "*indignantly* tore from our shield." Bread is, and has been in all ages of the world, considered as the staff of life; how much more proper, then, would it be to hoist as a trophy, a fine, round, well-baked, quartern loaf, than a mere weed, which, besides its negative demerits, is well known to be the mortal enemy of that plant, from which our nutritive palladium derives its existence!

On Monday evening, Mr. Addington notified his intention of repealing the *Income Tax*; nothing could be more acceptable than this notification, and nothing could be *better timed*. The minister, to borrow a phrase from Philanglus, seized the *golden* opportunity. The opinion of the people was vibrating between peace and war, when this lumping argument was so seasonably thrown into the scale. It was, however, well done. We give the minister credit for it. To compare small things to great, neither Dr. Graham nor Katerfelto ever discovered a more profound knowledge of the human heart.

The loan, which is to be for 25,000,000*l.* is to be bidden for on Monday next. It is proposed to be contracted in the 3 per cent. consols, the 3 per cent. reduced, and a deferred 3 per cent. consols, the payment of which is to commence in 1808. For each 100*l.* of loan, 65*l.* is to be of consols, 60*l.* of reduced 3 per cents. and the bidding to be in the deferred 3 per cents.; the contract to be made good at nine instalments; the deposit of 10 per cent. on the 14th of April; the discount 4 per cent. The Chancellor of the Exchequer proposes to consolidate the old and the new sinking fund of 1 per cent. and that they should be made applicable, at compound interest, to the payment of the whole national debt, without the limitation of the former at 4,000,000*l.* in interest, as it now stands.—Mr. Addington reserved the power of issuing Exchequer Bills not exceeding 5,000,000*l.* should it be necessary. A loan of 1 or 2 millions is to be negotiated

for Ireland. New taxes are to be laid on, to the amountt of about 6,000,000*l*. With respect to these fiscal arrangements, all that can be said at present is, that the nation will only deceive itself, if it entertains any hope of a speedy reduction of expense. The far greater part of the war establishment must be kept up for a long time; the fleet cannot be withdrawn from the West Indies, while the French fleet remains there; and that it will remain there for years, it is very reasonable to suppose.

The last intelligence from St. Domingo, as will be seen by a reference to the dispatches, still leaves the conduct of Toussaint very doubtful. He was, in four days time, to be declared a rebel, unless he previously submitted. Le Clerc seemed to regard his hostility as certain; but if the Black General had resolved to resist, the sending of his children back to Le Clerc with a letter, acknowledging obedience to his commands, is a step not to be accounted for upon any of those principles and motives by which men, under similar circumstances, are usually actuated. It appears, from the Paris papers of the 28th instant, that some intelligence of a later date than that of the dispatches had been received from St. Domingo.—These articles, on which, however, much reliance ought not to be placed, state, that the Black commanders had, one after another, come over to Le Clerc, and that Toussaint himself had offered to treat with him, but that Le Clerc had refused to negociate with a rebel, and that, on the 19th of February, he had attacked the army of Toussaint, completely defeated him, and made himself master of his camp. If this news should prove true, we shall be greatly disappointed, being always fully persuaded, that Toussaint having no hopes of being able to resist the French army, would endeavour to obtain some high situation for himself, or, failing in that, would escape to the United States of America. The ministerial writers (some of whom by the by, appear to be Africans) indulge the most confident expectations of seeing the French army in St. Domingo totally annihilated, either by the climate or the insurgents. In *wishes* we most sincerely coincide with these writers, but our *expectations* are not so sanguine as theirs. They appear to have formed their opinion upon information derived from persons engaged in our expeditions to the island of St. Domingo, without reflecting, that the French Generals are not bound to act precisely as our Generals acted. The operations of Le Clerc already furnish a tolerable commentary on those of General Maitland; and we greatly fear, that the result of his first campaign will present us with a contrast, which we shall contemplate with shame and indignation.

Much dependance is placed upon the difficulty which the French will find in supporting their fleet and army in the West Indies; and it is hoped, by his Majesty's ministers, that this difficulty will soon increase to a degree that will compel the fleet, at least, to return to Europe, and relieve us from the danger to be apprehended from it, and from the enormous expense of keeping up a powerful fleet to watch its movements. We must confess, that this supposition is not destitute of plausibility. It is pretty well ascertained, that the military chest of the armament contained, at most, only *sixteen* or *eighteen thousand pounds* sterling, a sum scarcely sufficient to defray the expenses of a single day. As to the pecuniary allowances to the officers and men, no immediate demand will, indeed, be made on that account. Of clothing, arms, and ammunition, it is to be presumed a supply sufficient for a year, at least, has been taken out. But, of provisions, there was not much more shipped from France than was consumed during the voyage; and, we have it from good authority, that a *short allowance* was counted upon in victualling the ships.—Indian corn and bannanas are no food for French troops; and though cattle are to be found in that part of the island which formerly belonged to Spain, the difficulty of bringing them to the scene of action is too great to leave any hope of obtaining a supply from that quarter; therefore, as no considerable stores of provisions have been found in the towns taken possession of by the French troops, it is not only improbable, but absolutely impossible, that either fleet or army should long be supported without supplies from the United States, which supplies are not to be obtained without money. The produce of the island would, indeed, do much; but, it is to be presumed, that there was no great quantity on hand; a part, at least, of what there was on hand, has now been destroyed; another crop, therefore, must come, before provisions can be purchased with prudence. That the Americans should take *bills on France* is very improbable indeed, after the sort of payment which they have lately received from their sister Republic, whose credit has, astonishing as it may seem, derived no advan-

tage whatever from the reputation of Buonaparté, though strengthened by that of the honest Citizen Talleyrand. But, though the French are themselves poor (both in purse and in credit) they are strong in friends. The Spaniards have, at La Vera Cruz and the Havannah, no less than *seventeen millions of dollars*, which only waited for peace to open a safe passage for them to Europe. People less delicate than the French, would, in such an emergency, go at once and lay violent hands on those dollaas; but Le Clerc and Villaret will do no such thing; they will only *borrow* them for a while, giving *bors*, to the full amount, with interest, on the *Banque Nationale de Paris*; an arrangement which will be very convenient to the Spaniards, as it will completely guard against all the risk that their treasure would run by being conveyed from the West-Indies to Spain. It is to be observed, too, that there is a Spanish as well as a French fleet employed in the St. Domingo expedition. The money necessary for the support of the former Spain must furnish as a matter of course; and, when the French have once got their hand into her purse, let her get it out again if she can. It will be, in fact, a *forced loan*, which, from some expressions in the former dispatches of Villaret, we suspect will be negotiated by Admiral Gravina, who, it appears, had already been dispatched to the Havannah, while, on the other hand, a frigate had been sent to the United States to bargain for a supply of provisions.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

St. James's, March 24, 1802.

His Majesty having been pleased to appoint the Right Honourable George Earl of Essex, to be Lord Lieutenant of the County of Hereford, his Lordship this day took the Oaths appointed to be taken thereupon, instead of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy.

War-Office, March 24, 1802.

His Majesty has been pleased to appoint General His Royal Highness Edward Duke of Kent, K. G. to be Governor of Gibraltar, vice General Charles O'Hara, deceased.

Downing-Street, March 27, 1802.

The King has been pleased to appoint Sir James Craufurd, Bart. to be His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Denmark.

The King has also been pleased to appoint Francis Hill, Esq. to be His Majesty's Secretary of Legation to the same Court.

The King has also been pleased to appoint Charles Fenwick, Esq. to be his Majesty's Consul at Elsineur.

The King has also been pleased to approve of Andrew Caspar Giese, Esq. to be His Prussian Majesty's Vice-Consul at the Port of London.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

Births,—On Thursday, 25th inst. the Lady of John Angerstein, M. P. of a daughter, at his house in Great Cumberland Place. On Friday last, at Escot, in Devonshire, the Lady of Sir John Kennaway, Bart. of a son.

Marriages.—Thursday, at St. Martin's Church, Colonel Francis Moore, to Mrs. Pulling, widow of the late Captain Pulling of the Royal Navy, and daughter of Admiral Sir Robert Kingsmill, Bart.

Deaths.—Last Sunday evening, at the Earl of Sefton's, Hill-street, the only son of the Hon. Henry Fitzroy Stanhope.

PRICE OF STOCKS.

ENGLISH three per cent. consols.

Saturday	69⅝ ⅜ ⅝	Wednesday	70⅝ 1⅜ ⅝⅜
Monday	69¾ ⅜ ½	Thursday	70¼ ⅛ ¼ ½
Tuesday	69¾ 70¼ ½ ⅜ ¼	Friday	71¼ ⅛ 1⅛ ⅜

AMERICAN STOCKS.—Eight pr. c. 113¼.

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 57 f.

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s.	s.		s.	s.
Eng. Wheat per q.	60	to 75	Hops per cwt.	84	to 146
Foreign	40	75	Hay per load	40	92
Rye	36	40	Beef, per stone, 5s. 0d. to		
Barley	34	38	6s. 6d.		
Malt	40	50	Mutton	6s. 0d.	to 7s. 0d.
Oats	16	22	Veal	6s. 0d.	to 7s. 0d.
Pease	35	42	Pork	5s. 4d.	to 6s. 8d.
Beans	30	45	Tallow	4s. 1d.	
Flour per sack	55	60	Average of sugar		
Seconds	45	50	per cwt.	37s. 5d½.	
Coals per chal.	32	40	Bread, 11¼d. the quart. loaf.		

Observations on the Weather, near Guildford, in Surrey, for the Month of March, 1802.

Days.	Moon's Age.	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barometer. Inches. M.	Barometer. Inches. A.	Thermometer. Degrees. M.	Thermometer. Degrees. A.
25	D	Fine.	NW	NW	30,2	30,23	49½	60
26		Misty. Fi.	NW	NW	30,3	30,3	49	59
27		Fine.	SW	SW	30,31	30,3	50	62
28		Fine.	W	W	30,1	30	51	58
29		Sh.H.&S.	NW	NW	29,88	29,83	43	44
30		Fine.	NE	NE	30,15	30,2	44	46
31		Lit.Fr.Fi.	NE	NE	30,3	30,25	41	49

● *New Moon.* ☾ *1st Quar.* ○ *F. Moon.* D *Last Quar.*

LONDON,

LONDON, April 3 to April 10, 1802.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY,

His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

My Lord,

WHEN, about six months ago, I took the liberty to address to your lordship a series of Letters on the Preliminary Articles of Peace with France, I was not without some hope, that the fatal effects, which were to be expected from the stipulations therein contained, would be done away, or, at least, somewhat qualified, by the provisions of the definitive treaty. These hopes are, however, now completely, and for ever, frustrated: the final seal is put to the doom of our country; her ruin and infamy are irrevocably decreed, and the short term of her political existence will resemble the anxious and awful moments that intervene between the condemnation of a criminal and his exit from the ignominious tree.

As far as the definitive treaty is *conformable to the letter and the spirit of the preliminaries*, I have nothing to add to what I have heretofore advanced; and, certainly, I have not a word to retract. Hitherto events have confirmed, and even outstripped, my apprehensions; nor, is there any reason to hope, that any part or portion, however small, of all the evils, anticipated in the letters to your lordship and your right worthy coadjutor, will not in due time and order, fall upon the head of our country. It remains for me, my lord, now to point out, in what instances, and to what extent, the stipulations of the definitive treaty are more injurious than those of the preliminaries. This discussion naturally divides itself thus: 1. Malta; 2. the Island of Elba; 3. the Italian Republic; 4. Portuguese Guiana; 5. Louisiana; 6. the French fleet in the West-Indies. With respect to all these points, the definitive treaty contains, either positively or tacitly, a departure from the preliminary articles, extremely injurious and disgraceful to England. Under the 7th head, it will be proper to consider the omissions with regard to commerce; and, 8, the more dangerous omission of a renewal of former treaties.

1. Respecting *Malta*, the words of the preliminary articles were:—"The Island "of Malta, with its dependencies, shall be "evacuated by the troops of his Britannic "Majesty, and restored to the Order of "St. John of Jerusalem. For the purpose "of rendering this Island completely inde- "pendent of either of the two contracting "parties, it shall be placed under the pro- "tection and guarantee of a third power, "to be agreed upon in the definitive "treaty."—In a definitive treaty, formed upon this basis, there was nothing to be done but to re-assemble the Knights of the Order, give up to them the rights and revenues they formerly enjoyed, and to place the independence of the state under the protection of a third power, whose situation, resources, disposition, and character, would have given solidity to that independence; a power, in short, who would, if necessary, have been able to protect the Island of Malta, by force of arms, against an attack, made by either of the contracting parties. *Where* such a power was to be found upon the face of this terrestrial globe, is a question which the nation ought not to permit your lordship to ask. Your preliminaries obviously and necessarily suppose the existence of such a power; and, if no such power did exist, the fact proves your lordship to possess no small share of duplicity, or a most abundant lack of diplomatic information. But, to whatever quality we are to ascribe the clause of the preliminaries, here referred to, it is certain, that the public expected from it an efficient and durable guarantee of the independence of Malta; how the definitive treaty has fulfilled this expectation, I will now, with your lordship's leave, endeavour to explain.

In restoring the Island of Malta to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, your lordship has, as a preliminary step, agreed with France to destroy the Order itself. Having made this hopeful beginning, you next confide the temporary protection of this aristo-demo-jacobinical state to the King of Naples; that is to say, to a prince, who is the mere vassal of Buonaparté, and who is under the absolute necessity of surrendering it up at the first summons of his master. The guarantees (for, like legion, they are many) are six powers, the first of whom is the only power on earth, by whom the independence

of the Island is threatened, and against whose attacks we wish to see it defended. Four of the others have no naval force, or are situated at an immense distance from the object guaranteed; and the sixth is in a state of abject submission to our enemy, who has not only an absolute controul over her councils, but who is in actual possession of her arsenals, her fleets, and her armies.

The independence of a state is founded, first, on the armed force, which defends it from attacks, or, secondly, on the engagements, and consequent interposition, of other states, by which attacks are prevented. Now, my lord, can any man, with the smallest pretensions to sincerity; can your lordship, for instance, assert, that the independence of Malta is safe in the hands of a Neapolitan garrison, while the French Consul is also president of the Italian Republic; while a French army is constantly in the heart of Italy, and while Piedmont is united to France? At whatever hour Buonaparté, or his successor, wishes to snatch Malta from his Sicilian Majesty, he has only to send a messenger to whisper in his ear this terrible alternative: *Malta or Naples!* There is no doubt as to the answer. It is for this reason, that the Consul, who is well aware of the impossibility of really establishing a Maltese Republic, upon principles so discordant, and means of support so inadequate as those he has proposed, and who has it in his power to retard the organization of the new government 'till he is ready for the seisure, has so carefully provided a Neapolitan garrison to take the temporary guardianship of this formidable island.

Since, my lord, it was so clearly foreseen that the final arrangement, by which the independence of Malta was to be secured, could be made in the course of only one year, why was not the island, for this year, left to the guardianship of England herself? Of poor old England, who had given proofs of her weakness, or, as your lordship would call it, of her *moderation*, quite enough to banish suspicion from the mind even of those, with whom it has long been a crime "*d'être soupçonner d'être suspect?*" By an arrangement of this sort we might have watched over the proceedings in the island; we might have observed the effects of that novel political edifice, ascertained the real state of the new military defence, the extent of the trade and revenue, and might have lent a timely hand to whatever stood in need of our assistance. Instead of this, my lord, it is our mortal enemy whose influence will direct every thing; it is that enemy who will hasten, or retard, at his pleasure, the completion of the scheme, which the Consul has conceived, and on which you have the credulity to rely, for securing the independence of Malta; and, in his management of this important matter, be you well assured, my lord, that he will neglect nothing that may contribute towards the frustrating of those hopes, which the silly admirers of the peace have conceived from this transaction. In short, when the British fleet leaves Malta, it will leave it for good and all; never will our flag, though stripped of its lillies, again be seen flying in the harbour of Valetta; and this island, the most valuable of all our conquests, the most congenial to the nature of our warlike force, the best calculated to preserve our due weight and influence in the Mediterranean, to watch the movements of our enemy, to enable us to protect our principal allies, Austria and Turkey, and to seize some future opportunity for driving the French from their Italian conquests; this island, my lord, which thus gave us strength and security for the present, and hope for the future, we have, by your instrumentality, now irretrievably lost; for, the singular combination of circumstances, which put Malta into our hands, will never again exist. Three months from this day we shall retain of that famous victory, which has filled the world with admiration, nothing but the heart-rending proof of its total inutility.

In supposing, that the contemplated final arrangement, as to the internal affairs of Malta, should take place, I would first ask, who gave your lordship and your colleague the right to form a constitution (for your provisions are nothing short of that), who qualified you and who gave you power, to make "statutes," fundamental and irrevocable statutes, for the organization and government of a state, which you, at the very same time, declare to be *independant*, and which has, indeed, long been regarded and recognized as such by all the states and sovereigns of Europe? To do your lordship justice, I own that I think you did it with reluctance. The scheme was Buonaparté's; the deed was his; fear led you to give your countenance to the measure; nor, can I for my life contemplate you in the act of signing these "statutes" without thinking of the poor cat, whose paw the baboon employed to rake the chesnuts from the fire. But, whatever might be the cause of this conduct on your lordship's part, the effect is by no means

doubtful. By lending the name of England to this flagrant violation of the first great principle of public law; by making her give so unequivocal a sanction to the insolent, the unbearable assumption of a right to alter the governments of independant states, you have fully and formally confirmed that doctrine, which the Republicans of France invented for the purpose of invading the liberties of mankind, and for the still more nefarious purpose of destroying the principles of morality and religion. In defending the late war, your lordship has a hundred times referred to the decree of the 19th November, 1792; but that decree, insolent as it was, was not so insolent as that part of the definitive treaty, which relates to the forming of "statutes" for Malta. That decree very kindly informed the people of every state, that, if they wished to change their form of government, France was ready to assist them. But, with respect to Malta, no questions are asked; a new government is imposed, without the least reference to the wishes of either the governing or the governed. And thus has Great-Britain ended a war, which she began for the purpose of resisting this audacious and disorganizing doctrine, not only by acceding to that doctrine, but by acting on it to an extent far beyond that, in which it was attempted to be enforced against herself! But, as I observed before, I am far from attributing this part of the stipulations to the *will* of your lordship. I am, on the contrary, fully persuaded, that you consented to them with grief, and that nothing but an irresistible desire to continue to serve your Royal Master and your country, could have induced you to abandon principles, of which you had been so strenuous an advocate, and to humble your noble self in the dust at the feet of a man, whom, as the newspapers tell us, you had, but a few months before, contemptuously denominated a "*Corsican adventurer.*"

If, however, this constitution-making stipulation be found to afford us any ground of *security*; if we have drawn but the most feeble ray of hope from the pigeon-holes of the Abbé Sieyes, I am, my lord, well aware, that the means by which we have obtained it, will not, in the eyes of ninety-nine hundredths of the nation, work the least diminution in its value. But, as it has happened in every other instance, the stipulation has been imposed by our enemy, by our conqueror, and solely for his own convenience and advantage. It first admits persons not of noble birth into the Order, and then it gives to these persons *one-half* of the places of emolument and power. The other half will, in a very short time, fall into the same hands. In fact, this is neither more nor less than another of those revolutions, which France has been effecting in all the little states, which have fallen under her grasp. The democratic part of the Order will never be at rest 'till it has annihilated the aristocratic part; and, in the struggles that will previously take place, France will act as she has acted at Genoa, and at Berne. She will take care to supply the Maltese with good engineers, and the Maltese will show their gratitude by giving her their barren island, in exchange for which they may, probably, receive some of those fruitful lands of France, which, in any other times than these, would still be called the property of the French knights, who, by this treaty, are excluded from the Order. France will not only be disposed to interfere in the internal disputes of the Order, but, as one of the guaranteeing powers, she will have a right so to do. In fact, it will be her duty, and a duty which she will most punctually and most cheerfully discharge. She is the first, nay, she is the only *real* guaranteeing power; the other names were inserted in the clause merely to disguise our shame, a device, however, which will impose upon nobody but the people of this country; the rest of the world see through all our miserable attempts to support the appearance of dignity and spirit, and they now view us with that malignant delight, which is always enjoyed by the mean and the base, when they contemplate the fall of their superiors.

2. The definitive treaty tacitly acknowledges, that the sovereignty of the *Island of Elba* belongs to France. This is another departure from the preliminary articles. By the treaty of Luneville this island was ceded by the Emperor to the infant Duke of Parma, now, by the grace of Buonaparté, King of Etruria. By a subsequent treaty with Spain, France transferred the island from the Duke of Parma to herself.* This last-mentioned treaty she keeps a secret 'till she has, by a preliminary treaty with us, stipulated for our evacuation of the island. When your lordship made this stipulation, you certainly thought you were

* For the several instruments here referred to, Vide Register, p. 216.

surrendering the Island of Elba into the hands of the King of Etruria; but, by the treaty between France and Spain, published since the preliminaries were formed, we find, that you were, in fact surrendering it to France. It was your duty, then, when you came to negociate the definitive treaty, to provide for an adherence to the preliminaries, in this respect; instead of which you have passed the matter over in total silence, and have added another important maritime post to the already monstrous dominion of France. Before our country had the benefit of your lordship's diplomatick talents, she was in possession of a chain of naval stations, which might for ever have insured to her the command of the Mediterranean. Gibraltar, Mahon, Porto Ferrajo, and Malta, were all ours; the first, thanks to the moderation of Buonaparté, still remains to us; but all the rest are gone to encrease the power of our enemy. France, with these stations in her hands, has Turkey at her feet, she holds Italy by a double chain, and she has it in her power to seize on Egypt by force, if, indeed, force should be necessary while Turkey is in a situation to refuse her nothing. We are as effectually banished from the Mediterranean (and with circumstances as disgraceful) as a Botany-Bay convict is banished from England. Our sentence is *for life* too: there is no return for us: when our fleet takes its departure, it may borrow the motto from the gate of Dante's infernal regions:—"Hope, weary of our company, abandons us to the wailings of despair." France, on the contrary, will become the sole, the undisputed mistress of the sea, its islands, and its shores. Like the overgrown Laviathan, described by a late writer (whose wise councils, if listened to, would have saved us from our present disgrace and future ruin) she will roll and plunge and sport from one end of that immense space to the other. There will be no bounds to her ambition, no check to her encroachments; and, though the route to India is long and difficult, she will find her way thither, or she will spill the last drop of her blood in the attempt.

3. To the new modelling of the *Italian Republic*, too, the definitive treaty tacitly gives the approbation of this country. The great danger to be apprehended from the daring act of encroachment here referred to, has already been clearly pointed out.* Indeed, the nation, insensible to every thing else, seems to have been seriously alarmed on this subject. Yet, not a word is said, in the definitive treaty, to quiet their apprehensions; and the only answer they receive to their remonstrances, is, that, it is a continental concern; and, that, since the powers of the continent have not thought proper to interfere, Great Britain may surely be excused, if she has followed their example. But, my lord, who knows what share the Cabinet of Great Britain may have had in producing this apathy in the continental powers? Were we to form any judgment from the sudden change which took place in the language of Russia, immediately after the arrival of Lord St. Helens in that country, we should think it very fair to presume, that the answers of Russia and Austria respecting the Italian Republic, were strongly recommended by the statesmen of Downing-street. In fact, it is evident, that those powers were well assured that Great Britain was resolved not to second any remonstrance, that they might make on the subject; and, therefore, to urge the silence of the continental powers as a justification of our own, is another of those pitiful subterfuges, by which we are in vain endeavouring to eke out the miserable remnant of our reputation. As an auxiliary in this enterprize, the advocates for the peace have called forth all the old exploded cant against continental connections, a cant that never was listened to but in times of disgrace. How shockingly inconsistent, how bold in baseness, must those persons be, who, after having approved of subsidy on subsidy to the Emperor, to Prussia, to Sardinia, and to the Swiss Cantons, can now stand up and protest against continental connections! Can now pretend, that the safety and prosperity of England have no dependance on the affairs of the rest of Europe, and are to be found in herself alone! Nay, these persons, after having, for years, boasted of our colonial conquests, have now discovered that colonies, too, may be dispensed with. They seem to regard this country as endued with the joint qualities of the spider and the bear; like the former to draw the means of her defence from her own entrails, and like the latter to suck her nourishment from her paws.

But, my lord, from you, above all men living, I never should have expected to hear sentiments like these; you, who came into political life with a contrary doctrine in your lips, and whose first squall, if I may so express myself, was a defence, and a masterly

* See Register, p. 111 and 124.

defence, of continental connections. Well do I remember your speech on that occasion; that speech which the nation heard with such delight, which shone with such lustre as to extinguish the rays of a juvenile contemporary, and which finally drove the unhappy man to vent his melancholy in numbers. In that speech, my lord, you insisted, that Great-Britain could not long maintain her independence without continental connections: that such connections were the only security for herself, or for the other powers of Europe, against the ambition and the power of France; and that, to give up the balance of power, was to lay the foundation of the ruin and subjugation of this country. Subscribing, as I do, to this doctrine, in its fullest extent, I am extremely anxious to see how your lordship will defend a treaty, which has completely excluded us from any, even the most trifling interference in the concerns of the continent; which has tacitly declared us unauthorized to speak or to think on those concerns, and which has left a great part of the nations of that continent under the absolute controul of our inveterate enemy, with no other power of action than that which is directed against ourselves.

In a future letter, my lord, I shall take the liberty to address to you some remarks on the points that remain to be examined, and, in the mean time,

I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble and most obedient Servant,

Wm. Cobbett.

Pall Mall, April 6, 1802.

PUBLIC PAPER.

Separate Convention between France and the Batavian Republic, explanatory of the 18th Article of the Definitive Treaty between France, Spain, and Holland, on the one part, and Great-Britain on the other part.

"The undersigned Plenipotentiary of the French Republic declares, conformably to existing stipulations between the French and Batavian Republics, and in virtue of special instructions with which he is furnished to that effect on the part of his government, that it is understood that the indemnity stipulated in favour of the House of Nassau in the 18th article of the present Treaty, shall not upon any account, or in any manner, be at the charge of the Batavian republic; the French Government being guaranteed to this effect towards the said Republic.

"The undersigned Plenipotentiary of the Batavian Republic, in the name of his government, accepts the above declaration, as explanatory of the aforesaid 18th article of the Definitive Treaty, signed this day by the Plenipotentiaries of the four contracting powers.

"The present act shall be presented at the ratification of the two respective governments, and the ratifications exchanged in due form.

"Done at Amiens, March 27.

(Signed) "*J. Buonaparté,*

"*R. J. Schimmelpenninck.*"

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

In the House of Lords, on Thursday (April 1), after the various bills before the House had been forwarded in their respective stages, *Lord Holland* rose to call the attention of their Lordships to the various petitions on the table, from persons confined for debt in the different parts of the kingdom. Declaring his own incompetency to suggest any mode for the relief of the petitioners, he owned that he felt less anxiety on the subject, as a noble friend, then in his place, had given notice of his intention to produce a bill for the amelioration of some part of the debtor laws. He would, therefore, confine himself to asking when the Noble Lord proposed to bring forward his bill. He was answered by the *Earl of Moira*, who, thanking his noble friend for having asked the question regularly in the House, adverted to the number of petitions then on the table. Many of these he had, he said, himself presented, conceiving it to be the duty of every Peer to present such petitions as were entrusted to him, even though he were adverse to the prayer of them. With respect to the bill he meant to propose, it was not on the ground of mere loose humanity that it went, but of solid justice to both parties. From the indisposition of two Noble Lords in the highest legal capacities, on whom he had relied for considerable information and assistance, it would not, he feared, be in his power to bring the bill forward before the Easter recess.

Some conversation took place on Tuesday, in consequence of the motion of *Lord Holland*, for an account of the gross amount of

the 4½ per cent. revenues, from the 1st of January, 1785, to the 1st of January, 1801. The motion was agreed to. On the same day, *Lord Hobart* moved the thanks of the House to the army and navy, and the militia, which were unanimously voted.

On Thursday, April 8, *Lord Grenville* stated, that it would be matter of convenience to many noble Lords, as the House was now about to adjourn for the Easter recess, to be informed when it was probable the Definitive Treaty would be laid before the House, and what interval would probably elapse between that communication and the day to be appointed for taking it into consideration.—*Lord Pelham* having answered, that the ratifications would probably not be exchanged soon enough to allow of laying the Treaty before the House sooner than the Monday after the Easter week; but not having given any distinct answer as to the time when any motion would be to be made upon it:—*Lord Grenville* said, that the reason of his putting this question was in order that he might have the opportunity of bringing under the notice of the noble Lords in general, and of the House, a circumstance which appeared to him to call for a much longer interval in the consideration of the present Treaty, than had usually been given to similar transactions. In almost all the treaties of Peace with which he was acquainted, the practice had been to renew all the former treaties which had been abrogated by the War. The only points, therefore, which were in such cases to be examined, were those which were expressly contained in the articles of the new Treaty, every thing not there distinctly spoken of being, by the renewal of the former treaties, replaced in the state in which it stood before the War. But in the present case, the Treaty of Amiens (if the copies he had seen of it were accurate) contained no such renewal: and it would therefore be matter of very extensive enquiry to examine what British interests were affected, and how far they were affected, by our having suffered all the former treaties between this country and France, Spain, and Holland, to be utterly abrogated and annulled. He believed that no man at all acquainted with those subjects would undertake without much examination to pronounce what might or might not be the effects of so novel a circumstance. That those effects must be extensive and important no man could doubt, either from a general view of the subject, or from a consideration of one or two points on which he would slightly touch. It was beyond all doubt, that, by not renewing any former treaties with Spain, we had now completely abandoned and surrendered the right, which we had exercised for the last two centuries, of cutting logwood and mahogany in the bay of Honduras. He would not dwell on the importance of this cession to the interests of our manufactures, to the various branches that depended on the reputation of dying woods or of mahogany. This was not the time to argue whether this cession is right or wrong, but the fact is unquestionable that this sacrifice has been made by the Definitive Treaty; another sacrifice still more important had been made by our having neglected to renew, either expressly, or even by implication, the convention concluded with France in 1787 respecting the East-Indies. By that sacrifice we had unreciprocally renounced all those restrictions by which France had, during the last Peace, consented to limit her intercourse and commerce with our East-India settlements, and *Lord Grenville* had no hesitation in saying, that by this renunciation, the security and existence of all our East-Indian Governments was shaken to the centre. These and other points of this nature would require much serious examination. He had no doubt that, when the Treaty was laid before the House, the King would be advised to direct that it should be accompanied by such documents as would be necessary to the House in reference of these points, and also of those which related to the various changes which had taken place in the state of foreign affairs, and in the relative situation of this country and France, between the signature of the Preliminaries and the conclusion of the Definitive Treaty. Whether those documents would be sufficient for the purpose he could not now anticipate, but he trusted that, as there would certainly be no public interest, so there would be no wish in Government to hurry the House to a decision on the subject, before their Lordships had the opportunity of examining the documents laid before them, and of suggesting any other points of information which might appear to them to be essential for forming an accurate judgment on the subject. There was one paper which he would mention to the House, and which, if there was no objection to it, he would now move, because the preparing it might require some time, but if objected to, he would not press it then, because he was anxious not to do any thing that could inter-

fere with the regular course which was proposed from the business, this paper would be an account of dying woods and mahogany imported from the bay of Honduras into this kingdom, or any of its colonies, between 1787 and the year 1801. *Lord Pelham* objecting to this motion, it was not pressed by *Lord Grenville*. *Lord Pelham*, in the course of his reply, stated, that, when the treaty came regularly before their Lordships, any papers relative thereto might be moved for and obtained; and his Lordship expressly stated, that the discussion of the Treaty would not be hurried through the House.

In the House of Commons, no business of importance was discussed on Thursday.—The Treating Bill was read a second time, some accounts were brought up, and notices were given by the *Solicitor-General* and the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* of motions for leave to bring in certain bills.

On Friday, *Mr. Robson* moved that there should be laid before the House, an account of all sums of money paid by Government to the Bank of England for interest on loans since the Bank ceased to make payments in gold, in February, 1797. This motion was supported by *Mr. Jones*, *Mr. Nicholls*, and *Mr. Courtenay*, and opposed by *Mr. Manning*, *Mr. Grey*, *Mr. Fuller*, *Mr. Vansittart*, and the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*. The previous question was moved by the latter and carried.

Mr. Canning then rose, for the purpose of making his promised motion on the subject of the Island of Trinidad. This motion, he stated, was only preliminary to another, of which he had also given notice, respecting the cultivation of that island, and he would not disguise, that his attention was directed to the question relative to the slave trade, though he did not then mean to discuss that question. He had never heard any one maintain, that if the slave trade did not now exist, it ought to be commenced. The House had voted for the gradual abolition of the slave trade, but it must be allowed that if the whole island of Trinidad were to be brought into a state of cultivation, it could not contribute to that abolition. The right honourable gentleman then entered into a calculation of the number of acres contained in the island of Trinidad, and the number of negroes which would be required to work them. By confining his motion to Trinidad, he should, her urged, get rid of an objection most frequently made by those who opposed the abolition of the slave trade; that the abolition was injurious to the vested interest of the West India proprietors. He concluded by moving, "That an humble address should be presented to his Majesty, praying that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to give directions that there should be laid before the House, copies or abstracts of all letters and information received from the governor or commander in chief of the island of Trinidad, since the period of its capture, relative to the state of the cultivation of the island, and an account of the different classes of inhabitants, and likewise of any allotments of lands made since the capture; also copies of all orders sent to the governor of the said island relative to the settlement of the same, and also an account of the lands resumed, with the reasons of such resumption."

After a few words from the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, assenting to the motion, but expressing his fears that it would not be possible to procure all the information desired by the right honourable Gentleman, the motion was on the point of being put, when *General Gascoyne* rose, to notice some observations of the right honourable mover. The right honourable gentleman had, he said, affirmed, that were the slave trade not in existence, there was no person who would venture to recommend its establishment. This he denied. Knowing, as he did, the advantages produced to this country by the slave trade, and feeling his duty as a member of parliament, he would say, that, if the slave trade had never existed, it ought immediately to be commenced. Were this country even to restrict the cultivation of land in the West Indies, it would not answer the purpose hoped from it by the right honourable gentleman. This gave rise to some little debate between the honourable member, *Mr. Wilberforce* and *Sir William Young*. The motion was then put and carried.

The House then, on the motion of the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, resolved itself into a committee of supply, in which various sums were voted, under the head of miscellaneous services. The various orders of the day were then gone through, and the House adjourned.

On Monday (April 5), the budget was opened by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*. After promising that he should not take up the time of the committee by any preliminary reflections, the right honourable gentleman proceeded to remind it of the supplies already voted. They were as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
NAVY.			
Exclusive of ordnance for sea service	7,770,896	0	0
ARMY.			
Great-Britain 6,188,204 0 0 / Ireland 1,520,130 10 5	7,708,334	10	5
ORDNANCE.			
Great-Britain 829,166 0 0 / Ireland 125,000 0 0	954,166	0	0
MISCELLANEOUS.			
Great-Britain 260,482 0 0 / Ireland 163,207 15 9½	423,689	15	9½
Reduction of the national debt	200,000	0	0
Corn bounties	1,622,018	0	0
Deficiencies of malt duty, 1800	400,000	0	0
Interest on exchequer bills, discount on loan, &c. as per disposition paper	1,137,073	0	0
To pay off exchequer bills in possession of the bank	5,000,000	0	0
Deficiency of 1,200,000*l.* voted for the service of 1801, out of the duties on goods imported and exported	410,000	0	0
Amount of civil list debt	990,653	0	0
Making the sum already voted in the committee of supply	24,614,430	6	2½

Whereof the amount of sums voted for Great-Britain	22,806,092	0	0
For Ireland	1,808,338	0	0
	24,614,430	0	0

It would appear from this that the period for which these sums were voted for the navy, army, ordnance and miscellaneous services, was only five months. For the remaining seven months it was not his intention now to propose any resolutions. In these departments, every retrenchment that was practicable would be made with as much rapidity as was consistent with prudence. The ways and means as they now stood were as follows.

	£.
Duties on pensions, offices, &c. and malt duties	2,750,000
Surplus subscription on exchequer bills funded	180,874
Loan to be provided for by Gt. Brit. 23,000,000 / Ireland 2,000,000	25,000,000
Amount of ways and means voted on or before the 5th of April	£27,930,874

MEM.—Remains to be voted.
Surplus consolidated fund to 5th Jan. 1803.
Exchequer bills on supplies.....1803.
Lottery.
Loan to be contracted in Ireland.

Stock created by Loan 1802.

	Capital Stock. £.	s.	*Interest.* £.	s.	d.
3 per cent. consol. ann.	14,950,000	0			
3 per cent. reduced ann.	13,800,000	0			
3 per cent. deferred stock to be added to consols	1,601,375	0			
	30,351,875	0			
Interest on the consols and reduced			862,500	0	0
Ditto on the def. stock from Jan. 5, 1808			48,041	5	0
Management on the whole			13,658	2	0
Stock created by exch. bills fund.	11,138,062	10			
Interest, together with £7,796 12 10½ life ann.			431,043	0	4½
£1 per cent. thereon			112,222	12	6
Management			5,099	16	9½
Stock charged on income duties	56,445,000	0			
Interest thereon			1,713,016	13	4
Management on ditto			25,621	10	0
	97,934,437	10	3,211,202	0	0

The above charge to be defrayed by the following taxes:

Malt and beer	£2,000,000
Assessed taxes	1,000,000
Duty on exports and imports	1,000,000
	£4,000,000

MEM.—The interest on the deferred stock, amounting to £48,041 5*s.* is to be defrayed out of the short annuities, which will expire on the 5th of Jan. 1808.

The right hon. gentleman then entered into the particulars of the terms of the loan, which he contended were highly flattering and advantageous. The terms were 65 three per cent. consols, 60 reduced. Deferred stock, 6*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.* making together 131*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.* for every 100*l.* of money. The three per cent. consols were taken at 75¾, being 1½ per cent. more than the market price at the close of Saturday. The reduced, generally estimated at 1 per cent. under the consols, were taken at 1¾ above the market price on Saturday also. On such a bargain as this it was unnecessary to make any comment. One thing, however, he would say; that it was to the wisdom, fortitude, and perseverance of Parliament, supported by the vigour and energy of a powerful people, true to themselves in the hour of trial, that this and all other advantages we had gained were to be ascribed!

With respect to the income tax, the right honourable gentleman entered into a long explanation of his conduct. That tax, in his opinion, ought not to be left on the shoulders of the people during a time of peace, because it was a tax which ought to be kept in reserve, till a period arrived when we might have to struggle for our honour and independence, against a hostile force. A period which, though he hoped and trusted it was far distant, ought to be looked forward to, and provided against. It was to this tax, which he now proposed to repeal, that the country was indebted for the comfort it now had.

It was now, he continued, his painful duty to state to the committee the taxes by which he proposed to provide the interest for the sum of 97,934,437*l.* That these taxes would press heavily on the people it was impossible to deny, but he felt assured that, unless lighter taxes could be found, that pressure would not be made an argument against those he should now submit to the committee.

The first tax he should propose was upon malt, hops, and beer: on malt 1*s.* 0¼*d.* per bushel, and on hops 2¼*d.* and 8-20ths per pound, to make it 3*d.* The drawback of 1*s.* 4*d.*. granted to common brewers, he should propose to repeal, and should also propose 2*s.* a barrel on strong beer, subject to a drawback this year of sixpence, in consequence of the difficulties with which the trade would have to contend. The effect of the additional duty would be this year 5*s.* 5*d.* a barrel, and the next year 5*s.* 11*d.* This duty he would venture to estimate at 2,000,000*l.*

The next tax he had to bring forward was not a new one. It was an augmentation of the assessed taxes. The particulars would be stated hereafter. One part he would just glance upon. There were a number of journeymen tradesmen who remained in the houses of their employers, and did the duty of servants under the title of journeymen; for each of these persons he should charge ten shillings per annum. This might, he supposed, be calculated at 100,000*l.* per annum, and with the rest of the addition to the assessed taxes would amount to 1,000,000*l.* per annum.

The last tax he should propose was a substitute for the convoy duty; it was a tax upon exports and imports. This tax he should estimate at a million; and he had the satisfaction of knowing that it was approved of by many of those who would bear the greatest part of its weight.

The whole amount of the taxes to be imposed, would, therefore, be four millions, which would be an excess above the sum wanting of near 800,000*l.*

The right honourable gentleman then stated to the committee the outline of a plan for consolidating, into one fund the two sinking funds which were established, the one, for the purpose of paying off the national debt, and the other for the extinction of every new loan.—By their consolidation, they would acquire such an increase of power as to enable them to discharge the whole debt, of five hundred millions, in forty-five years. This plan he would propose to bring forward on Friday or Monday next.

The right honourable gentleman, after recapitulating the whole of his statements, expressing his hopes that by prudence and vigilant economy, by a firm and temperate system, by being prepared to vindicate and maintain the blessings of peace, we should ensure to ourselves tranquillity and ease, as well as security and independence, concluded by moving a resolution for raising the sum of twenty-five millions by way of loan.

He was followed by Mr. Whitbread, who, in a speech of considerable length, opposed that part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's plan which proposed a tax upon malt, hops, and beer. The brewers had, he urged, for many years been contending with great difficulties, and had not even been able to gain interest for their large capitals. The present tax would press most onerously upon them; and not only upon them, but upon the lower orders of the people. At some future period he would enter more at large into the subject. The honourable gentleman then proceeded to state, that of the war just concluded not one object had been attained; while our debt amounted to the enormous sum of five hundred millions. He was glad, however, to find that a system of moderation was to be pursued, and hoped that the predictions of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer would prove more true than those of the last, who in 1792, calculated upon fifteen years peace, instead of which we had a nine years war.

Mr. Pitt rose to reply, and in a very long and eloquent speech defended the taxes proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and his own measures during the period he was in office. He was answered by Mr. Grey.

After some observations and animadversions from Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Alderman

Combe, Mr. Jones, and some others, the resolutions were put and agreed to.

The next day (Tuesday, April 6) Sir Robert Peele moved for leave to bring in a bill, for the better preservation of the health and morals of Apprentices, and others employed in the Cotton Mills and Cotton Manufactories. On the suggestion of Mr. Wilberforce the motion was amended by the words "Cotton and other Mills, and Cotton and other Manufactories." Leave was given to bring in the bill. The Chancellor of the Exchequer then moved the thanks of the House to be given to the Officers of the Navy, Army, and Marines, for their meritorious services during the War. It was seconded by Lord Hawkesbury, who, in a speech of some length, descanted upon the energy shown by this country during the War, and the honour acquired by it from the Peace. The volunteer corps, the Irish militia, yeomanry cavalry and other corps, were included in the motion of thanks, which was unanimously agreed to. In the committee of ways and means some conversation took place on the resolutions for imposing a tax on Beer, and also on Houses and Windows. They were, however, agreed to, and bills ordered to be brought in.

On Wednesday, the House went into a Committee on the statute of Henry 8th, concerning the non-residence of the Clergy. Sir William Scott, in a very able speech, took a review of the origin and effects of that statute, and concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill to amend and render the said Act more effectual. The motion was agreed to. After reading the Assessed Taxes bill, for the first time, and going through some other business then before it, the House adjourned.

On Thursday, April 8, the non-residence bill was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow. The parish apprentice bill was ordered to be ingrossed. The Loan bill was read a second time, and ordered to a committee of the whole House to-morrow. The bill for certain duties on Servants, Dogs, Houses, and Carriages was read a first time, and ordered for a second reading to-morrow. The Window duty bill, the Ale and Beer bill, the Corn-trade bill, and some others were fowarded. *Mr. Tierney* having asked for an elucidation respecting the new plan relative to the sinking fund, the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that the object of his plan was to consolidate the sinking fund and the public debts. At a given period, perhaps 1808, when it was supposed four millions would remain in the hands of the Commissioners for liquidating the National Debt, he wished that the interest of these four millions should be continually added, and the whole be applied to liquidate the debt, instead of being diverted to the extinction of taxes.—The 500,000*l.* which was expected in 1808 to revert from the short annuities, he meant to leave at the discretion of Parliament, to be applied, if they thought proper, to the extinction of taxes. The calculation proved, that in less than forty-five years the whole National Debt will be extinguished, a fact which must be extremely gratifying to every well-wisher of this county, and which could not fail to give the world as high an opinion of our pecuniary resources as they must already entertain of our military prowess and public spirit.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Paris, April 2.—The French minister of marine has written to the chief commissary at Bourdeaux, to desist from sending any more ordnance to St. Domingo, as the army there are sufficiently provided. He invites the merchants of Bourdeaux to form establishments at the Cape, and to resume their commercial speculations.

The majority of the Canton of Zurich, presented a very spirited remonstrance to the Senate on the 10th ult. against the new Helvetic Constitution.

The Emperor of Morocco, it is said, in an article from Cadiz, of the 4th ult. has notified to the Swedish and Dutch Consuls, that if their governments do not, within three months, make him the accustomed presents, he should declare war against them.

Paris, March 25.

MINISTRY OF THE MARINE.

Admiral Villaret Joyeuse, to M. L'Admiral, commanding the Forces of his Britannic Majesty at Jamaica,

"*Dated on Board L'Océan, in the Road of Cape*
"*François, 26 Pluviôse, (Feb. 14.)*

"M. Admiral,—I hasten to announce to you, that a fleet of the French Republic has entered in the ports of St. Domingo. The revolted negroes have received us with fire and sword, and the city of the Cape has been reduced to ashes, but the plain and the neighbouring country have been saved by the activity of the troops, and the precipitate flight of the rebels. A powerful force will at last re-establish in this colony, the form of government prescribed by the laws of the mother country, and to protect those principles which alone can preserve, and upon which repose the common interest of all

the European powers in their establishments in the Antilles.

"The importance and utility of these views, added to the happy establishment of peace between France and England, give me full assurance, Sir, that the rebels will no where find an asylum, and that the colony being declared in a state of siege, no armed vessel will shew itself before those ports which the rebels could occupy. The obstinate resistance which they opposed to us in different points, in spite of their continued defeats, is evidently the result of a plan of general insurrection, confirmed by the events which have occurred at Guadaloupe, and by the intelligence received from Martinique, Tobago, Grenada, and Dominica, the consequences to all European Governments would be equally disastrous, if the focus of the revolt was not speedily smothered. But the French army is already in possession of the Cape, Fort Liberty, (Fort Dauphin) the Fort de Paix, La Tortue, and Fort Républicain, (Port-au-Prince) and is perfectly sure of all the part formerly belonging to Spain, of which the most important points have been conquered, and every thing promises us complete success, if, as this army is intitled to expect, it can find in the event of necessity, that assistance from her neighbours, which unforeseen circumstances may force it to claim.

"The disposition of the Cabinet of St. James's and the known loyalty of your nation, Sir, permit me to hope, that the ports of Jamaica will furnish us (should circumstances demand it, and should you be abundantly provided) with provisions and ammunition. One of the ministers of his Britannic Majesty has said, that the peace just concluded, was not an ordinary peace, but a sincere reconciliation of the two greatest nations in the world; if it depends on me, Sir, this happy prognostic will certainly be verified; at least I am pleased to imagine, that our pacific communications will be worthy of two nations, to whom war has only multiplied the reciprocal reasons which they had to esteem each other; and to give you authentic proof of our confidence, I lay before you a faithful statement of our forces in the ports of St. Domingo.

"Since the 16 Pluviôse, (4th Feb.) twenty-five sail of the line have entered these ports; five of them which were Spanish have already sailed for the Havanah. These twenty-five vessels, amongst which, three were entirely transports and consequently without guns, have brought, with several frigates *armée en flute*, about SIXTEEN THOUSAND MEN. I am every moment in expectation of six more sail of the line, three of them Batavians, intended to be sent to their own establishments. These divisions are also to bring five or six thousand troops more; other corps destined to follow them. I shall send almost immediately most of the flutes with six or seven vessels back to France.

"Your Excellency, I hope, will see, in this frank and loyal communication, that all the armaments of the French Government, have now no other aim, but to re-establish public security; and to consolidate the great work of a general pacification. Receive, Sir, the assurances of my high consideration.

(Signed) "VILLARET."

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

A Letter from Madras states, that on Wednesday the 16th of September, the Right Hon. the Governor, attended by his Excellency the Commander in Chief, the Members of Council, and the Gentlemen of the Civil, Naval, and Military Services, delivered to his Highness the Nabob Azeem ul Nowlah, at Chepauk Palace, the ratified Treaty received from his Excellency the most noble the Governor-General in Council, for settling the succession to the Soubahdarry of Arcot, and for vesting the entire Civil and Military Government of the Carnatic in the Honourable Company. On the delivery of the Treaty to his Highness, royal salutes were fired from the garrison of Fort Saint George, from the shipping in the roads, and vollies of musquetry by the troops under arms.

The following Letter has appeared in all the London Daily Prints.

London, 8 *Germinal* (29 *March*) *Year* 10.

My Dear Countrymen,

I hasten to announce to you the signing of the Definitive Treaty, which at length ensures your speedy deliverance, and return to your own homes.

I participate in the transports of joy you must feel at this happy moment—you are going to see again your wives, your children, and your friends. You will find the great family of the French, whom you left a prey to intestine divisions, happy under the protecting hand of a wise and moderate government. You will find the arts that nourish you, and the laws that protect you, flourishing.

Let not this delicious sentiment become the cause of trouble and disorder among you. Do not by your impatience, retard the moment that is to restore you to what is dear to you. Leave to Government the care of making the necessary preparations to send you back to your country. The English nation, to which you have given so many proofs of constancy and resignation, will do justice to this last effort which I require from you, and which you owe to your country and your own tranquillity.

If there be still among you men, whom years of suffering and captivity have been unable to cure of the spirit of party, let them know, that there no longer exists any such spirit in France; and that their hateful passions will draw upon them, not only the contempt of their fellow citizens, but the just animadversions of a powerful and hereafter an immoveable government.

Calm, if possible, those painful sensations which you have experienced for so many years, and that irritation which a long captivity inspires against those who are the apparent authors of it. Leave those sentiments in the bottom of your prisons; it is an odious recollection that ought not to accompany you to France. Your past evils were inseparable from war; the English nation, become our friend, deplores them as much as you do. Their government have made efforts to soften them, and nearly 6000 of your comrades have been sent back, without being exchanged, since the signing of the preliminaries. This is a benefit we should remember, because it was voluntary, all the rest belonged to the laws of a deplorable necessity.

For myself, deeply afflicted for these two years at your pains and your privations, I consider the happiness of drying your tears which have flowed

too long, as the first and most delicious of the fruits of peace; and, I am about to labour, for the purpose of accelerating, as much as possible, the speedy execution of the article of the Treaty that restores you to your friends.

I salute you and congratulate you with all my heart,

(Signed) OTTO

TO MR. OTTO.

Sir,

A letter under your name, which has, within these few days been published in all the daily prints of this metropolis, appears to call for some comment from me, whose hard lot it has been, for many years past, to answer the news-paper addresses of the envoys of Republican France.

Before I enter on an examination of the statements and insinuations contained in your letter, I would just enquire from *what motive* that letter was *published*. It is *possible*, that you really and seriously did think it necessary to calm the transports, which your "dear countrymen" must certainly feel at the prospect of living under the "wise "and moderate government" of Buonaparté; but, it is absolutely impossible, that you should, for this purpose alone, have chosen the *English language* as a vehicle for your soothing exhortations. In truth, it is evident that this letter was intended as an address *to the people of England*; and, as I am one of them, it is perfectly proper for me to communicate, through the same public channel, my sentiments thereon.

The language and construction of this "delicious morsel of eloquence I pass over, not, however, without burning with shame, to think that the author of it has proved himself to be possessed of far greater talents than are to be found amongst those, to whom the interests and the honour of this country are committed. Nor will I, Sir, damp your "transports of joy" by suggesting the possibility of your "dear countrymen" meeting with some little disappointment with respect to their *wives*, their *children*, and their *friends*; with respect to "the *arts* that *nourish*" and "the *laws* that *flourish*" under the protecting hand of that wise and moderate government, of which Buonaparté is the head and Fouché is the tail: throwing all these matters aside, I come at once to the only points that are worthy of particular attention.

You say, Sir, that the English nation have had "many proofs of the *constancy* and *resignation*" of the French prisoners, now about to be released. Not one such proof, Sir, has this nation ever had. Of perverseness, of abandonment of character, of gambling, of rapacity, of unheard-of cruelty to each other, of the most shocking beastliness and the most horrid blasphemy, your "dear countrymen" have, indeed, Sir, furnished this nation with proofs in abundance. In every part of the country where they have been lodged, they have, in some degree, corrupted the morals of the people. So was it in America. The youth of Pennsylvania were strangers to obscenity 'till that State had the misfortune to receive a handful of French prisoners.* Though small in number, so indefatigable were they, and so alarming was the progress of their detestable principles and manners, that it was found absolutely necessary to cut off all communication between them and the people; and, it is sincerely to be lamented, that measures equally wise and efficacious were not adopted in this country.

The other notion, which you obviously wish to inculcate, is, that the sufferings of the French prisoners are to be attributed to the English government, or, at least, that they are not to be attributed to the present government of France. Just the contrary of this is the fact. Had the feeding and clothing of your countrymen been left to his Majesty's government; had the government of France conformed itself, in this respect, to the established laws and usages of nations, the men, whose miseries you so pathetically lament, would never have known those miseries.

To renew the discussions of this subject could do no good, and you have done wrong, Sir, in provoking these cursory remarks. It is by no means my wish to engage in a controversy of any kind with a foreign minister, whose situation, come from what power he will, entitles him to forbearance, if not to respect, so long as he himself abstains from appeals, either direct or indirect, to the Public; but, whenever he makes such an appeal, he subjects himself to the animadversions of the press; and be you assured, Sir, that, as long you continue to address us in this manner, so long will I continue to answer you.

I am,
Sir,
Your obedient humble Servant,
Wm. Cobbett.

* The only persons that have been hanged in Pennsylvania, for many years past, have been democratic Frenchmen. In spite of every possible prejudice in their favour, both the government and the people at last found it necessary to make an example of them.

STATEMENT OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE BRITISH NAVAL FORCE TO THE 1ST OF APRIL, 1802. *Exclusive of the* HIRED ARMED VESSELS *which are chiefly employed in protecting the Coasting Trade of* GREAT-BRITAIN.

	Line.	50's	Frig.	Sps.	Tot.
In port and fitting	21	5	63	89	171
Guard-ships	4	1	2	0	7
In the English and Irish Channels	16	0	22	30	68
On the Downs and North Sea stations	10	1	8	39	58
On the Baltic Service	0	0	0	0	0
At the West-Ind a Islands, and on the passage thither	22	1	36	43	112
American and Newfoundland stations	0	0	2	5	7
C. of G. Hope, E. Indies, and on the passage	8	6	14	18	46
Coast of Africa	0	0	0	2	2
On the Lisbon station	0	0	0	0	0
Spain and Portugal without the Straits	4	0	2	1	7
In the Mediterranean	16	3	42	36	37
Hospital and Prison Ships	21	3	7	0	91
Total in Commission	132	20	198	256	606
Receiving Ships	5	0	8	1	14
Serviceable and repairing for Service	15	2	1	2	20
In ordinary	23	3	31	63	120
Building	22	1	5	0	28
Total	197	26	243	322	788

STATE OF THE ORDINARY AT EACH PORT.

	Line.	50's	Frig.	Sps.	Tot.
Portsmouth	13	1	11	27	52
Plymouth	18	0	10	14	42
Chatham	9	1	0	0	10
Sheerness	3	1	4	10	18
River	0	2	15	15	32
Total	43	5	40	66	154

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE BRITISH ARMY, APRIL 1, 1802.

	Regulars. Cav.	Inf.	Fe. Inf.	Militia.	Tot. Ba.	Inv. Co.
England and Wales	25	*30	†4	76	135	40
North Britain	2	—	6	10	18	6
Ireland	7	15	27	—	49	6
Jersey, Guernsey, &c.	—	4	2	—	6	20
Gibraltar	—	7	2	—	9	—
Minorca and Malta	—	11	—	—	11	—
Egypt, and on the passage from it	1	15	1	—	17	1
Canada, Nova Scotia, &c.	—	5	2	—	7	—
West-Indies and on passage	1	36	—	—	37	—
C. of Good Hope, Goree, &c.	1	7	—	—	8	—
East-Indies, and on the passage thither	4	19	—	—	23‡	—
Total	41	149	44	86	320§	72

* Including the Queen's German Regiment. † Including the Prince of Ws's own. ‡ The Company's troops exclusive. § Exclusive of artillery and engineers, at home and abroad, independent companies, recruiting corps, volunteers, &c.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The first week of peace has, as was expected, produced a considerable rise in the funds, to which, however, the stagnation of commerce, and the consequent inactivity of capital, have largely contributed. The same causes have materially favoured the bargain for the loan of 24,000,000*l*, which has been concluded on terms full as advantageous to the public as could have been expected. The new taxes (except those on exports and imports) are such as we approve of, because we have heard none more unexceptionable pointed out. That they are heavy we allow; but, who ever heard of a *light* tax? The growling of the multitude, about the rise in the price of *porter* and of *grains*, will certainly be despised by the minister; though we hope he will, at the same time, have the justice to acknowledge, that the same multitude were the only admirers of his peace. If the *clamours* of the people, on account of taxes, be a proof of their sufferings, we have never yet had the good fortune to hear of a people free from sufferings. The people of America are most assuredly not over burthened; yet have they, in the short space of eight years, twice risen in arms to resist the collection of taxes, imposed by a government, consisting entirely of persons elected by themselves. These insurrections were, indeed, partial in their extent; but it will be readily conceived, that the discontents, which gave rise to them, were not confined to a corner of the country. This fact is a pretty satisfactory comment on the factious whinings of those, who would fain persuade us, that all our misfortunes arise from taxation.

Peace, which has caused such a sudden rise in the English funds, has produced a considerable depression in those of France; and most heartily should we rejoice were the funds a criterion of the *spirit* of the two countries. Woeful experience has shown us the contrary. An elevation in the former is, in times like these, a certain proof of debasement in the latter. Were his Majesty to exchange his present servants for men, who entertain a high sense of national honour, and whose breast glow with a love of national glory, such a change would instantly produce a depression in the funds. This is the great, and, indeed, the only evil of a national debt, and, generally speaking, of a great accumulation of personal property of any sort. The holders of such property are ever upon the rack to increase its im-

mediate value; its *permanent security* being a consideration that never obtrudes itself on their minds. Hence their never-ceasing clamours against war; hence the precarious situation in which their country is continually placed; hence the subserviency of statesmen to the views of money-lenders; and hence the humiliating the disgraceful terms of peace, which, in the two last instances, England has received from a bankrupt enemy.

It is with great pleasure we observe a decline in the rage for visiting France. The shameless, the disgusting, the hateful manners of Paris have shocked even the most profigate of those, who have gone thither. The Official Gazette may continue to accuse the visitors with ingratitude; but, we are much mistaken if that will encrease their number, especially while the administration of the police is in the hands of the active and inexorable Fouche. The Moniteur may proceed in its remarks on our public prints and our members of parliament. We shall hear its commentaries with no emotion, except it be of pity for those, who are so unfortunate as to merit its praises, and sorry we are to perceive, that his Majesty's ministers are amongst the number. While, however, the Consul has, probably, some reason to complain of those who have visited his court, he has abundant reasons to be satisfied with others who have not. His portrait is in great request amongst the *candid* part of our countrymen, and, we are told, that it is to be seen, in a medallion, hanging from the neck of almost every *liberal* lady in London.

Things, having no connection with politics, do, nevertheless, sometimes lead to political consequences, or, at least, affix some sort of character to public opinion. So has it happened with the Letter of Sir Joseph Banks to the National Institute. The contents of this Letter do, indeed, fully justify the universal indignation and disgust they have excited; yet had the Letter contained an acknowledgement of the political or military degradation of England, we are confident it would, by people in general, have passed unreproved. But, to proclaim our inferiority in the all-softening sciences, in the "*philanthropic arts of peace*," is an offence not easily forgiven. Like Sparkish in the play, we quietly put up with *cheat* and *coward*, but woe be unto him who shall *disparage our parts*. The possession of colonies, the command of continents and of oceans, good faith to our allies, and even our own domestic independence, are matters about which we are by no means mulish; but, for the superiority in squeezing of simples or dissecting of earwigs, we are ready to contend to desperation. This is our susceptible point, and it is not less wonderful than unfortunate, that Buonaparté, in all the jostling and hustling, all the cuffing and kicking, he has given us, never happened to find it out.

On the venial sins of the definitive treaty we did not intend to trouble our readers with any comment; but the short and pithy state paper, which will be found in page 361, seems to call for a word of observation. The ministerial prints were very early in informing the public, that the definitive treaty had secured an indemnification for the losses of the House of Orange, the merit of which they ascribed solely to the British negotiators. When, indeed, we came to see the treaty itself, the important point of *who* was to be at the charge of this indemnification, was found to be entirely omitted; nevertheless, as the losses were clearly stated to have arisen from the seizure of private property and from the change in the constitution in Holland, there could be no doubt but the indemnification was to come from that country. But, behold, Mr. R. J. Schimmelpenninck now tells us, that his country is not to refund one single stiver on this account. That France will not give a sou towards it is certain. The word *pay* has long been abolished from her vocabulary. *Who*, then, is to discharge this indemnification? Have we obtained permission to do it ourselves? or are we to assist in extorting it from some defenceless bishoprick of Germany? That Empire has been taken by Buonaparté as a retreat for those he has ruined, as a sort of fallow, where cast-off princes are turned out to graze; unless, therefore, we are, some how or other, to share in the expense of the arrangement we are now speaking of, the making of us a party to it seems to have been totally superfluous.

A Dutch paper, the *Haerlem Courant*, of the 1st instant, contains certain remarks on the Definitive Treaty, which are so important in themselves, and contain such strong evidence of having been inserted in that paper by authority, that we are unwilling to lose a moment in laying a translation of them before our readers.

"When we recollect the situation, to "which the Batavian Republic had been "reduced by the war, we have reason to "wish our countrymen most sincerely joy, "on the unexpected turn of our affairs.— "Who could have thought, two years ago, "of a peace in general so favourable?

" who would have flattered himself, that " this republic would have been restored to " the possession of all those numerous co- " lonies, which had been taken from her " during the war; It is true we lose Cey- " lon; but, Surinam, Demerara, Essequibo, " &c. are restored to us; and in such a " most flourishing state too, that the increase " of those settlements amply compensates for " the loss of Ceylon; *particularly since the* " *English have been obliged to renounce the* " *pretension they had made of being allowed* " *to navigate with their own ships to these co-* " *lonies.*—We are reinstated in the full pos- " session of the Cape of Good Hope, not " only on the *ancient footing*, but in a much " improved state. By the 18th article of " the Definitive Treaty (explained as it is " by the separate convention, signed the " same day between the French and Batavian " Plenipotentiaries) *the claims of the House* " *of Orange are entirely set aside*, and the " present constitution of the Batavian Re- " public is solemnly acknowledged by Great " Britain, whilst this Republic is, at the " same time liberated from all obligation to " any indemnification whatsoever. In con- " sequence of the care, which has been taken " *to avoid any renewal of the engagements,* " *contracted in former treaties with England,* " *our trade, particularly as far as relates* " *to our connections with India, has been* " *freed from those restraints, which formerly* " *made our alliance with Great Britain so* " *burthensome to us.*—The humiliating obli- " gation of lowering our flag before English " ships, to resit which our forefathers made " such strong, but unsuccessful efforts, *has* " *entirely ceased in consequence of the pre-* " *sent treaty.* Our republic *not having by* " *any means renounced her claims to a com-* " *pensation for the capture of our ships de-* " *tained in the British ports, our merchants* " *may rest assured, that the Batavian minister,* " *who will reside in London, after the ratifi-* " *cation, will use his utmost endeavours* " *(agreeably to the stipulations contained in* " *the 14th article of the treaty, respecting* " *the taking off the sequestrations) to sup-* " *port the demands which will be made in* " *consequence of that article, and to liqui-* " *date our lawful pretensions.*—These consi- " derations, of which no impartial inhabi- " tant of this republic will contest the truth, " makes us consider the peace of Amiens " as an event of the utmost importance to " our republic; and we have no difficulty " in saying, that the negotiator, who has " had the management of our intetest at the " Congress, has acquired new claims to the " esteem of his fellow citizens, and to the " confidence of the government."

The is a consoling exposition of the Definitive Treaty, as far as relates to the stipulations, which have reference to the Batavian Republic; and, we may safely venture to predict, that the French and Spanish expositors will not be less ingenious in discovering the advantages they have obtained over us, nor less resolute in their consequent demands. When we come to see an enumeration of all the honours, privileges, and rights, which we have abandoned by this treaty, fallen as we are, we shall recoil at the contemplation of our disgrace. It may, probably, be said, that the positions here mentioned by the Dutch, are nothing more than *inferences.* This is, indeed, true; but they are inferences fairly deduced; and, if they were otherwise, if the argument were ever so knotty, let it be recollected, that Buonaparté wears a sword. We sometime ago observed (Register, page 191), that " Spain " and Holland were the instruments of the " ambition and malice of France; that she " would stand at their back, and bid them " worry us with vexatious demands; that we " had despised them for their pusillanimity " and weakness, but that, covered by the " shield of France, we should find bold " and formidable enemies." These remarks are now about to be verified to the utmost stretch of their meaning. We shall certainly *live in peace*, for there is no power on earth, however contemptible, to whom we shall dare to refuse any thing. France will always be the umpire, and Buonaparté will always wear a sword. That demand of the Dutch, which it ought to give us the least pain to yield to, is precisely that which will give us the most. We allude to the claims for *sequestrated*, or rather *confiscated, property.* To *refund* is always disagreeable, especially after the money is spent. If we are rightly informed *three millions* of the Dutch property have been appropriated to the use of government. It is no matter: another halfpenny per pot on porter will be no more than a just punishment for the baseness of those, who are now willingly preparing to illuminate their houses, for the purpose of celebrating the disgrace of their country.

POSTSCRIPT.

Sir Edward Law is appointed to be Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, and the Hon. Spencer Perceval is appointed Attorney General in his room. Mr. Romily is to be

Solicitor General, the place having been declined by Mr. Manners Sutton on the score of ill health.

From Palermo, we learn that the preparations for the journey of the King of Naples to Spain have commenced; and from Barcelona, that the greatest preparations are making for his reception in that city.

Constantinople, Feb. 25.—The French General Vial is expected here immediately, to regulate the commercial regulations between our government and the merchants of his nation.

Ruffin, as Chargé d'Affaires of the French Republic, has not made his customary visit to Lord Elgin; some persons are ready to attribute this delay to a political motive, but it may also be ascribed to private reasons.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

Whitehall, April 6, 1802.

The King has been pleased to recommend the Rev. George Markham, Clerk, Master of Arts, to be chosen into the place of Dean of the Metropolitical Church of York: the same being void by the death of Dr. John Fontayne.

The King has been pleased to grant to the Rev. Joseph White, Doctor in Divinity, the Office of Hebrew Professor in the University of Oxford, with the Prebend of Christ Church annexed, the same being void by the death of Dr. Benjamin Blayney.

The King has been pleased to present the Rev. Charles Baillie, Clerk, Master of Arts, to the Rectory of Middleton in Teesdale, in the Bishopric of Durham, void by the death of the Rev. Robert Lascelles.

The King has also been pleased to present the Rev. Charles Alcock, Clerk, Batchelor of Laws, to the Archdeaconry of Chichester, void by the promotion of the Right Rev. Father in God, Dr. John Buckner, to the See of Chichester.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

Births.—On the 2d inst. the Hon. Mrs. Cornwall, of a daughter. On Sunday, at his house in Portland Place, the Lady of Thomas Tyrwhyt Jones, Esq. M. P. of a son.

Deaths.—On the 1st inst. the Hon. Caroline Gawler, wife of John Gawler, Esq. of Ranridge House, Hants, and eldest daughter of John, the third Lord Bellenden. Francis Buller, eldest son of Sir Francis Buller, Bart. of Lupton House, Devon. On Saturday, at his seat at Melton, Sir E. Astley, Bart. On the 18th ult. at St. Catharine Bank, near Edinburgh, the Right Hon. Lady Anne Erskine, daughter of Alexander, fifth Earl of Kellie. On Monday morning, at Bath, in the 69th year of his age, the Right Hon. Lloyd Lord Kenyon. On the 22d ult. at his house, in Rutland Square, Dublin, James Earl of Caledon.

PRICE OF STOCKS.

ENGLISH three per cent. consols.

Saturday	73, 74¼ 3, ⅛ ⅞	Wednesday	77⅜ 6½ ½ ⅝
Monday	74⅜ 5, 4½ 6½	Thursday	76 5⅞ 6⅜
Tuesday	77½ 8⅝ 7⅞	Friday	75¾ 6⅜ 5⅞

AMERICAN STOCKS.—Eight pr. c. 113. ¾

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 55 f. 35 c.

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s.	s.		s.	s.
Eng. Wheat per q.	58	to 68	Hops per cwt.	89	to 156
Foreign	38	70	Hay per load	40	92
Rye	34	36	Beef, per stone, 5s. 0d. to 6s. 6d.		
Barley	30	36			
Malt	46	57	Mutton .. 6s. 0d. to	7s.	0d.
Oats	16	23	Veal .... 6s. 0d. to	7s.	0d.
Pease	30	38	Pork .... 5s. 4d. to	6s.	8d.
Beans	28	40	Tallow	4s.	1d.
Flour per sack	—	50	Average of sugar per cwt.	36s.	7d.
Seconds	40	45			
Coals per chal.	29	39	Bread, 10¾d. the quart. loaf.		

Porter Four Pence Halfpenny per Pot.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

HAMBURGH	32 4 2½ us.	NAPLES	45
ALTONA	32 5 2½ us.	GENOA	48¼
CADIZ	38¼ eff.	LISBON	69½
MADRID	39¼ eff.	OPORTO	69½
LEGHORN	52⅜	DUBLIN	12

Observations on the Weather, near Guildford, in Surrey, for the Month of April, 1802.

Days.	Moon's Age.	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barometer. Inches. M.	Barometer. Inches. A.	Thermometer. Degrees. M.	Thermometer. Degrees. A.
1		Fine.	NE	NE	30,1	30	44	52
2	○	Fine.	E-S	E-S	29,63	29,6	49	56
3		Fair.	S	SSE	29,58	29,58	52	60
4		Fine.	S	SSW	29,65	29,63	55	58
5		Fine.	SW	SW	29,7	29,75	54	58
6		Fine.	NE	NW	30,1	30,1	49	54
7		Fro. Fine.	NNW	NW	30,2	30,12	47	58

● *New Moon.* ☾ *1st Quar.* ○ *F. Moon.* ☽ *Last Quar.*

LONDON,

LONDON, April 10 to April 17, 1802.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Speech of the Cardinal Legate, upon his Introduction to Buonaparté, on the 9th of April.

" General First Consul,

" I come in the name of the Sovereign Pontiff, and under your auspices, General First Consul, to discharge among the French the august functions of Legate *a latere*.

" I am come among a great and warlike nation, the glory of which you have exalted by your conquests, secured its external tranquillity by an universal peace, and the happiness of which you are going to complete, by restoring to it the free exercise of the Catholic Religion. That glory was reserved for you, General Consul. The same arm that gained battles, that signed peace with all nations, restores their splendour to the temples of the true God, raises his altars, and re-establishes his worship. Consummate, General Consul, this work of wisdom, so long desired by those whom you govern. I shall neglect nothing that may contribute to it. A faithful interpreter of the sentiments of the Sovereign Pontiff, the first and most grateful of my duties, to express to you his tender regard for you, and his love for all the French. Your wishes shall regulate the length of my stay with you. I shall not go away before I shall have left in your hands the monuments of this important mission, during which, you may be assured, that I shall not allow any thing to be done on my part contrary to the rights of the Government and of the nation. I give you, as the pledge of my sincerity, and of the fidelity of my promise, my title, my known candour, and, I dare to say, the confidence which the Sovereign Pontiff and yourself have placed in me."

The Cardinal Legate then took and subscribed an oath in the requisite form, and the First Consul answered him in the following terms:

" From the apostolic virtues which distinguish you, Monsieur Cardinal, I see you with pleasure the depositary of so great an influence over consciences. You will draw from the Gospel the rules of your conduct, and thereby you will powerfully contribute to the extinction of hatreds, to the consolidation of the union in this vast empire. The French people will ever applaud the concert which has taken place between his Holiness and me in the choice of your person. The result of your mission will be a new subject of triumph for the Christian Religion, which in all ages has done so much good to man. It will thence receive new congratulations of enlightened philosophy, and the real friends of mankind."

Concordat between the French Government and his Holiness Pius VII. *exchanged September* 10, 1801.

The Government of the Republic acknowledges that the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, is the religion of the great majority of French Citizens. His Holiness equally acknowledges, that this same religion has received, and at this moment expects, the greatest benefit and eclat from the establishment of the Catholic worship in France, and the particular profession which the Consuls of the Republic have made of it. In consequence of this mutual acknowledgement, they resolved, for the benefit of religion, and for the maintenance of interior tranquillity, upon the following articles:

I. The Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, shall be freely exercised in France. The worship shall be public, conforming to the regulations of police, which the government shall judge necessary for the public tranquillity.

II. A new circumscription of the French dioceses shall be made by the Holy See, in concert with the French Government.

III. His Holiness shall declare to the titular French Bishops, that he expects from them, with firm confidence, every kind of sacrifice, even that of their sees, for the sake of peace and unity. After this exhortation, if they shall refuse this sacrifice, commanded by the welfare of the church, (a refusal which his Holiness nevertheless does not expect, new titulars shall be provided for the government of the Bishoprics of the new circumscription in the following manner:

IV. The First Consul of the Republic shall name, within three months after the publication of his Holiness's bull, to the Archbishoprics and Bishoprics of the new circumscription. His Holiness shall confer the canonical institution, according to the forms essablished with respect to France, before the change of Government.

V. The nominations to the Bishoprics, which shall afterwards become vacant, shall also be made by the First Consul: and the canonical institution shall be conferred by his Holiness.

VI. The Bishops, before entering upon their functions, shall take from the hands of the First Consul the following oath:—" I swear and promise to God, upon the Holy Evangelists, to preserve obedience and fidelity to the Government established by the constitution of the French Republic. I promise also to have no intelligence, to assist at no council, to maintain no connection, either within or without, which shall be contrary to the public tranquillity; and if, within any diocese or elsewhere, I shall learn that any thing is designed for the prejudice of the State, I will make it known to Government."

VII. The Ecclesiastics of the second order shall take the same oath from the hands of the civil authorities appointed by Government.

VIII. The following form of prayer shall be recited at the end of divine service, in all the Catholic churches of France:

" Domine, salvam fac Rempublicam,
" Domine, salvos fac Consules."

IX. The Bishops shall make a new circumscription of the parishes of their dioceses, which shall not take effect, till after the consent of Government.

X. The Bishops shall appoint the Curés. Their choice shall fall only on persons accepted by Government.

XI. The Bishops may have a chapter in their cathedrals, and a seminary in their dioceses, but Government does not undertake to endow them.

XII. All the metropolitan churches, cathedrals, parochial and other churches, not alienated, necessary for worship, shall be placed at the disposal of the Bishops.

XIII. His Holiness, for the welfare of the church and the happy establishment of the Catholic Religion, declares, that neither he nor his successors will disturb in any manner the possessors of alienated ecclesiastical effects, and that in consequence the property of these same effects, the rights and revenues attached to them shall remain unchangeable in their hands, or in those of their assignees.

XIV. The Government will secure a suitable maintenance to the Bishops and Curates, whose dioceses and parishes shall be included in the new circumscription.

XV. The Government will also take measures for permitting French Catholics to make upon their own choice, endowments in favour of churches.

XVI. His Holiness acknowledges in the First Consul of the French Republic the same rights and prerogatives enjoyed with respect to his Holiness by the antient Government.

XVII. It is agreed upon between the contracting parties, that when any of the successors of the First Consul shall not be Catholics, the rights and prerogatives mentioned in the above article, and the appointments to bishoprics, shall be regulated, with respect to him by a new convention.

The ratifications shall be exchanged at Paris within 40 days.

Done at Paris, the 26th Messidor of the 9th year of the French Republic, (15 July, 1801.)

(Signed) *Joseph Buonaparte.*
Hercules, Cardinal Consalvi.
Cretet.
Joseph Archiep. Corinthi.
Bernier.
F. Carolus Caselli.

Organic Articles of the Convention of 26 Messidor, Year 9.

Under this head are seventy-seven articles, the substance of which we shall endeavour to extract from the formal expressions in which they are promulgated.

No bulls, decrees, or other writings from Rome, can be circulated in France; no papal legate, or commissioner received, or acts of foreign councils published, and no French councils held without the permission of Government. All ecclesiastical functions shall be gratuitous, those offerings accepted, which shall be allowed by regulations. Appeals may be made to the council of state against abuses by Ecclesastics, as well as against those by whom they may be molested in their worship, or liberties. The Catholic worship shall be performed under the direction of Archbishops, Bishops, and Curates. The two former may add to their names titles of *Citizen* or *Monsieur;* all other qualifications are abolished. Archbishops to consecrate their suffragans, and hear complaints against their conduct and dioceses.

Bishops must be natives of France, and not less than 30 years of age; shall bring, before nomination attestation of good conduct from the Bishop in whose diocese they shall have exercised the functions of Priest, and shall be examined as to thier doctrine, by a Bishop and two Priests appointed by the Chief Consul. They cannot leave their dioceses without his permission, and shall each year make a visitation of some part, so as to include the whole within five years. They are to organize their seminaries by rules submitted to the First Consul, and to send each year to the council of state the names of the persons educated in them. No person can be ordained before attaining the age of twenty-five, or without possessing property to the annual amount of 300 livres.

Curates are to take the oath prescribed from the hands of the Prefects. They are bound to reside in their parishes. No foreigner can exercise any ecclesiastical function, without the permission of Government. No priest can leave his diocese to serve in another, without permission from his Bishop. One liturgy and one catechism are to be used in all Catholic churches. No curate can order extraordinary public prayers, without special permission from the Bishop. All Ecclesiastics shall wear the French dress, in black; Bishops only excepted, who may add to it the pastoral cross and purple stockings. Only one form of service can take place in one church. Civil and military officers are to have distinguished places in cathedrals and churches. Sermons and similar addresses from the pulpit can be delivered only by special authority from the Bishop. Curates shall pray for the prosperity of the French Republic, and of the Consuls. The nuptial benediction shall be given only to those who have entered into the marriage contract before the civil officer. Sunday shall be a day of rest to all public functionaries. The Republican calendar is to be preserved.

Archbishops are to receive incomes of 15,000 livres each; Bishops of 10,000; Curates of the first class, 1500; of the second, 1000. Curates may receive offerings, in addition to these sums, if circumstances require. These councils are authorized to provide suitable dwellings for Bishops and Curates. In parishes where shall remain no building which can be appropriated to public worship, the Bishop and the Prefect shall provide one.

There shall be in France ten Archbishoprics, and fifty Bishoprics. The following are the Archbishoprics:

Paris,	Mecklin,	Besancon,
Lyons,	Aix,	Toulouse,
Bourdeaux,	Bourges,	Tours.
Rouen,		

Organic Articles of the Protestant Worship.

Frenchmen only can exercise the functions of this worship, holding no connection with any foreign power. They shall pray for the prosperity of the French Republic and of the Consuls. No doctrinal decision can be published, without permission from the Consuls; no change of discipline can take place without the same authority. The Council of State will take cognizance of all dissentions between ministers. Endowments may be made in the same manner as those of Catholic churches, and Government will provide for the maintenance; taking into consideration, however, the property now belonging to their churches and the amount of offerings. There will be two seminaries in

France for the instruction of ministers of the confession of Augsbourg; and one at Geneva for the Reformed Churches. Professors in both to be appointed by the First Consul. Ministers shall have studied a certain time in one of these seminaries, and have a certificate of their capacity and manners.

Reformed churches are to have pretors, consistorial places and synods, there being a consistorial church for every six thousand persons of that communion, and a synod for every five churches. Churches of the confession of Augsburg are to have pastors, consistorial places, and general consistories, according to the same population. Five of the latter churches from the district of one inspection, to be composed of a minister and two laymen, chosen by the district, and confirmed by the Chief Consul. There will be three general consistories, one at Strasbourg, one at Mentz, and one at Cologne, to be appointed by the Chief Consul, and assembled with his permission.

As a companion piece to the preceding most curious paper, we shall here insert another, which is not less curious, and which always ought to accompany it.

PROCLAMATION.

Issued by Buonaparté, in the Arabic Language, on his landing in Egypt.

In the name of God, gracious and merciful.—There is no God but God; *he has no son or associate in his kingdom.*

The present moment, which is destined for the punishment of the Beys, has been long anxiously expected. The Beys, coming from the mountains of Georgia and Bajars, have desolated this beautiful country, long insulted and treated with contempt the French Nation, and oppressed her merchants in various ways. Buonaparté, the General of the French Republic, according to the principles of Liberty, is now arrived; and the Almighty, the Lord of both Worlds, has sealed the destruction of the Beys.

Inhabitants of Egypt! When the Beys tell you the French are come to destroy your religion, believe them not: it is an absolute falsehood. Answer those deceivers, that they are only come to rescue the rights of the poor from the hands of their tyrants, and that *the French adore the Supreme Being, and honour the Prophet and his holy Koran.*

All men are equal in the eyes of God: understanding, ingenuity, and science, alone make a difference between them: as the Beys, therefore, do not possess any of these qualities, they cannot be worthy to govern the country.

Yet are they the only possessors of extensive tracts of land, beautiful female slaves, excellent horses, magnificent palaces! Have they then received an exclusive privilege from the Almighty? If so, let them produce it. But the Supreme Being, who is just and merciful towards all mankind, wills that in future none of the inhabitants of Egypt shall be prevented from attaining to the first employments and the highest honours.—The Administration, which shall be conducted by persons of intelligence, talents, and foresight, will be productive of happiness and security. The tyranny and avarice of the Beys have laid waste Egypt, which was formerly so populous and well cultivated.

THE FRENCH ARE TRUE MUSSULMEN. *Not long since they marched to Rome, and overthrew the Throne of the Pope, who excited the Christians against the professors of Islamism (the Mahometan religion).* Afterwards they directed their course to Malta, and drove out the *unbelievers*, who imagined they were appointed by God to make war on the Mussulmen. The French have at all times been the true and sincere friends of the Ottoman Emperors, and the enemies of their enemies. May the Empire of the Sultan therefore be eternal; but may the Beys of Egypt, your opposers, whose insatiable avarice has continually excited disobedience and insubordination, be trodden in the dust, and annihilated!

Our friendship shall be extended to those of the inhabitants of Egypt who shall join us, as also to those who shall remain in their dwellings, and observe a strict neutrality; and when they have seen our conduct with their own eyes, hasten to submit to us; but the dreadful punishment of death awaits those who shall take up arms for the Beys, and against us. For then there shall be no deliverance, nor shall any trace of them remain.

Art. I. All places which shall be three leagus distant from the route of the French army, shall send one of their principal inhabitants to the French General, to declare that they submit, and will hoist the French flag, which is blue, white, and red.

II. Every village which shall oppose the French army shall be burned to the ground.

III. Every village which shall submit to the French, shall hoist the French flag, and that of the Sublime Porte, their Ally, whose duration be eternal.

IV. The Cheiks and principal persons of each town and village shall seal up the houses and effects of the Beys, and take care that not the smallest article shall be lost.

V. The Cheiks, Cadis, and Imans, shall continue to exercise their respective functions; and put up their prayers, and perform the exercise of religious worship in the mosques and houses of prayer. All the inhabitants of Egypt shall offer up thanks to the Supreme Being, and put up public prayers for the destruction of the Beys.

May the Supreme God make the glory of the Sultan of the Ottomans eternal, pour forth his wrath on the Mameloues, and render glorious the destiny of the Egyptian Nation.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

In the House of Lords, during the last week, no debate took place. Some observations of a very important nature were, however, made by *Lords Carlisle* and *Grenville*, on Monday (April 12). On that day, after some conversation had passed on petitions from Irish peers, the *Earl of Carlisle* rose to call the attention of the House to some points of the highest national importance. Adverting first to the compensation, which, by the definitive treaty is to be given to the Prince of Orange, his Lordship declared, that, with respect to that compensation, a moft shameful transaction had

occurred. At the very moment after having signed the treaty, with this country, the ministers of France and Holland retired into a corner, and there, without the knowledge of our Ambassador, executed a treaty, by which France guaranteed Holland from the payment of any part of the indemnity stipulated for the Prince of Orange. From whence, then, was the indemnification to be furnished? Was it by Great Britain, just emerging from embarrassment and difficulty? Or by what other country? His lordship then proceeded to comment upon various parts of the definitive treaty. By the operation of that treaty, he urged, various other treaties honourable and advantageous to this country would expire. To the Dutch it was indeed a triumph. We could no longer navigate to the Spice Islands in our own bottoms. All the favourable regulations in a treaty negotiated by a noble friend of his were done away. Those regulations, however, were necessary to the safety of our Indian possessions. The power of cutting logwood was also gone; the Methuen treaty was abrogated, and our commercial relations with Portugal considerably injured.

He was seconded by *Lord Grenville*, who took nearly the same ground, but enlarged considerably upon various points. The noble lord, however, chiefly insisted upon the pernicious consequences of our having neglected to renew various treaties, and particularly the Convention of 1787. By the non-renewal of that Convention our governments in India would be put in a situation of great danger: in truth, they could not subsist. The French might now spread themselves over our Indian territories, and might reside there, in whatever numbers, without being subject to the controul of our judicature or policy. By the permission also, which would be afforded the French to supply our Bengal provinces with salt, we should lose half a million of revenue. It was, therefore, his opinion that the House would take a salutary sep, were it humbly, to address his Majesty to suspend all ratification, till solid satisfaction was given to the country on such invaluable objects as were now at stake.

No reply was attempted. Merely a few words were said by *Lord Pelham*, expressing his opinion that no answer was necessary, as the subject was not regularly before the House.

On Wednesday, there was a long and desultory conversation, on the election of Lord Charleville. His lordship was declared duly elected. On the suggestion of *Lord Auckland*, the petition of the Earl of Farnham, and some other petitions, were postponed.

On Thursday, the House of Commons was summoned by the Usher of the Black Rod, to the House of Peers, for the purpose of hearing his Majesty's commission read. The Speaker attended by several members went up, and on his return informed the House, that the Royal assent had been given to the Loan Bill, the House and Window Tax Bill, the Irish Revenue Collection Bill, the Corn Trade Bill, the Dundee Two-penny Scots Bill, and to several private bills.

In the House of Commons on Friday, (April 9) after leave had been given to bring in several bills, the order of the day for the House to resolve itself into a committee on the House and Window Duty was moved by *Mr. Vansittart*. In the committee some conversation passed on the principle of the duty. It was opposed by *Mr. Sheridan*, *Mr. Robson*, and *Mr. Jones*, as particularly oppressive upon certain classes of people. *Mr. Vansittart* and the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* defended the tax. The bill passed through the committee.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then rose, to move for leave to bring in a bill, for continuing for a limited time the restriction of payment in specie upon the Bank. The measure was supported by *Sir Robert Peele*, *General Gascoyne*, *Dr. Laurence*, and *Mr. Manning*. It was objected to by *Mr. Jones* and *Mr. Tierney*. The reasons for the measure were stated in a very perspicuous speech by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*. Under the present circumstances of the country, it would not, he urged, be politic to take off the restrictions which had been imposed upon the Bank. The course of exchange was against this country; exportation was, for a moment, at a stand; payments from foreign countries could not for some time be received; and a trade was now carried on in the purchase of guineas, for the purpose of sending abroad. It would, therefore, he contended, be more prudent to wait till the consequences and effects of the peace were seen, till our merchants had formed their connexions in foreign countries, and till we had discovered the commercial relations of different countries with each other, before we thought of opening payment in cash at the Bank. He then, after the different acts which imposed the restriction had been read *pro forma*, moved for leave to bring in a bill for continuing the restrictions on the Bank of England. No great opposition was made

to the measure, and, after some observations from different sides of the House, leave was given to bring in the bill.

The House then went into a committee on the Irish supplies. Several items of supply were moved by *Mr. Corry*. These gave rise to some remarks from *Mr. Robson*, who was answered by *Mr. Corry* and *Lord de Blaquiere*. The resolutions were agreed to.

The next day no business of importance was brought before the House. The report of the committee on the bill for granting an additional duty on Windows and Houses, was brought up, and, on the question being put for the second reading of the amendments, *Mr. Robson* took occasion to object to the bill. He was answered with some asperity by *Dr. Duigenan*. Some conversation then passed, after which the bill was ordered to be engrossed.

On Monday (April 12) *Sir Francis Burdett* brough forward his promised motion for an inquiry into the conduct of the late administration. It was introduced by a long and bitter invective against the late administration, and the whole of their measures.—The honourable baronet particularly dwelt upon the sufferings of those who had been taken up for treasonable practices in England, and the tyranny practised upon the people of Ireland. Every right, he said, had been invaded, every protecting law trod under foot, by the late ministers, whose conduct had been graced by their notorious and corrupted adherents with repeated votes of approbation. Former parliaments had been deluded into a prosecution of objects which had been abandoned by a treaty of peace: they had been deluded into a sacrifice of the constitution; and it was to obtain this sacrifice, that he believed the war was undertaken. After going in this manner through almost every act of the late ministry, declaring the twelve Cæsars never exceeded the cruelty of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that Robespierre was an angel of mercy compared with him, the honourable baronet concluded by moving for a committee of the whole House to inquire into the conduct of the late administration.

He was answered very fully by *Lord Temple* and *Mr. Archdale*. The internal measures of the late administration, it was urged, far from being acts of tyranny, were acts necessary for the safety of that constitution which the honourable baronet had been pleased to consider as destroyed by them.—Liberty of speech had been represented by him as completely taken away: that it was not so, his own harangue was a sufficient evidence. With regard to the war it was unnecessary to reply to assertions which had been a thousand times answered, and which were, in fact, unworthy of an answer. On that subject the House and the people had spoken most decidedly, and their decision was very different indeed from that of the honourable baronet.

Lord Belgrave followed on the same side, and concluded his speech by moving to leave out all the words of the original motion after "that," and insert in their place the thanks of the House to the late administration for their conduct during the late war. This motion, the noble lord declared he would not have made had the honourable baronet confined himself to his original intention.

This amendment gave rise to short speeches from several members, some supporting and others opposing it. On the suggestion of the *Speaker* and *Mr. Pitt*, *Lord Belgrave* withdrew his motion. After some debate the original question was put and negatived, there being only thirty-nine for, to two hundred and forty-six against it.

Lord Belgrave then gave notice that soon after the recess he would bring forward his amendment in the shape of a motion.

The next day (Tuesday) the *Secretary at War* brought forward his motion for leave to bring in a bill to amend and consolidate the militia laws, and to augment the militia. In a long and able speech he stated to the House the reasons for the present motion. Agreeing with what had been argued, on a former occasion, by other members, that peace ought to be preserved by a proper mixture of firmness and conciliation, he inculcated the necessity of paying every attention to the defensive system of this country, at a time when its most formidable neighbour had received a great accession of power, and was under a military government. For this purpose it would in the first place be necessary to put the navy in a good state. The next point to consider was the military establishment, but this could not be entered upon till the organization of the militia was settled. The points to which he would call the attention of the House were the formation of the militia laws and the augmentation of the number of militia. There were twelve acts relating to the militia, these he proposed to consolidate. With respect to the augmentation of the number of the militia, he thought it advisable that the

country should be able to put 100,000 men under arms, at the commencement of a war, and that we should be able at once to lay our hands on 70,000 militia. It was therefore his intention to propose 60,000 militia for England, and 10,000 or 12,000 for Scotland. The expence of this would be comparatively small. For England the whole expense would not be more than 230,000*l.* This even, would be lessened if only 40,000 men were raised in England, and 9000 in Scotland, and his Majesty empowered to raise the rest by proclamation.—The right honourable gentleman then specified the different heads of amendment which the bill would embrace. The proportion to be added, and the mode of raising it, next came into consideration. With respect to these points it was proposed to add a third to the number furnished by each county, and to raise the 40,000 men for a limited time, according to the old proportion. The right honourable gentleman then entered at length into the various parts of the proposed reform, and in conclusion moved for leave to bring in such a bill as has been already described.

After some observations from *Mr. Sheridan*, who called the attention of the House to the present scanty half-pay of lieutenants in the navy, and from *Mr. Foster* and *Mr. Wickham* relative to the Irish militia, leave was given to bring in the bill. It was accordingly brought in, read a first time, and the second reading ordered for to-morrow.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then moved the order of the day for going into a committee upon the Beer and Malt Duty Bill.

The bill was strenuously opposed by *Sir C. Bunbury*, *Mr. Whitbread*, *Mr. Sheridan*, and *Mr. Jones*. It was contended that the tax would fall most oppressively upon the labouring poor, who were ill able to support the burden; that it would injure private as well as public brewers; that brewers must now make their beer of a lower quality; that many would leave off drinking malt liquors which would occasion a defalcation in the tax, and discourage agriculture; and that the poor would be driven to the use of spirits, a consequence to be deprecated, since the health and the morals of the community would be irreparably injured by such a practice. Why, it was asked, was the tax made so heavy, when, by the minister's own confession, he had raised 750,000 pounds more than he wanted; and when from calculation it appeared that he had, in truth, provided an excess of more than twice that sum? One objection in particular was urged by *Mr. Sheridan*. "This tax, he said, would not so much affect the public brewer as those who brewed their own beer. This class did not comprehend only the opulent, but the middling and even the lowest of the community. In the counties of England, that of Stafford for instance, there were no public brewers, even the poorest of the people brewed their own beer. The present tax would drive them from that practice, and induce them to frequent the alehouse, to the destruction of their morals and domestic comfort.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, in a long and able speech, defended the tax from the attacks made upon it. Entering into a statement of the prices of malt and hops at different periods, he contended from thence that a fair profit might be made by the brewer, notwithstanding the present duty. That the tax would bear upon the lower classes he admitted, but it would not bear exclusively on them: the rich also would pay their part. With respect to the excess which had been provided, it was not so great as had been stated. One tax of 100,000*l.* had been abandoned. On general grounds, the ways and means ought always to exceed the supply. But it was also to be considered that we must have a peace establishment larger than any former one; and that the whole supplies of the year were not before the House. One other consideration had induced him to make the supplies so much larger than was absolutely necessary, and that was, that the consolidated fund might support the peace establishment of the ensuing year without resorting to additional taxes.

After some observations from different members, the question was put for going into a committee on the bill. It was carried by 83 votes against 12. *Mr. Whitbread* then moved as an amendment, that the words "one shilling" should be substituted for "two shillings." Eleven members voted for and sixty-two against the amendment.

On Wednesday the Import and Export Duty Bill gave rise to some little debate. It was opposed by *General Gascoyne*, *Sir Robert Peele*, and *Dr. Laurence*. The convoy duty, it was urged, was a war tax, and ought to have ceased on the peace. No such commercial speculations had been formed at the conclusion of this treaty, as had generally been formed at the conclusion of other treaties, and the tax was therefore

particularly objectionable. The new duty it was also said would bear particularly hard upon several articles. By *General Gascoyne* and *Sir R. Peele* it was contended that the exemption of Ireland from the duty was an unfair partiality. The measure was supported by *Mr. Vansittart*, the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, and *Lord Hawkesbury*. The latter declared that though much had been said of the advantages arising from commercial treaties, it was a matter of doubt with him whether they were productive of any advantage. Much had also been said of the danger to us from our being rivalled in commerce by other countries, but on this subject he certainly felt no apprehensions. The bill was then ordered to be committed on Friday se'nnight.

The House next resolved itself into a committee on the subject of the consolidated fund for the redemption of the national debt. The outlines of the plan were briefly stated by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, who after reading four resolutions, moved that the chairman should report progress, and ask leave to sit again. This was done, and the House ordered that it should resolve itself into a committee on Monday se'nnight.

Mr. Ald. Curtis, on the bill being brought up for imposing a duty on servants, moved that it should be recommitted for the purpose of moving an additional duty on foreign servants. This was opposed by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, and went no further.

The order of the day having been read for receiving the report of the committee on the Malt and Beer Duty Bill, the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* stated, that in consideration of the hardship country brewers were supposed to labour under, he should move for an allowance of 2d per barrel additional drawback till the first of August next, and declared that on the subject of the tax being resumed next year, their interests should be minutely considered.

Mr. H. Vansittart then moved that the House should at its rising, adjourn to Wednesday next. Upon which *Mr. Elliot* rose, and, professing his intention not to oppose what had been moved, declared that he felt it his duty not to suffer a recess to take place without having asked his Majesty's ministers, when the Definitive Treaty would be laid before the House, and when the House would be called upon to pass its judgment upon it. Though it was not perhaps strictly regular so to do, yet as there were several copies of the treaty in circulation, he wished to make some observations upon them. In all former treaties, provision had been made for the renewal of preceding treaties. Instructions to that effect had been given to Lord Malmesbury at Lisle. In the present treaty, however, no such provision was to be found. This was a most important point to this country, and to Europe. This country would be much affected by the omission. In the East Indies, all our possessions were derived from the Great Mogul. France might now assume claims to all our advantages there. By provisions in former treaties, those advantages had been secured to ourselves; but those provisions were now abandoned.

The honourable member was several times interrupted in the course of his speech, as being out of order. At the conclusion of it, the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* rose, and giving it as his opinion that the questions of the honourable gentleman were not proper at this time, declared that no delay had arisen on the part of ministers in presenting the Definitive Treaty to the House. When it was presented, ministers would defend their conduct.

After having gone through some business of no great importance, the House adjourned till Wednesday the twenty-first.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY,

His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

My Lord,

In my last Letter (Register, page 353,) I endeavoured to show how, and to what extent the stipulations of the definitive treaty were more injurious to England than those of the preliminaries, with respect to, 1. Malta, 2. the Island of Elba, and, 3. the Italian Republic. Those stipulations, which relate, 4. to Portuguese Guiana, 5. Louisiana and Florida, and, 6. The French armament in the West-Indies, remain to be considered; as also, 7. the omissions with respect to matters of commerce, and, 8. with respect to the renewal of former treaties. The first three of these points it was my intention to treat of in the present letter: but, the unfinished state of some maps, which I intend shall accompany my remarks, and which appear necessary to a full and clear investigation of the subject, has induced me to change the order of discussion, and to take up in this place the first of points of *omission*, which I originally intended should come last.

7. *The omissions with respect to matters of*

commerce extend as widely as the most bitter of our enemies could wish. The whole transaction of this peace, from the beginning to the end, has been marked by a total disregard of established usage. From the hour that your lordship threw aside the dignity of your rank and station, and humbly be sought an interview with a commissary of prisoners, bearing a commission under a man, on whom, but a few weeks before, you had gratuitously lavished the most contemptuous and most odious of all denominations; from that hour their commenced that revolution in our diplomatic concerns, which arrived at its consummation in the conditions and phraseology of the Definitive Treaty.

This compact, if that can be called a compact which is dictated by one party and slavishly submitted to by the other; this compact makes not, like other Definitive Treaties, any mention of a treaty of commerce between England and the other contracting parties; though, amongst those parties, there were powers, with whom we have heretofore had the most important commercial connections. Our commerce with Spain in particular was very extensive and singularly beneficial to us. It was a commerce, which brought us not goods for goods, not materials for materials; but which poured in upon us mines of the precious metal in exchange for the work of our hands.

Does your lordship imagine, that our commercial connection with Spain is to be renewed by any *future* arrangement? I hardly think, though I will not positively assert the contrary, that you are weak enough to entertain so childish a hope. Rest assured, my lord, that neither Holland nor Spain will ever treat again but in conjunction with France. Buonaparté has fastened them to his triumphal car, and you and your colleague have rivetted their chains. Nor will they themselves, in return for this friendly office, feel much disposition again to renew their intercourse with us; they will rather seek for revenge, and, as they cannot inflict it for their own account, they will gladly do it in behalf of their master. Feeble as they have shown themselves, when opposed to France, we shall find them strong and resolute, when acting under her protection.

Your lordship cannot on this, as on most other points, truely plead ignorance in your defence. In that place where the servants of the king formerly thought it their duty to listen to advice, you were frequently reminded, that, unless the Definitive Treaty provided for treaties of commerce with the contracting powers, no such treaties would ever afterwards be obtained. The plans of France for the destruction of our navigation act were fully detailed to you, and to stipulate for treaties of commerce was pointed out as the only means of preventing the success of that plan. Such a stipulation you have omitted, and the nation will soon begin to feel the consequence of your omission.

That this omission did not arise from any new practice having, in this respect, been adopted by the powers of Europe, is evident from the stipulations contained in all the treaties of peace, which France has lately made with those powers, who were in alliance with us during the war. In her treaty with Russia (Register, p. 165) she stipulates, that "a new treaty of commerce "shall be made, to re-establish the com-"mercial relations between the two coun-"tries." In her treaty with the Porte (Register, page 166) she provides for a renewal of all the treaties, which existed between her and the Porte previous to the war; and, by way of definition of this renewal, the Porte stipulates, that in consequence thereof, the French Republic shall enjoy, throughout the whole extent of the Turkish dominions, "all the rights of com-"merce and navigation as formerly, and "with the same immunities as will in fu-"ture be enjoyed by the most favoured na-"tions." In her treaty with Portugal (Register, p. 166), which treaty, except as to boundaries of territory, is now in full force, she not only provides for a Definitive Treaty of Commerce, but, in the mean time, she exacts a stipulation which throws open to her the ports of our ally, and which actually does away all those advantages, which we have heretofore exclusively enjoyed in the commerce with Portugal; a stipulation, which does, indeed, absolutely annul our treaties of commerce with that power, treaties which have existed for more than a century, the operation of which largely contributed to our internal prosperity and our naval strengh, but which we shall never see renewed. Not only from our enemies, but from our friends also, has the present peace completely severed us. With Holland, Portugal, Spain, Genoa, and Tuscany, we have, and shall have, no treaty of commerce, while France will have treaties of commerce with them all. None of these powers will be suffered to negotiate with us; nor shall we dare to make overtures for

such negotiation. Thus has her system of exclusion been rigidly adopted; nor shall we fail to experience its mortal effects. British manufactures will for some months, probably for some few years, find their way through the former channels. To destroy pecuniary connections, to change the habits of a people, is not the work of a day; but the system of France will gradually proceed towards the accomplishment of its object, and, though we may, with the states abovementioned, for some few years push on our manufactures by a sort of smuggling means, even those will be finally cut off.

This system of France, which I assert to be sanctioned by the present treaty, is indeed, levelled more immediately against the *navigation* laws of England. As a compensation for chipping them away, we may probably obtain certain relaxations in favour of our manufactures. The French, who see somewhat farther than your lordship, clearly perceive, that her system will create a division in the shipping and manufacturing interests of this country, and they also perceive, that the voice of the latter will, for many reasons, prevail over that of the former. The persons concerned in manufactures are much more numerous as well as more noisy than the owners of ships. Their property and their workmen are always at home; they are distributed through the boroughs and counties of the kingdom; they are constantly at hand; and when the honour, the power, and the independence of the nation is to be weighed, they are ever ready to throw their weight into the opposite scale. So that their looms and their hammers are kept going, so that they continue to derive profit from the sale of their goods, they care very little whether those goods are carried in a British or a foreign bottom. To sentiments of this description it is, my lord, that we must attribute the approbation, which the present disgraceful peace has received from the manufacturers of England, while the property of the ship-owners has, as was, in a late debate, truly stated by Mr. Burdon, *already fallen thirty per cent. in value.* All this the French clearly foresaw. Their blows are directed not so much against our wealth as against our maritime power; in the latter they have found a most formidable enemy, while the former has been their constant friend: they well know, that having once destroyed our power, the wealth we possess will be always at their command.

If, after viewing this general sweep of our commercial interests, any particular instance of their abandonment could excite indignation against the negotiators of this peace, it would be the omission with respect to the conquered colonies. The planters and merchants, having property in the colonies, now to be restored to France and her dependents, perceiving that their interest had been completely neglected by the preliminary treaty, presented a memorial to his Majesty's ministers, showing the necessity of a provision for a longer time than three months for the purpose of bringing home their property directly from those colonies. This request was founded on former practice, and to grant it was of great importance to this kingdom. The memorial was forwarded to Amiens; but the *tone* there held by the British negotiator, was by no means calculated to enforce the requisite stipulation; and, the three years of lucrative trade after the peace, which the unfortunate Philanglus promised us with the conquered colonies, has vanished like the other dreams of that well-meaning but incompetent writer.

The conquered colonies contain at this moment British property to the amount of 20,000,000*l.* sterling, which must now remain there, and be employed for the benefit of our enemies. or must come home through the custom-houses of Bourdeaux and Amsterdam, with all the diminutions, to which they must be subjected on such a route. The exports from these colonies would, during the time that ought to have been obtained, have employed 300,000 tons of shipping and 16,000 seamen. This very considerable share of our navigation, this immense source of wealth, and, which is of much more importance, of maritime power, is, by a single stroke of your lordship's pen, transferred to our enemies, or rather to our enemy, for we have, in reality, but one; all the rest are mere instruments in his hands. That this branch of our trade must finally have became his, in consequence of the peace, is certain; but, a delay of a year or two would, possibly, have given time for the discovery of new means of employing the portion of our shipping, which is now, at once, thrown up to rot on the beach: at any rate, a suspension of evil is always desirable; a protracted execution is always better than instant death. A diminution in our commerce is a natural and an inevitable consequence of the peace; but, had the request of the merchants been listened to, this diminution would have, at least been retarded. Now it has come upon us at once, and your lordship must

know, that the anxiety and alarm at this time existing in the commercial part of the community are greater than ever existed at any former period. In 1793, the depreciation of the funds and the great and numerous bankruptcies were justly attributed to the increase of commerce, and to the consequent demand for capital; a contrary cause has now produced a rise in the funds, and has singularly favoured the bargain for the loan. The capital before employed in commerce is now becoming dead in the hands of the merchant and ship-owner, an inactivity which has given the state a momentary advantage over individuals, but for which it will dearly pay in the next year's receipts of the customs. The West-India trade, in particular, has already exhibited marks of decline such as never before appeared at any epoch of our history. The great houses in London, under whose guarantees that trade was carried on, have formally, and almost universally, withdrawn those guarantees, *since the conclusion of the Definitive Treaty*, since the consummation of that peace, which was to save the country from ruin!

But, the circumstance, which has excited, and justly excited, the greatest degree of alarm amongst commercial men, is, the total omission of treaties of commerce with the powers who were parties to the Definitive Treaty. This circumstance forbids the ship-owner to calculate on a rise in the value of his property. He sees the ports of the world shut against him, without any hope of ever again seeing them opened. The merchant partakes in his despair, and they most cordially unite in reprobating the imbecility and cowardice of those by whom their approaching ruin has been affected.

I am aware, my lord, that there will not be wanting persons to assert, that treaties of commerce are of *no use to us;* that they only cramp the operations of trade, and that we shall do infinitely better without them. But, how comes it, then, that we have heretofore uniformly sought for treaties of commerce; that all our former statesmen have considered them as being of the very first necessity to the extension and preservation of our trade; that we have spared neither pains nor expence to procure them; and that, in several instances, to obtain them has been the principal object of a war? If treaties of commerce are of no use to us, what becomes of the merits of Mr. Pitt and Lord Auckland in forming the commercial treaty with France? Why did we, so very lately make a treaty of commerce with America; and why is a bill at this very moment brought before the Parliament, the only object of which is, to deprive the American government of a pretext for annulling the stipulations of that treaty? In the declaration of the Duke of Manchester, subjoined to the treaty of peace of 1783, it is stated, that, "the new state "in which commerce may perhaps be found "in all parts of the world, will demand "revisions and explanations of the subsist-"ing treaties; *but an entire abrogation of "those treaties, in whatever period it might be, "would throw commerce into such confusion "as would be of infinite prejudice to it.*" How, then, will Mr. Fox, who dictated this observation, and who took great (and not undeserved) merit to himself for having provided for commercial stipulations; how will he relish the doctrine, now broached by the advocates of the peace of Amiens? Can he, without an open abandonment of all those interests, for which he has ever professed so deep a concern, suffer this peace to pass unreproved? As to those, who affect to consider the omission to stipulate for treaties of commerce as *an advantage* to the nation, I am really at a loss which most to admire, their impudence or their baseness. They are fully persuaded, they know, that the omission will prove destructive to the commerce and navigation of the country; they know, that it will diminish her revenue and her maritime strength; but, they also know, that these evils were to be prevented only by a continuation of the war, and that continuation would, probably, have lessened their present emoluments, rather than which they would strip their country of its power and its honour, and their sovereign of his crown.

I am,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most humble
and most obedient Servant,

Wm. Cobbett.

Pall Mall, April 10, 1802.

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,

I have read with much satisfaction your admirable strictures on the peace, which are entirely congenial with my own sentiments on the subject; but, in the last Number of your Register, I am exceedingly sorry to observe a Letter to *M. Otto*, wherein you accuse him of addressing the people of England through the medium of the

newspapers. I say that I am *sorry* to observe this, not because I disapprove of the manly and very spirited manner in which you censure the contents of his Letter to the French Prisoners; but because I know it to be a fact, that the Letter in question was inserted in our prints *without the knowledge of M. Otto.* It was written by him, and sent to the several prisoners, *in the French language*; and I know positively that it was first published in one of the Portsmouth newspapers; a copy of it having been obtained from the prisoners at that dépôt.

Like you, Sir, I "burn with shame, to "think that M. Otto has proved himself "to be possessed of far greater talents than "are to be found amongst those, to whom "the interests and the honour of this coun-"try are committed;" but still justice impels me to confess, and I know your candour will lead you also to admit, that his conduct here has at least been far less reprehensible than that of the agents of Republican France in any other part of the world. With respect to the Letter inserted in page 374 of the Register, as your animadversions on it are evidently in an essential degree founded in misapprehension, I have only to express a hope, that you will take an early opportunity of explaining the above-mentioned circumstance; and I feel the more inclined to believe that you will do so, because I am persuaded that you do not wish, nor indeed is it necessary, to have recourse to any thing which may have the appearance of misrepresentation, in order to display the insidious arts of the French, or to shew the ruinous effects of which the peace must be productive to this country.

I am,
Sir,
Your's, &c.
A Caithnesian.

13th April.

TO A CAITHNESIAN.

Sir,

I thank you for your Letter; first, because it gives me some information; and, secondly, because it affords me an opportunity of again touching upon a subject, which, for want of time, was before but imperfectly discussed.

The most offensive circumstance, relating to the Letter of Mr. Otto, certainly was its promulgation in the English language, and, therefore, I am ready to confess, that the fact, which you mention (and of the truth of which I have no doubt), of its being so promulgated *without the knowledge of the writer*, would, if I had been apprized of it, have considerably diminished the censure bestowed on that account. But, I must, at the same time, observe, that it would not have induced me to spare it altogether; for, Sir, it must, I think, appear evident to every one, that M. Otto ought to have taken precautions to prevent any *other person* from publishing that letter, under his name, in this country. It cannot be supposed, that the letter passed through the hands of the mere prisoners. It was ceatainly committed to those of a commissary, or agent of some sort, immediately under the controul of the minister. I do not say, that this agent knew that he was rendering an acceptable service to his superior in causing the publication; but I do say, that, in all such cases, superiors are ever looked to for the consequences, whether the act originates in their approbation, or not. The excuse of indiscretion is often admitted, and, as far as relates to the act of *publishing*, I am willing to admit it in the present instance.

With respect to the act of *writing*, I say nothing in reply to you; because I perceive, with pleasure, that you concur with me in censuring the matter written; but, as addressing myself to other readers, I think it necessary to add a few words on this part of the subject.

As to the eulogium on the *virtues* of the French prisoner, it might, for aught I know, be dictated by prudence, or by some other uncensurable motive; but I cannot so readily excuse the passage, which, in whatever sense it might be meant, is certainly calculated to leave, on the mind of the reader, an impression that the extraordinary sufferings of the prisoners had arisen, some how or other, from the conduct of the British, and not of the French Government. An impression like this ought to be immediately effaced: to neglect it would be a base abandonment of the character of our Sovereign and our country; and, though I cannot hope that my feeble voice will be heard far, as far as the sound will reach so far the contradiction shall go.

I perfectly agree with you, that the conduct of M. Otto here "has, at least, been "far less reprehensible than that of the "agents of Republican France in any other "part of the world." Long may it be so! and let King, Lords, and Commons say, *amen!* The falcon knows not the kite, the ichneumon knows knot the crocodile, better

than I know the agents of Republican France. I have watched their progress in Flanders, in Holland, in Switzerland, in Italy, in Egypt, and in America. I have been pitted against them, and have had the satisfaction to see three of them quit the turf. Their uniform practice has been, to begin their career by appealing *indirectly* from the government to the people. They have approached by slow or hasty steps as circumstances dictated. In America they, by little and little, blew up a flame, which, at one time, menaced the existence of the government, and of every man, who was not devoted to their cause. Without, therefore, comparing M. Otto to Genet, to Fauchet, or to Adet, without even insinuating, that he entertains motives similar to theirs (for I really do not think he does), I may easily be excused for wishing him to forbear from every thing that has the slightest resemblance to their conduct, and for any act of mine that may induce him to adhere to such forbearance.

Yes, Sir, I not only allow, that M. Otto has conducted himself here in a manner "*less* reprehensible" than any of the other ministers of Republican France, but that his conduct has not, except in the present instance, been *at all* reprehensible. "He has borne his fortunes meekly." Another, in his place, would, 'ere this time, have stamped his foot upon our necks, from doing which there is nothing to prevent him, no, not even the *will* of the ministers or the nation. In such a state of things, Sir, be cautious how you praise my "*manly* and *spirited*" exertions, when it is very doubtful whether those exertions may not be regarded as a presumptuous attempt to stay the plagues, which heaven has prepared for the chastisement of a selfish and degenerate people, a people who have basely abandoned the honours which their forefathers won, and have impiously embraced the revilers of their God.

I am,
Sir,
Your most humble
and obedient Servant,
Wm. Cobbett.

Pall Mall, April 15, 1802.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Constantinople, Feb. 25.—The late Reis Effendi Jasib Effendi has received orders from the Porte to repair to Egypt, together with the Swedish captain, Rhode, to inspect the repairs and improvements intended to be made in the fortifications on the coast of that country.—These two commissaries will sail in a few days on board a Turkish frigate. The Porte seems to have some fears that the protection which the English afforded to the Beys in Egypt, will enable them to raise obstacles to the new administration, which the Turkish government proposes to introduce.

On the 20th inst. the French chargé d'affaires, citizen Ruffin, received a courier from Paris, whose dispatches, it is said, are of very considerable importance.

Two thousand houses have been destroyed by fire in this capital within these few days. The loss to the proprietors amounts to many millions.

New York papers to the 14th, and Boston papers to the 16th ult. were lately received. They detail several considerable fires which have taken place in different parts of the United States: eleven stores were destroyed in Boston on the 10th of March, chiefly upon Long Wharf. But the fire which seems to have occasioned the most general concern and surprise is, that of Princeton College, in New Jersey, which is reduced to the ground. It was an elegant edifice, and considered one of the most respectable colleges in the United States.—This last is ascribed to some unknown incendiary.

Corfu, March 16.—A few days ago an English squadron of six ships arrived here, the commander of which brought a letter from the ministry at Constantinople to our government, to announce that our constitution not having been accepted by the Sublime Porte, had been disannulled, and that the ancient government was to be re-established. In consequence of this, the English troops had made themselves masters of the forts, and had executed their orders. Russian troops were also expected.

Vienna, March 20.—We are assured that the Archduke Charles has succeeded in persuading Field-Marshal the Prince de Cobourg to quit his hermitage, and to return to Vienna, where he will labour conjointly with the Archduke in the new organization of the troops.

Berne, March 31.—General Thurreau has imposed a severe contribution on the Communes of the Valais, who had sent deputies to Berne, to express their wish to continue a part of the Swiss people.

Bourdeaux, March 31.—Accounts brought by a vessel which left Guadaloupe on the

14th of February, confirm the accounts of the complete tranquillity of that island.—Cultivation had never been abandoned, and there were abundant resources in the magazines.

A letter from Malta, dated February 14, says, "The circumstances which have recently happened in the republic of the Seven Islands, and the unsettled state of the government there, have induced the commander in chief, Lord Keith, to dispatch Captain Martin, with His Majesty's ship Northumberland, and some frigates, under his command, in order to restore tranquillity amongst them."

The Danish flag was hoisted in the island of St. Thomas on the 18th of February.

Paris, April 12.—*Te Deum* shall be chanted at the metropolitan church of Paris, in the presence of the government, on the 18th instant.—(Sunday.)

At six in the morning there will be a discharge of thirty pieces of cannon, and a discharge of ten pieces every hour until noon.

At eight, the First Consul will promulgate the law of the 8th instant.

At nine, the Local Authorities will proclaim in due form, and with the accustomed ceremonies, the Treaty of Peace.

At eleven, the Government will proceed from the palace of the Thuilleries to the metropolitan church.

The departure of the Government from the palace will be announced by a discharge of thirty pieces of cannon, and its return by an equal number.

There will be a general illumination in the evening.

The First Consul has appointed Jean Baptiste Dubelloy archbishop of Paris.

The following are the circumstances attending the public presentation of Cardinal Caprara to the Chief Consul. The government carriages were sent for his Eminence to his palace; at one o'clock he repaired to the Thuilleries; he was preceded by a detachment of grenadiers and of *gendarmerie*, with trumpets, &c. There were in his train ten carriages full of ecclesiastics, and the procession was closed by a body of two hundred cavalry. The Legate and his suite descended at the principal entrance of the palace; the cross was, as is usual, carried before his Eminence, and during the ceremony placed at the door of the council chamber.

To-day the Cardinal Legate consecrated in the metropolitan church of *Notre-Dame*, three archbishops, one of whom was Abbé Bernier; another the former curate of Panthemont; and the third, the Abbé Cambaceres, appointed to the archbishopric of Rouen.

They write from Alexandria, under date of the 10th February, that the merchandizes of Italy abound there, but the sale is not great. Cairo is not yet tranquil.

The Mameloucs have withdrawn into the Higher Egypt. The Grand Vizier would not suffer them to enter Cairo, and he has sent a detachment of troops to pursue them.

The English are completely masters of Alexandria, where the Turks have no authority.

Paris, April 13.

The Maritime Prefect of Brest to the Minister of Marine and of the Colonies.

"The Cisalpin is arrived from St. Domingo after a passage of 37 days. She has got the start by some days of the division which is expected. Citizen Jerome Buonaparté, midshipman, is the bearer of good news, he set off yesterday."

M. de Roqueleure, formerly Bishop of Senles, is appointed to the Archbishopric of Mechlin. M. Bernier is appointed Bishop of Orleans, and not of Versailles.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

His excellency Count Woronzow, the Russian ambassador, having obtained leave of absence for six months, had, on the 7th instant, an audience of leave of His Majesty. He set off, with his suite, for St. Petersburgh, on the 13th.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, we understand, takes leave of their Majesties at Windsor on Sunday next, and immediately proceeds for Falmouth, where a frigate will be ready for his reception to convey him to his new government of Gibraltar.

The Prince of Wales has accepted the invitation of the Lord Mayor, to dine at the Mansion-House on Easter Monday. This will be the first public visit ever made by his Royal Highness into the City, and the only instance, for many reigns, of an Heir Apparent going there on such an occasion.

The Commissioners of the Transport Board have freighted fifty vessels, for the purpose of conveying the French prisoners to their own country. Their number

amounts to nearly 15,000, and they are all to be sent home in the course of next week.

The second battalion of Royals has been ordered from Gibraltar to Jamaica.

On the 15th of February the second detachment from the Mediterranean fleet, consisting of the Zealous, Vanguard, Defiance, and Bellona, of 74 guns each, reached Port Royal, Jamaica.

The Turkey Company have presented to Sir Sidney Smith a magnificent piece of plate, in the form of a vase, highly decorated, the top terminating with the figure of an alligator, and one side bearing the following inscription :—

" Presented by the Governor and Company of Merchants of England, trading into the Levant Seas, to Captain Sir William Sidney Smith, of his Majesty's navy, Knight of the Royal Swedish Order of the Sword, as an acknowledgement for the signal services rendered to his country, by his unparalleled defence of the ancient and important town of St. Jean d'Acre, when, with a small band of British seamen, co-operating with the efforts of the Turkish garrison, he enabled that feeble and ill-constructed fortress to withstand, for the space of 69 days, the repeated and obstinate attacks of an enemy formidable from numbers and discipline, accustomed to unvarying success, and led on by Buonaparté in person, thereby totally defeating the object of that general's expedition, and finally forcing him to retreat with the loss of one-third of his army."

Sir Edward Law was sworn in on Monday last before the Lord Chancellor as Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench. He is to be raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Keswick.

The Hon. Spencer Perceval was on Tuesday sworn in as his Majesty's Attorney-general. It is supposed that Mr. Manners Sutton will be the Solicitor general.

Upwards of 1000 French prisoners were on Monday morning liberated from the depôt at Norman Cross, and escorted by detachments of the East Essex militia, and 3d Dragoon Guards, to Lynn in Norfolk, from whence they are to be conveyed to Dunkirk.

The court martial held at Portsmouth for the trial of Lieutenant-colonel Berkeley, was on Monday dissolved, he being acquitted of the charge exhibited against him.

It is said, Government has at length determined on the sale of the lands in St. Vincent, which formerly belonged to the Caribs, and directed Governor Bentinck, upon his arrival in that island, to carry the plan into effect. These lands consist of about 26,000 acres.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

It will be seen by our Parliamentary Reports, that the House of Lords have adjourned to Monday, the 26th instant, and that the Commons have adjourned till Wednesday, the 21st. Of course the Definitive Treaty, though the ratification will probably arrive on Monday next, will not be discussed till after the 26th. On what day, and in what manner, peace will be proclaimed we know not; but, in the mean time the heralds of folly and of baseness, are loudly proclaiming the propriety of a *General Illumination*.— The papers, under the more immediate influence of the ministry, have been, ever since the *sombre* nights of the 29th and 30th of March, sedulously employed in fanning the expiring embers of enthusiasm. They have affected to believe, that the illuminations of those nights were *premature*, though it is well known that all the public offices were illuminated, and that hundreds of pounds of the public money were expended to render the appearance of approbation as general as possible. The reluctance with which the people lighted their houses then, however, has increased the vigilance of those, who, for reasons too obvious to mention, wished to see them lighted. There is no art, no trick, however low and scandalous, to which they have not had recourse, for the purpose of providing against a repetition of their former disappointment. The public has been daily told, that there will be *no* general illumination till peace is proclaimed; the people have been desired to wait with *patience* for that event; and the Mayor of London has been induced to issue an advertisement, in which, from what authority may easily be guessed, he recommends, that there should be *only* one GENERAL ILLUMINATION. From all this, who would not imagine that the people were on tiptoe for the approaching fête? When the truth is, they want the spur rather than the bridle; and if the government will promise, to protect the housekeepers from the brutality of the senseless and houseless mob, we will engage, that London shall be, on the night of the proclamation, as gloomy as the event which that proclamation will announce.

The general feeling produced by the treaty of Amiens may be described by any

word better than that of *joy*. The misguided rabble, who know nothing of either peace or war but the mere name, may, perhaps, be pleased; but their opinions are so wavering, that they cannot be truly said to have any at all. The greedy man of money chuckles over the bags that have been swelled by the sudden rise in the funds; but his pleasure is ever and anon damped by the reflection, that both principal and interest may, 'ere long, be snatched from his grasp. A similar sentiment haunts the mind of the manufacturer. The merchant anticipates a large diminution in his profits, and the ship owner sees ruin in every ſtipulation, poſitive or tacit, of this omnious treaty. The nobility, the gentry, and the clergy, while they participate in the mortification and rage of the military and naval commanders, recollect, not without anxiety and dread, the fate of the nobility, the gentry, and the clergy of France; and the ministry themselves tremble for the consequences of an act, which the love of place and of power has led them to commit.

In our approbation of the new taxes (Register, p. 378), we made an exception with respect to the duty upon *imports and exports*. The policy of imposing such a duty appeared, at first glance, to be very doubtful. Subsequent reflection has convinced us, that the measure is of a most dangerous tendency, and, of course, highly impolitic. It will greatly augment the price of our manufactures; some of them, we should suppose, 15 per cent. It will call for an immediate advance from the exporter, which is always a great check to exportation, and though Mr. Addington imagines, that it will have no such effect, *because the convoy duty had not*, there will certainly be found persons to explain to him the difference in the cases. But, the more dangerous part of this measure is, the proposed heavy duty upon shipping, both in the coasting and foreign trade, which must inevitably tend to reduce our carrying trade, and to send our seamen into the service of other nations, a consequence that would arise soon enough out of the peace of Amiens, without the aid of any domestic discouragement.

The conclusion and ratification of the Concordat, between Buonaparté and the Pope, is an event on which we shall have an opportunity of remarking in a subsequent part of our work; at present we have not time to enter into so much detail as the subject necessarily demands. Some of the Paris papers have, notwithstanding the positive confirmation of the Republican Kalendar, already adopted that of the Christian æra, and we shall be much deceived if the former be not very soon abolished. As a companion piece to the Concordat, in which Buonaparté declares himself a Roman-catholic, we have published the proclamation which he issued upon his landing in Egypt, in which he boasts of being a Mussulman, and of having dethroned the Pope. These things never should be separated, no, not for a single moment, either in the eye or the mind of the reader.

Much has lately been said about the affairs of Turkey; but, though we certainly regard that empire as being in a very critical state, we have, as yet, seen nothing to convince us, that there is any reason to apprehend its dissolution.

The accounts lately received from Saint Domingo, through Jamaica and the American States, are of a later date than what were before received by the way of France; but, the French papers, received yesterday, as will be seen by a recurrence to our Foreign Intelligence, contain news which comes down to the 6th of March. This news is conveyed in a telegraphic dispatch, which is, of course, very laconic. It is brought by Buonaparté's brother, and said to be *good*. If there were any reliance to be placed on the statements of the telegraphic dispatch, we should regard this news as a subject of lamentation; for, besides the general truth, that whatever is good for France is bad for us, we shall look to the subjugation of St. Domingo as a preliminary step to the total ruin of our West-India colonies.—It would appear, that there is a division of the French fleet on the way to Europe.

The famous republic of the *Seven Isles* appears to be in a state of complete confuſion. The intelligence from that part of the world comes to us through channels so very doubtful, that there is seldom any reliance to be placed on it; but it appears pretty clear to us, that the republic of the Seven Islands will stand in need of the interference of some *real* power, and we have no doubt that France will have the goodness to take it under her immediate protection.

The people of the Valais still continue refractory to the commands of the Grand Nation. They must, however, finally submit; and, in our minds, there remains not the least doubt, that the projected union of a great part of Switzerland to France will not long remain unaccomplished.

LOTTERY.

It is understood that a very material change will take place this year in the mode of drawing the lottery; and that the following, or some similar plan, will be adopted.

There will be three lotteries, to raise 3,000,000*l.* each, to be drawn between the 1st of July, 1802, and the 1st of July, 1803, the prizes to be paid in money. Each lottery will be drawn in eight days, at the rate of two days in a week.

Each lottery will contain any number of tickets that the contractors may require, provided its drawing is not extended to more than eight days.

There will be no Irish lottery.

By the adoption of this plan, it is expected that a much larger sum will be raised for the benefit of Government, and that the low insurance, which has produced such fatal effects on the morals of the people, will be effectually prevented.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

At the Court at St. James's, the 7th of April, 1802, present the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

His Majesty having been pleased to appoint his Grace George William Frederick Duke of Leeds to be Lord Lieutenant of the North Riding of the County of York, his Grace this day took the Oaths appointed to be taken thereupon, instead of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy.

Secretary of State's Office, Whitehall, April 13, 1802.

His Majesty's Warrant, allowing the person signing himself Robert Lathropp Murray, in his Petition to his Majesty, delivered the 31st of last month, to assume the surnames of Browne-Clarke, hath been cancelled by his Majesty's command, and is declared null and void.

Carleton-House, April 11, 1802.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has been pleased to appoint the Honourable Thomas Erskine to the Office of Chancellor and Keeper of his Royal Highness's Great Seal.

MARRIAGES AND DEATHS.

Marriages.—On Wednesday, at Meridan, Warwickshire, the Hon. William Booth Grey, second son of the Earl of Stamford, to Miss Pryce, eldest daughter of the late Thomas Pryce, Esq. of Duffryn, in Glamorganshire.—Lately, in Cheshire, at the seat of M. Keatinge, Esq. M. P. the Hon. Coulson Wallep, Member for Andover, to Miss Keatinge.

Deaths.—On Tuesday, at his Lordship's House, in Windsor Castle, Mrs. Douglas, wife of the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Salisbury.—On Sunday morning, at nine o'clock, died of a fever, after an illness of near seven days, in the 49th year of her age, Mrs. Hawkins Browne, wife of Isaac Hawkins Browne, Esq. M. P. and daughter of the late Hon. Edward Hay, Governor of Barbadoes.—On Tuesday morning, at his house in Grosvenor-place, after a long illness, the Right Rev. Dr. Moss, Bishop of Bath and Wells, Canon of Sarum, and F. R. S.

PRICE OF STOCKS.

ENGLISH three per cent. consols.

Saturday	75⅞ 6, 5⅛	Wednesday	76¼ ⅞ ¾
Monday	75¼ 5, 6	Thursday	77¼ ⅜ ⅛ 6⅝
Tuesday	76⅛ ¼	Friday	Shut.

AMERICAN STOCKS.—Eight pr. c. 112¾.

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 55 f.

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s.	s.		s.	s.
Eng. Wheat per q.	53	to 61	Hops per cwt.	82	to 158
Foreign	30	70	Hay per load	40	92
Rye	34	36	Beef, per stone, 5s. 0d. to 6s. 6d.		
Barley	30	36			
Malt	46	57	Mutton .. 6s. 0d. to 7s. 6d.		
Oats	16	23	Veal ....6s. 0d. to 7s. 0d.		
Pease	30	34	Pork ....5s. 4d. to 6s. 8d.		
Beans	28	40	Tallow.....	4s. 0d.	
Flour per sack....	—	48	Average of sugar		
Seconds	38	42	per cwt.	38s. 10d.	
Coals per chal.	29	39	Bread, 10d. the quart. loaf.		

Porter Four Pence Halfpenny per Pot.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

HAMBURGH..	32 4 2½ us.	NAPLES.....	46
ALTONA	32 5 2½ us.	GENOA	48¼
CADIZ.....	37¾ eff.	LISBON	68½
MADRID	39¼ eff.	OPORTO.....	70½
LEGHORN	52⅜	DUBLIN.....	12.

Observations on the Weather, near Guildford, in Surrey, for the Month of April, 1802.

Days.	Moon's Age.	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barometer. Inches. M.	Barometer. Inches. A.	Thermometer. Degrees. M.	Thermometer. Degrees. A.
8		Fair.	W	W	30,04	30	52	63
9		Fair.	W	W	29,8	29,8	52	57
10	☾	Fair.	WNW	W	29,9	29,85	48	53
11		Fair. Win.	W	W	29,64	29,65	47	53
12		S.H. & W.	NW	NW	29,6	29,6	44	46
13		Fine.	N	N	29,87	29,94	43	47
14		Fair.	NW	NW	30	30	44	52,5

● *New Moon.* ☾ *1st Quar.* ○ *F. Moon.* ☽ *Last Quar.*

LONDON,

LONDON, April 17 to April 24, 1802.

COUNTERVAILING DUTIES.

In the Regiſter, page 298, we gave an account of the *Diſcriminating Duties*, impoſed in the United States of America. We ſhall now give an account of the countervailing duties laid on in Great-Britain.

We have received a report, which has lately been made, on this ſubject, to the American Congreſs, and which is ſo much better than any thing that we ourſelves could have drawn up, that we gladly avail ourſelves of it. It is entitled, "A Table, ſhewing the comparative Duties paid in the Ports of Great-Britain, on Goods imported into Great-Britain, in American, Foreign, and Britiſh Bottoms, ſince the 5th of February, 1798, ſo far as the ſame reſpect the Commerce of the United States."

Before we inſert this table, we think it neceſſary to make ſome remarks on an aſſertion, which has lately been made in the American Congreſs, that "*Great-Britain has carried her countervailing duties beyond the legal limits of the treaty of* 1794." Juſtice to our country and duty to our ſovereign call upon us to repel this charge, which, if well founded, amounts to nothing ſhort of a breach of treaty.

By the 2d Sect. of the 15th Art. of the Treaty of 1794, "the Britiſh government reſerves to itſelf the right of impoſing upon American veſſels entering into the Britiſh ports in Europe, a tonnage duty "*equal to that* which ſhall be payable by the Britiſh veſſels in the ports of America: and alſo ſuch duty as may be *adequate to countervail the difference of the duty* "now payable on the importation of European and Aſiatic goods, when imported into the United States, in Britiſh or in American veſſels." At the time of entering into this ſtipulation America had laid, firſt, 10 per cent. on all goods brought into the United States from foreign countries, ſecondly, 20 per cent. on certain goods from China or India. This 10 and 20 per cent. were called *diſcriminating* duties, and were paid by the commerce carried on in Britiſh and other foreign veſſels in *addition* to what it paid in common with that carried on in the veſſels of America. Again: Britiſh veſſels paid 50 cents per ton, while American veſſels paid but 6 cents. It appears, then, that a rigid adherence to the above-cited ſtipulations of the treaty rendered the ſum *liable to be countervailed* 10 per cent. for goods in general, excluſive of an additional allowance for particular articles; and that 50 cents (2s. 3d. ſterling) was the ſum neceſſary to make the Britiſh tonnage duty *equal to that payable by Britiſh veſſels in the ports of America.*—It now remains to be ſeen whether Great-Britain has "carried her "countervailing duties beyond theſe legal "limits."

By the 2d Sect. of the Act of Parliament of the 4th of July, 1797, importations into Great-Britain in American ſhips are to pay the ſame duties as are payable on thoſe in Britiſh ſhips from any *foreign* country; and, in caſes where different duties are impoſed upon goods of the like denomination from different countries, then on payment of the *loweſt* duties which are payable on the importation of ſuch goods in Britiſh ſhips; ſubject, nevertheleſs, to the *countervailing duties* impoſed by the ſame act. By the 11th Sect. it is provided, that American goods (tobacco excepted), imported from America in American ſhips, ſhall pay *ten per centum* on the amount of the duty as it then ſtood on the ſame goods imported in Britiſh veſſels; and on tobacco, imported as aforeſaid, an additional duty of *one ſhilling and ſixpence for every hundred pounds weight*, which additional duty is not quite *one* per centum, inſtead of *ten* per centum, as, by the "legal limits" of the treaty, it might have been.—The ſame act (Sect. 17), after reciting the ſtipulation above quoted from the treaty of 1794, impoſes on all American ſhips, arriving in the ports of Great-Britain, a tonnage duty of 2s. per ton, when, as we have juſt ſeen, the Parliament had an undoubted right to lay a duty of 2s. 3d. per ton. Nor would the Americans have had any juſt cauſe of complaint, if we had, in our calculation, paid no regard to the *ſix* cents paid on their own veſſels. When, therefore, we refrain from exerciſing our full right in this particular, and thereby favour the navigation of America, though it may be no proof of our wiſdom, it is an act of courteſy, which, as an American writer candidly obſerves, "is "entitled to civility, at leaſt, in return."

GOODS.	IMPORTED FROM EUROPE, IN BRITISH SHIPS.			IMPORTED FROM EUROPE, IN FOREIGN SHIPS.			IMPORTED FROM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN BRITISH SHIPS.			IMPORTED FROM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN AMERICAN SHIPS.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
ASHES, viz.												
Pearl Afhes, the cwt.	0	2	$4\frac{7}{20}$	0	2	$4\frac{7}{20}$	—	*free*	—	0	0	$2\frac{14}{20}$
Pot Afhes, do.	0	2	$4\frac{7}{20}$	0	2	$4\frac{7}{20}$	—	*free*	—	0	0	$2\frac{14}{20}$
The duty on Pearl and Pot Afhes imported from the Britifh Plantations in America, without certificate, is the fame as from Europe.												
Balks, fee in Wood.												
Battens, do.												
Beech Quarters, do.												
Clap Boards, do.												
						per lb.						
Cotton	—	*free*	—	0	0	1	—	*free*	—	—	*free*	—
Deals, fee in Wood												
Fir Quarters, do.												
Fir Timber, do.												
Indigo	—	*free*	—	—	*free*	—	—	*free*	—	—	*free*	—
Iron, viz. in bars or unwrought												
—— of Mufcovy or Ruffia, the ton	3	1	$9\frac{8}{20}$	3	15	$11\frac{18}{20}$	—	*free*	—	0	5	$7\frac{8}{20}$
—— of any other port of Europe do.	3	1	$9\frac{8}{20}$	3	13	$10\frac{12}{20}$	—	*free*	—	0	5	$7\frac{8}{20}$
The Duty on Bar Iron imported from the Britifh Plantations in America, without certificate, is the fame as from Europe in a Britifh fhip.												
Pig Iron, for every £.100 of the value	28	17	6	28	17	6	—	*free*	—	0	0	*the ton.* $6\frac{12}{20}$
The duty on Pig Iron imported from the Britifh Plantations in America, without certificate, is 5s. 9 6-20d. the ton.												
Mahogany, fee in Wood.												
Maſts, 6 inches in diameter, and under 8 inches, the Maſt	0	1	$2\frac{9}{20}$	0	1	$2\frac{14}{20}$	0	1	$2\frac{1}{20}$	0	1	$3\frac{10}{20}$
——— 8 inches in diameter, and under 12 inches, the Maſt	0	3	6	0	3	$8\frac{3}{20}$	0	3	6	0	3	10
——— 12 inch. in diam. or upwar. the load qt. 50 cubic feet	0	10	6	0	11	$0\frac{6}{20}$	0	10	6	0	11	6
Yards and Bowſprits pay duty as Maſts or Spars, according to their dimenſions.												
Oak Plank and Timber, fee Wood.												
Oil, viz. Train Oil or Blubber, or Fiſh Oil, the ton qt. 252 gallons	19	1	$1\frac{16}{20}$	19	1	$1\frac{16}{20}$	19	1	$1\frac{16}{20}$	90	17	$5\frac{8}{20}$
Pipe Boards, fee in Wood.												
Pitch, the laſt qt. 12 barrels, each barrel qt. $31\frac{1}{2}$ gallons	0	13	$0\frac{9}{20}$	0	13	$8\frac{7}{20}$	0	11	$6\frac{12}{20}$	0	12	$7\frac{16}{20}$
Rice, the cwt.	0	7	$8\frac{8}{20}$	0	7	$8\frac{8}{20}$	0	7	$8\frac{8}{20}$	0	8	$5\frac{4}{20}$
No part of the duties on Rice warehouſed under the King's lock, in certain enumerated ports, is payable, unleſs the Rice is taken out of ſuch warehouſe, to be uſed in the country.												
Roſin, the cwt.	0	2	$4\frac{7}{20}$	0	2	$5\frac{7}{20}$	0	1	$6\frac{18}{20}$	0	1	$8\frac{14}{20}$
Snuff, the lb.	0	0	$10\frac{10}{20}$	0	0	$10\frac{10}{20}$	0	0	$10\frac{10}{20}$	0	0	$11\frac{10}{20}$
Subject alſo to a duty of excite of 1s. 11d. per lb.												
Spars, ſee Wood.												
Spermaceti, coarſe and oily, the cwt.	0	18	$6\frac{13}{20}$	0	18	$6\frac{12}{20}$	0	18	$6\frac{12}{20}$	1	0	$3\frac{16}{20}$
———— fine, the lb.	0	0	$8\frac{8}{20}$	0	0	$8\frac{8}{20}$	0	0	$8\frac{8}{20}$	0	0	$9\frac{4}{20}$
Staves, not above 3 inches in thickneſs, and not exceeding 7 inches in breadth, viz. Not exceeding 36 inches in length, the 120	0	4	$4\frac{16}{20}$	0	4	$5\frac{18}{20}$	—	*free*	—	0	0	$4\frac{16}{20}$

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
A bove 36 and not exceeding 50 inches in length, the 120 ..	0	8	3	0	8	$4\frac{2}{20}$	—	*free*	—	0	0	9
Above 50 and not exceeding 60 inches in length, the 120	0	11	0	0	11	$1\frac{2}{20}$	—	*free*	—	0	1	0
Above 60 and not exceeding 72 inches in length, the 120	0	16	6	0	16	$7\frac{2}{20}$	—	*free*	—	0	1	6
Above 72 inches in length, the 120	0	19	3	0	19	$4\frac{2}{20}$	—	*free*	—	0	1	9
Staves above 3 inches in thickneſs, or above 7 inches in breadth, and not exceeding 5 feet 3 inches in length, are deemed Clap Boards, and pay duty accordingly.												
Staves above 3 inches in thickneſs, or above 7 inches in breadth, and exceeding 5 feet 3 inches in length, are deemed Pipe Boards, and pay duty accordingly.												
For the duty on Clap Boards and Pipe Boards, ſee in Wood.												
Tar, the Laſt, qt. 12 barrels, each barrel $31\frac{1}{2}$ gallons	0	12	$11\frac{8}{20}$	0	13	$8\frac{17}{20}$	0	11	$6\frac{12}{20}$	0	12	$7\frac{10}{20}$
Tobacco, the pound	0	0	$6\frac{6}{20}$	0	0	$6\frac{6}{20}$	0	0	$6\frac{6}{20}$	0	0	$6\frac{6}{20}$
And beſides, if imported in an American ſhip, the 100 lb....	—	—		—	—		—	—		0	1	6
No part of the duty on Tobacco warehouſed under the King's lock, or of the countervailing duty, is payable, unleſs the Tobacco is taken out of ſuch warehouſe to be uſed in this country.												
Tobacco is alſo ſubject to a duty of excife 1s. 1d. per lb.												
Turpentine, common, of the Britiſh plantations in America, the cwt.	—	—		—	—		0	2	$4\frac{7}{20}$	0	2	$7\frac{1}{20}$
Of Germany and other places, except Venice, the cwt.	0	13	$4\frac{13}{20}$	0	13	$4\frac{13}{20}$	—	—				
Ufers, ſee in Wood.												
Whalefins, the ton, qt. 20 cwt..	102	15	$10\frac{16}{20}$	102	15	$10\frac{16}{20}$	102	15	$10\frac{16}{20}$	112	11	$8\frac{8}{20}$
Wood, unmanufactured, viz.												
Balks, Beech Quarters, Fir Quarters, and Ufers, viz.												
Five inches ſquare, and under 8 inches ſquare, or if 24 feet in length, the 120	4	3	$5\frac{14}{20}$	4	4	$11\frac{11}{20}$	—	*free*	—	0	7	$11\frac{8}{20}$
Under five inches ſquare and under 24 feet in length, the 120.....	1	13	$6\frac{8}{20}$	1	14	$0\frac{9}{20}$	—	*free*	—	0	3	$2\frac{6}{20}$
Battens, not above 7 inches in width, viz.												
8 feet in length, not exceeding 20 feet in length, and not exceeding $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in thickneſs, the 120....	2	1	$8\frac{17}{20}$	2	2	$6\frac{14}{20}$	—	*free*	—	0	3	$11\frac{3}{20}$
Battens, exceeding 20 feet in length, or if exceeding $2\frac{1}{4}$ inch. in thickneſs, the 120.....	4	3	$5\frac{14}{20}$	4	4	$11\frac{11}{20}$	—	*free*	—	0	7	$11\frac{8}{20}$
Batten ends, not above 7 inches in width, viz.												
Under 8 feet in length, and not exceeding $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in thickneſs, the 120....	0	13	$10\frac{19}{20}$	0	14	$2\frac{2}{20}$	—	*free*	—	0	1	$3\frac{18}{20}$
Under 8 feet in length, exceeding $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in thickneſs, the 120.....	1	7	$9\frac{18}{20}$	1	8	$4\frac{4}{20}$	—	*free*	—	0	2	$7\frac{16}{20}$
Beech Quarters, ſee Balks in Wood.												

	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Clap Boards, not exceeding 5 feet 3 inches in length, and under 8 inches ſquare, the 120.....	1 1 0	1 1 $2\frac{2}{20}$	— *free* —	0 2 0
Deals, above 7 inches in width, viz. Exceeding 20 feet in length, and not exceeding 4 inches in thickneſs, the 120.....	9 7 $5\frac{2}{20}$	9 11 $9\frac{12}{20}$	— *free* —	0 17 $10\frac{4}{20}$
Exceeding 20 feet in length, and exceeding 4 inches in thickneſs, the 120.....	18 14 $10\frac{4}{10}$	18 19 $2\frac{14}{20}$	— *free* —	1 15 $8\frac{18}{20}$
8 feet in length, and not above 10 feet in length, and not exceeding $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in thickneſs, the 120.....	2 15 $7\frac{16}{20}$	2 17 $1\frac{13}{20}$	— *free* —	0 5 $3\frac{12}{20}$
8 feet in length, and not above 20 feet in length, and not exceeding $3\frac{1}{4}$ inch. in thickneſs, the 120.....	4 3 $5\frac{14}{20}$	4 4 $11\frac{11}{20}$	— *free* —	0 7 $11\frac{8}{20}$
8 feet in length, and not above 20 feet in length, and exceeding $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in thickneſs, the 120.....	8 6 $11\frac{8}{20}$	8 8 $5\frac{5}{20}$	— *free* —	0 15 $10\frac{10}{20}$
Fir Quarters, ſee Balks in Wood.				
Fir Timber, of the growth of Norway, and imported directly from thence, being 8 inches ſquare or upwards, and not exceeding 10 inches ſquare, the load, qt. 50 cubic feet.....	0 7 0	0 7 $2\frac{2}{20}$	— *free* —	0 0 8
Fir Timber, and Timber of all other ſorts (except Oak Timber) being 8 inch. ſquare, or upwards, the load, qt. 50 cubic feet.....	0 10 6	0 10 $8\frac{2}{20}$	— *free* —	0 1 0
Mahogany, the ton, qt. 20 cwt....	5 9 $2\frac{8}{20}$	5 9 $2\frac{8}{20}$	3 3 0	3 9 0
Oak Plank, 2 inches thick, or upwards, the load, qt. 50 cubic feet	1 0 $9\frac{18}{21}$	1 1 $8\frac{8}{20}$	— *free* —	0 1 $11\frac{16}{20}$
Oak Timber, 8 inch. ſquare, or upwards, the load, qt. 50 cubic feet	0 10 $4\frac{19}{20}$	0 10 $10\frac{4}{20}$	— *free* —	0 0 $11\frac{13}{20}$
Pipe Boards, under 8 inches ſquare, viz. above 5 feet 3 inch. and not exceeding 8 f. in length, the 120	1 11 6	1 11 $9\frac{3}{20}$	— *free* —	0 3 0
Exceeding 8 feet in length, the 120	3 3 0	3 3 $3\frac{3}{20}$	— *free* —	0 6 0
Spars, under 22 feet in length, and under 4 inches in diameter, excluſive of the bark, the 120....	0 7 0	0 7 $3\frac{3}{20}$	— *free* —	0 0 8
22 feet in length, or upwards, and under 4 inches in diameter, excluſive of the bark, the 120.....	0 11 $6\frac{12}{20}$	0 12 $0\frac{18}{20}$	— *free* —	0 1 $1\frac{4}{20}$
4 inches in diameter, and under 6 inches, excluſive of the bark, the 120.....	1 5 $5\frac{11}{20}$	1 6 $6\frac{3}{20}$	— *free* —	0 2 $5\frac{2}{20}$
6 inches or upwards, ſee Maſts				
Ufers, ſee Balks in Wood.				
Any other manufactured Wood of the growth of the United States of America, imported directly from thence in Britiſh ſhips, is duty free; but ſubject, if imported in American ſhips, to a duty of 10 per cent. on the produce and amount of the loweſt duties payable on the importation of the like Wood, from any part of Europe in Britiſh ſhips.				

All other goods, wares, and merchandize, of the manufacture of the United States of America (the importation of which is not prohibited by law) may be imported directly from thence, either in Britiſh or American ſhips, on payment of the loweſt duty to which the like goods are ſubject when imported in Britiſh ſhips, from any port of Europe in amity with his Britannic Majeſty, ſubject, nevertheleſs, to a further duty, when imported in American ſhips, of 10 per cent. on the produce and amount of theſe duties.

The preſent table has been formed according to the ſtate of Britiſh imports exiſting on the 4th of July, 1797, the date of the Britiſh Act entitled, "An Act for carrying into Execution the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, concluded between his Majeſty and the United States of America."

On the 19th July, 1797, the Britiſh Parliament paſſed an Act laying an additional duty of five per cent. on the duties before payable upon imports, exports, and the coaſting trade, but with ſundry exceptions, among which are tobacco, teas, ſugars, wines, ordinary oil of olives, calicoes, &c. &c. and ſuch articles as are imported into Great-Britain free of duty, according to the rules by which the diſcriminations were impoſed; among which are the articles of pot and pearl aſhes, pig iron, ſtaves, timber in logs, oak and pine plank, and oak boards.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

*Treaty of Peace between France and Portugal, concluded at Utrecht the 11th April, 1713.**

Art. I. There ſhall be for the future, a perpetual peace, true friendſhip, and firm and good correſpondence between the two powers, &c. &c.

Art. II. Paſt hoſtilities to be mutually forgotten.

Art. III. Priſoners on both ſides to be reſtored.

Art. IV. Any forts or places taken after the ſigning of the treaty to be reſtored.

Art. V. Commerce ſhall be carried on in Europe in the ſame manner as before the war.

Art. VI. Equal privileges and exemptions to be enjoyed by the ſubjects of each nation.

Art VII. Regulates the number of men of war which ſhall at one time enter the ports of either of the powers.

Art. VIII. In order to prevent every occaſion for diſcord, which might ariſe between the ſubjects of the Crown of Portugal, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty will reſign for ever, as he renounces at the preſent time, by this treaty, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt authentic terms, and with all the requiſite clauſes, as if they were here inſerted, as well in his own name as in that of his heirs, ſucceſſors, and aſſigns, every right and pretenſion which he can or might lay claim to, on the property of the territories known by the name of Cape North, and ſituated between the river of the Amazons and that of Japoc, or Vincent Pinſon, without reſerving to himſelf, or retaining any portion of the ſaid territories; in order that they may be henceforth poſſeſſed by his Portugueſe Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, with all the rights of ſovereignty, of abſolute power and entire dominion, as forming a part of his eſtates: and alſo that they ſhall remain in his poſſeſſion evermore, without any annoyance being given on the part of his ſaid Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, or on that of his heirs and ſucceſſors, to his ſaid Portugueſe Majeſty, his heirs, ſucceſſors, and aſſigns, in the ſaid poſſeſſion.

Art. IX. In conſequence of the preceding article, his Portugueſe Majeſty is at liberty to rebuild the forts of Arguais and Caniau, or Maſtapa, as well as all the others which have been demoliſhed in virtue of the proviſional treaty concluded at Liſbon, on the 4th of March, 1700, between his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and his Portugueſe Majeſty Peter II. of glorious memory; the aforeſaid proviſional treaty remaining null and of no effect, in virtue of the latter: and his Portugueſe Majeſty ſhall likewiſe be at liberty to build in the territories mentioned in the preceding article, as many new forts as he may think proper, and to provide them with every thing that may be neceſſary for the defence of the ſaid territories.

Art. X. His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty acknowledges, by the preſent treaty, that the two banks of the river of the Amazons, as well the ſouthern as the northern, belong in full poſſeſſion, dominion, and ſovereignty, to his Portugueſe Majeſty; and promiſes, as well for himſelf as for his heirs and ſucceſſors, never to form any pretenſion to the navigation and uſe of the ſaid river, under any pretext whatever.

Art. XI. In the ſame manner as his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty renounces in his own name, and in that of his heirs, ſucceſſors, and aſſigns, every claim to the navigation and uſe of the river of the Amazons, ſo he deſiſts from every right which he might have over any other domain of his Portugueſe Majeſty, as well in America as in any other part of the world.

Art. XII. And as it is to be apprehended that freſh diſſenſions may ariſe between the ſubjects of the Crown of France and thoſe of the Crown of Portugal, relative to the trade which the inhabitants of Cayenne may attempt to carry on in Maragnan and at the mouth of the river of the Amazons, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty promiſes as well for himſelf as for all his heirs and ſucceſſors, not to permit the ſaid inhabitants of Cayenne, nor any other ſubjects of his ſaid Majeſty, to trade in the places abovementioned; and that they ſhall be abſolutely forbidden to croſs the river of Vincent Pinſon, for the purpoſe of trading and buying ſlaves in the territories of Cape du Nord. And his Portugueſe Majeſty likewiſe promiſes, as well for himſelf as for his heirs and ſucceſſors, that none of his ſubjects ſhall go to Cayenne, for the purpoſes of commerce.

Art. XIII. His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty alſo promiſes in his own name, and in that of his heirs and

* This treaty is here inſerted, becauſe, in diſcuſſing that part of the Definitive Treaty, now concluded between France and England, which relates to Guiana, it will be neceſſary to refer to it. The articles of this treaty which have relation to the territories of France and Portugal we have inſerted at length; of the others the ſubſtance only is given.

ſucceſſors, not to ſuffer any French Miſſionaries, or others under his protection, to remain in the ſaid territories, which belong inconteſtably, by virtue of this Treaty, to the Crown of Portugal; the ſpiritual direction of the people remaining entirely among the Portugueſe Miſſionaries, or thoſe who may be ſent thither from Portugal.

Art. XIV. The Treaty to have immediate effect.

Art. XV. Six months allowed to the ſubjects of either power, to remove their effects, in caſe of a war.

Art. XVI. The Queen of England's guarantee accepted.

Art. XVII. Other powers allowed to enter into the guarantee.

Art. XVIII. Promiſes the inviolable obſervance of the Treaty, by both parties.

Art. XIX. Ratifications to be exchanged in fifty days, or ſooner if poſſible.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY,

His Majeſty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

My Lord,

In reſuming the diſcuſſion of the treaty of Amiens, I ſhall return to the order, which I at firſt propoſed to follow, and which was departed from in my laſt letter, becauſe I had not then finiſhed ſome maps, which appeared to me neceſſary to a full and clear elucidation of thoſe parts of the ſubject, on which I am now about to offer your lordſhip ſome remarks.

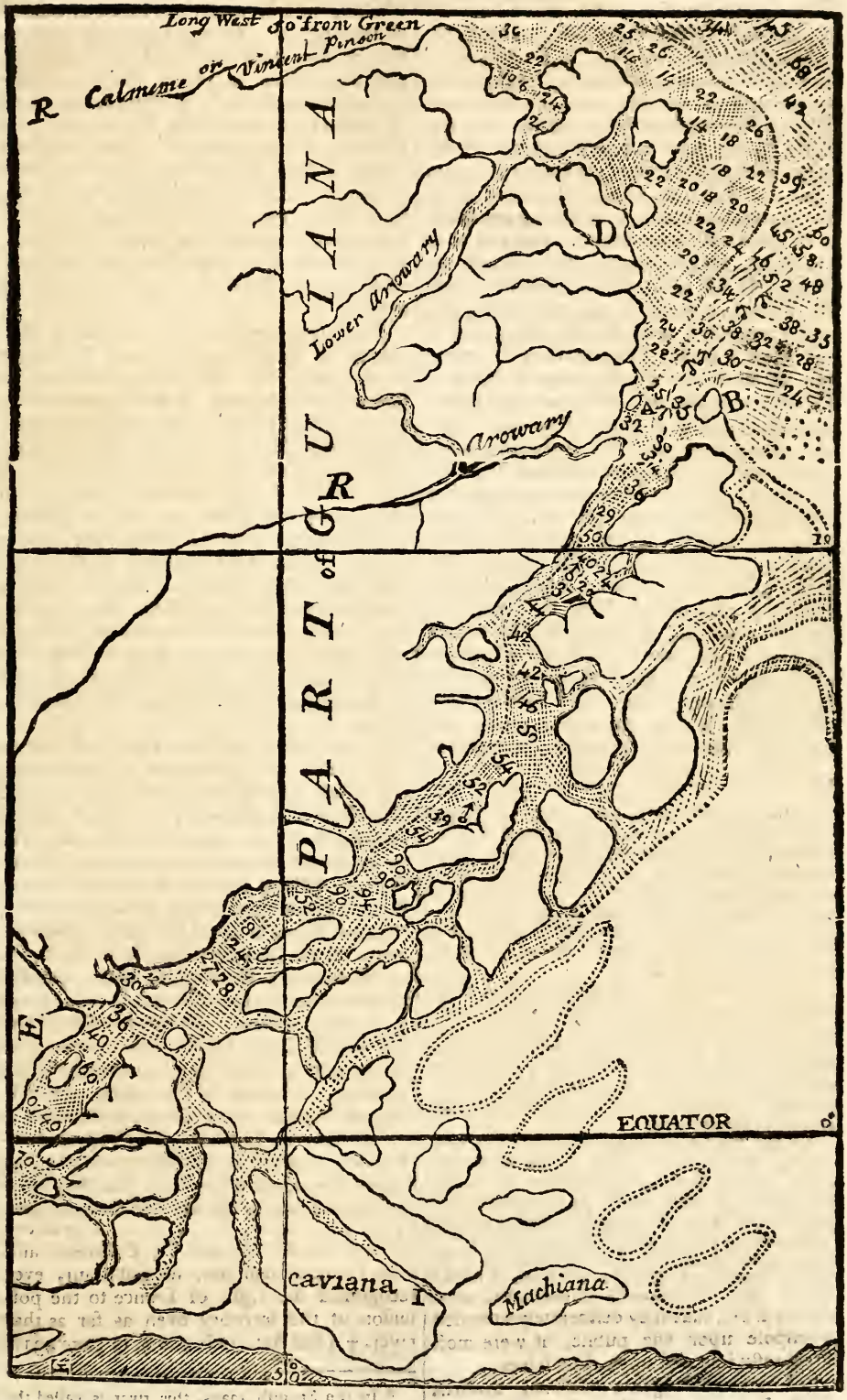
4. *Portugueſe Guiana.* The ſtipulations reſpecting this important territory exhibit, in full front and in ſtaring colours, the imbecility, the cowardice, and the bad faith, of the Britiſh cabinet. The preliminary articles were introduced to the public, with an unequivocal boaſt of their having ſecured the integrality of our allies, as it exiſted *previous to the war.* This laſt part of the aſſertion was, indeed, ſoon given up; for, though the preliminary treaty particularized nothing on this head, though it was totally ſilent as to the deſcription of boundaries as well as to the time of their having been fixed, the explanations given by your lordſhip forbade us to hope, that the integrality of Portugal would be carried further back than the treaty of Badajos, by which our ally was ſtripped of a part of her European dominions. I *know*, that his Majeſty's miniſters authorized perſons to ſtate, that the preliminary articles had provided for the integrality of our allies as that integrality ſtood *before the war*, and I am particularly deſirous to have this clearly underſtood, as it proves, either that they deliberately intended to impoſe upon the public, or were moſt egregiouſly impoſed upon themſelves.

But it is Portugueſe Guiana, towards which I am now endeavouring to direct your lordſhip's attention. This territory is of great importance, not for its intrinſic value, but for the protection, which, as an intervening ſpace, it has always been regarded as affording to the colonies of Portugal, lying to the ſouth of the river Amazons. Previous to the war of Queen Anne, there had been much altercation between France and Portugal, relative to the boundary line of their reſpective dominions in Guiana. In the French and Portugueſe treaty of Utrecht, which was guaranteed by England (vide Regiſter, p. 425), great care was taken to fix the boundary in ſuch a manner as ſhould effectually prevent the French from approaching the Amazons, and from uſing, or having any controul over, the navigation of that river. This boundary was then fixed at the river *Japoc* *, or *Vincent Pinſon.* As, however, there was a choice of names given to the river, which was to ſerve as a boundary line, the French did as, I am afraid we ſhould have done; they found two rivers, to one of which (called, by the Portugueſe, the river *Calmeme)* they gave the ſuperfluous name of Vincent Pinſon, and then they inſiſted, that this river, which was ſituated about 150 miles nearer to the Amazons than the other, was the true boundary line, underſtood by the treaty of Utrecht. This pretenſion, though certainly unjuſt, was little injurious to Portugal; becauſe, as your lordſhip will perceive by the map, the French were ſtill kept to the north of Cape North, and obtained by their encroachment no ſort of controul over the navigation or the entrance of the Amazons, from which it had ever been the great object of Portugal to exclude them, as clearly appears from all the ſtipulations of the above-mentioned treaty. (Vide Art. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13.)

In this ſituation things remained till 1787, when the directory extorted from M. d'Aranjo, a treaty which recognized the boundary contended for by France; but, as this treaty was not ratified by Portugal, and as the French formally annulled it afterwards, it cannot be conſidered as having any weight in the diſcuſſion of the preſent arrangement, any further than to ſhow, that the pretenſion of the inſolent directory did not extend beyond the *Calmeme*, and that Portugal had not, to that hour, ever recognized the right of France to the poſſeſſion of the territory even as far as that river. † [See Art. 7, 8, and 9, in page 431.]

---

* In the Spaniſh maps, this river is called the *Oyapaco*, and in Guthrie, the *Oyapock*.


Long West 50 from Green
R Calmeme or Vincent Pinson
GUIANA
PART of
Lower Arowary
Arowary
D
A
B
EQUATOR
caviana I
Machiana

In the treaty of Madrid, made between France and Portugal, on the 29th of Sept. laſt (vide Regiſter, p. 166), the French, overleaping all former boundaries, ſtretched their ſovereignty to the banks of the Amazons. This treaty excited great alarm. It was ſtated to be, what it really was, a moſt flagrant violation of our preliminary treaty. Your lordſhip was repeatedly called upon for explanation; and, after having conſulted with the miniſter of France, you and your colleague, Mr. Addington, ventured to aſſure the Houſe of Commons, that the treaty of Madrid, as far as related to Guiana, was to be cancelled, and that the territories of her Moſt Faithful Majeſty were to remain as they were fixed by the treaty of Badajos. (Vide Appendix to Letters on the Peace, p. xxxix, xli, xlii, and the following). But, at the ſame time, your lordſhip obſerved incidentally, that the River *Arowary* was, in future, to be the boundary between the French and Portugueſe colonies. This obſervation, combined with the promiſe reſpecting an adherence to the treaty of Badajos, gave riſe to a notion, which has been generally entertained, that the treaty of Badajos contained a ſtipulation, by which the French boundary in Guiana was brought to the Arowary; but there is, my lord, no ſuch ſtipulation to be found in the treaty of Badajos, nor in any other treaty that Portugal ever made, except in the treaty of Madrid, which, as far as related to ceſſions of territory, was to be cancelled. Indeed, we are now told that it really is cancelled, and are bidden to regard this as a great conceſſion on the part of France, the merit of which is to be aſcribed to the ability and firmneſs of our miniſters. From all which reſults a fact of great importance in eſtimating the merits of the Definitive Treaty; to wit, that that treaty has made *an entire new ceſſion* of part of the territory of Portugal, and that it therefore contains *a manifeſt and flagrant abandonment of the preliminary articles.*

That this abandonment has produced a change of boundary pregnant with danger to that ally, for the integrality of whoſe dominions you boaſt of having effectually provided, will appear very evident from a glance over the map, which is hereunto annexed. This map is reduced from a Dutch map, which was publiſhed in Holland in 1785, and which was, as far as poſſible, bought up by the then Dutch government to prevent ſo exact a knowledge of this coaſt from becoming univerſal. A. denotes the Iſland *Nuovo*, B. the Iſland *Penitentia*, D. *Cape North*, E. and F. the land on each ſide of the River Amazons, juſt above Fort Macapa, which Fort is ſituated near the mouth of the little river that falls into the Amazons at E.

By the treaty of Amiens, art. VII. you have ceded and guaranteed to the French the whole of the territory as far as that mouth of the *Arowary*, "which empties "itſelf into the *ocean*" [it ſhould have been into the *mouth of the Amazons*] "above "Cape North, near the Iſlands of Nuovo "and Penitentia, about a degree and a "third of north latitude." The Arowary is to be the boundary line, from its mouth to its ſource,* from which latter point the boundary is to run weſtward, in a direct line to Rio Branco. The word *above*, coming before Cape North, has excited ſome doubt as to *which* of the two mouths of the Arowary is meant by the treaty. In talking of latitude, we, in Engliſh, regard it as riſing from the Equator. The French number the degrees in the ſame manner; but, when they ſpeak of *high* or *low*, they ſpeak with reference to the altitude from the *pole*,

† Art. VII. The limits between the two French and Portugueſe Guyanas ſhall be determined by the river called by the Portugueſe *Calmeme*, and, by the French, *Vincent Pinſon*, which flows into the ocean above the North Cape, about two degrees and a half ſouthern latitude. They ſhall follow the ſaid river to its ſource, and afterwards a right line drawn from the ſaid ſource towards the weſt, as far as Rio Blanco.

Art. VIII. The mouth, as well as the whole courſe of the ſaid river Calmeme or Vincent Pinſon, belong in full and entire ſovereignty to the French Republic, without, however, the ſubjects of her Moſt Faithful Majeſty, eſtabliſhed in the environs to the ſouth of the ſaid river, being prevented from uſing it freely, and without being ſubject to the duties of entrance, courſe, and water duty.

Art. IX. The ſubjects of her Moſt Faithful Majeſty who are ſettled to the north of the frontier line above marked, ſhall be free to remain there, obeying the laws of the Republic, or to withdraw with their effects, or to ſell the lands belonging to them. The faculty of retiring and ſelling their moveable or immoveable effects is reciprocally reſerved to the French who may be ſettled to the ſouth of the ſaid frontier line. The exerciſe of the ſaid faculty is limited to one, and the other to two years, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications of the French treaty.

* In the deſcription of the courſe of the *River Arowary*, there is, in the annexed map, a miſtake. Inſtead of running away towards the ſouth, as the map deſcribes it, it runs nearly parallel with the longitudinal line.

and not from the Equator. Any diſpute, however, that might have ariſen from this difference of idiom, is completely obviated by the ſubſequent part of the ſentence; to wit, "*near the Iſlands Nuovo and Penitentia*, "about *a degree and a third* of north lati- "tude." This clear and poſitive definition removes all ambiguity.

Your lordſhip will perceive, then, that the mouth of the Arowary, which empties itſelf near the Iſlands of Nuovo and Penitentia, and which lies in about a degree and a third of north latitude, is at leaſt ſixty miles nearer the Amazons than the mouth of the Calmeme or Vincent Pinſon, which latter is the neareſt point that the French ever before attempted to reach. That the intermediate ſpace is not a mere deſert, as it has been repreſented, appears very clearly from the ſtipulations of the treaty made by the Directory and M. d'Aranjo; for, by reference to that part of the ſaid treaty, which I have already quoted, you will find, that there are Portugueſe ſettlements, not only in that part of the country called Cape North, and quite up to the banks of the Vincent Pinſon, but even to the *north* of that river. In fact, Portugal always ſet great value on the poſſeſſion of this part of Guiana, regarding it as the great, and, indeed, the laſt barrier between her moſt valuable colonies and the Guiana of the French.

But, it is not the loſs of land, of trade, or of ſubjects, that our ally will have moſt to regret from the ceſſion which has been made in the treaty of Amiens; nor is it the defence, which ſhe found merely in the diſtance, at which former treaties kept the French from the banks of the Amazons; it is the loſs, the total loſs, of that ſecurity, which ſhe derived from the French having *no poſition capable of controlling the navigation* of the Amazons, and of facilitating their entrance into that river. That this ſecurity has been completely given up by the treaty of Amiens, needs but few words in explanation of the map. The mouth of the Amazons is full of iſlands, rocks, and ſhoals. Through the middle of theſe iſlands there is no paſſage for any thing larger than a mere boat. On the ſouthern ſide of the mouth, between the main land and the Iſland of Caviana, the current is too rapid to admit of entrance, except at particular times, which are purely accidental, and which very rarely occur. The only paſſage, then, the only ſafe and frequented paſſage to this important river, is, as your lordſhip will ſee by the track, the ſoundings, and the anchorage, between the Iſlands of Nuovo and Penitentia, and cloſe before the mouth of the river *Arowary*, that very river to which you and your enlightened colleague have brought the boundary and the dominion of France! From the moment that France takes poſſeſſion of the territory now ceded to her, ſhe will be as much the miſtreſs of the Amazons as ſhe is of the Scheldt. She may, if ſhe pleaſes, lay a toll on all veſſels entering that river; and, at any hour that ſhe finds it convenient, ſhe may invade the dominions of Portugal in their moſt valuable and moſt vulnerable part.

And will you, my lord, can you have the confidence, after this expoſition, to repeat your aſſertion of having preſerved the *integrality* of Portugal? Can your intelligent coadjutor maintain, that he has fulfilled his promiſe to adhere to the baſis of the preliminary articles? Thoſe articles were diſgraceful enough; but, at any rate, they ſtipulated for the integrality of Portugal, and, by ſubſequent explanation, they promiſed us the annulling of the treaty of Madrid, as far as related to ceſſions of territory; but the Definitive Treaty, inſtead of adhering to this baſis, has completely abandoned it, and has confirmed every advantage, which France ſet a value on, and which ſhe had obtained in the treaty of Madrid. The tract of country lying between the mouth of the Arowary and Fort Macapa would be of no uſe to France, ſeeing that the poſſeſſion of the former gives her the abſolute command of the Amazons. Whenever ſhe may chooſe to direct her predatory hordes towards the colonies of Portugal, it is by *water* they will approach; and, as you have given her this water in fee ſimple, ſhe wants not the land, of which you and your wiſe colleague have ſo adroitly obtained her renunciation. The fact is, my lord (and it is a fact which ought to be ſtuck up in every church porch in the kingdom,) when you were cloſely preſſed on the ſubject of the treaty of Madrid, you had recourſe to the miniſter of France, who, after having received inſtructions from his maſters, enabled you to tell the Parliament, that the treaty of Madrid, as far as related to ceſſions of territorty, would be cancelled, and that the boundary line between France and Portugal, in Guiana, would be fixed at the Arowary. This you both thought would put an end to all further inquiry: France gained all the benefits of the treaty of Madrid, and the Britiſh Parliament and nation were ſilenced. I do not ſay, that your lord-

ſhip was aware of what you were doing; I do not ſay that you were guilty of intentional impoſition, for I ſincerely believe you to be as ignorant of the coaſt of Guiana as you are of the lands and the ſeas in the moon; and I am further perſuaded, that the final effect of the compromiſe, however fatal to Portugal or to England, was, with you, a matter of perfect indifference, ſo that you thereby obtained a ſuſpenſion of that cenſure and diſgrace, which muſt, ſooner or later, inevitably fall upon the heads of thoſe, under whoſe auſpices this dangerous and diſhonourable treaty has been made.

I am,
My Lord,
Your Lordſhip's moſt humble
and moſt obedient Servant,
Wm. Cobbett.

Pall Mall, April 17, 1802.

Paris, March 25.

MINISTRY OF THE MARINE.

Admiral Villaret Joyeuſe to the Miniſter of the Marine and the Colonies at Paris.

"*Harbour of Cape François, on board the Ocean, Feb.* 16, 1802.

"Citizen Miniſter,

"I return to the account of the operations of the fleet, of which I began to ſpeak in my diſpatch of the 21ſt Pluviôſe; amidſt the accumulated events which have followed, it were impoſſible to write a detailed and minute relation of all that has paſſed ſince that period; but I include in my recitals, without the omiſſion of one eſſential circumſtance, the whole of our operations; and I truſt the Firſt Conſul will diſcover the ſame activity and zeal to ſeconde the deſigns of the army, and the ſame deſire to ſhare their labours, their glory, and their dangers.

"You already know, Citizen Miniſter, what have been the ſervices of the two diviſions of the fleet employed at the Cape and at Fort Liberty; (Fort Dauphin) a third under the command of Rear-Admiral Latouche was deſtined to aſſiſt in the attack of Fort Républicain. This Admiral preſented himſelf the 14th February: he was preceded by the frigate La Guerriére, to ſound the diſpoſitions of the Commandant, to whom the Aid-de-Camp of General Boudet (Citizen Sabes) preſented conciliatory letters, and the proclamation of the Conſuls. Inſtead of an anſwer, the blacks arreſted this officer, as alſo the firſt lieutenant of La Guerriére, and all the equipage of the boat. They impriſoned the white General Age and another of the officers; put all the whites under arreſt, and ſent on board the frigate an officer of their own, the bearer of a letter for General Boudet, in which Age adviſed to ſuſpend the attack, and the debarkment of the troops, until the arrival of the black General Deſſalines. Him they expected late at night, and the bearer of the letter unequivocally aſſerted, that the entrance of the fleet into the harbour, was to be the ſignal for ſetting the town on fire and the maſſacre of all the whites.

"You obſerve, Citizen Miniſter, that through the whole of this affair, their conduct has been inſolent, and their language audacious. This news came to General Boudet and Rear-Admiral Latouche, in the afternoon of the 15th February. The wind was contrary, and alſo too violent for us to approach the harbour. The two chiefs were alarmed leſt the night ſhould produce ſome diſorder or miſfortune. The fleet then began to anchor at Lamentin, before Fort Bizoton; where they diſcovered a number of people, and the black armies.

"During this unavoidable delay, a ſecond letter was diſpatched to the Commander of Fort Républicain, aſſuring him of the good intentions of the government, ſo clearly explained in the Firſt Conſul's Proclamation, and in order to reclaim the officers who were detained. To this, no reply was returned.

"The 15th, in the morning, all hope of their ſubmiſſion was overthrown; the debarkment was executed in a manner the moſt ſkilful and orderly. Rear-Admiral Latouche had conſtructed, during the night, armed rafts for the artillery. Two veſſels were ſtationed under Fort Bizoton, and two frigates were placed ſo as to protect the debarkment. The Fort was evacuated without reſiſtance, and 150 black grenadiers joined themſelves to our troops. General Boudet immediately marched up the town, and the fleet quitting, with equal celerity, the anchorage off Lamentin, entered the harbour, and came within half a muſket ſhot of the barrier. The general ſtill offered pardon and the favour of the government to the rebels. They anſwered him by a continual fire of cannon, howitzers, and muſketry. The chiefs of his ſtaff and two of his aides-de-camp were wounded by his ſide, as alſo a conſiderable number of our brave ſoldiers. The Argonaut then began to fire upon the enemy; but the grenadiers of the 68th ruſhing upon their intrenchments, put them to the bayonet, and penetrated into the town, where the engagement continued ſome time with inveterate obſtinacy. The Fort St. Joſeph was carried in the ſame manner as the intrenchments. At ſeven o'clock General Boudet was entire maſter of the town and all the forts, except Fort National, which the blacks evacuated on the morning of the 17th, without ſtriking a ſingle blow.—Our loſs is 10 killed and 80 wounded.

"Whilſt theſe events occurred at Port Républicain, (Port-au-Prince) the Captain-General ſent General Humbert with 200 men to Port-au-Paix: the veſſel Le Watigny, Captain Gourdon; the frigates La Clorinde and La Furieuſe, carried the troops, and ſeconded their operations. Here, as every where, peace was offered to the rebels before the employment of force. The meſſenger who took (the 20th February) the Proclamation of the government to the black General Maurepas, with the requeſt that they would receive the French amicably, was repulſed by the firing of cannon; it was abſolutely neceſſary to have recourſe to war. It was five in the afternoon; a heavy gale of wind made it neceſſary to debark as ſpeedily as poſſible; the Commandant, Gourdon, was compelled to tack all the night in the narrow canal of La Tortue, embarraſſed in his manœuvres by the number of troops he had with him, deceived by the ignorance of pilots, and under the neceſſity of ſacrificing a cable and an anchor, by which his veſſel was left at the mercy of the tempeſt, and the miſſion failed of its effect.

"The 21ſt, at break of day, the debarkment was effected, notwithſtanding the fire from the forts and the black troops. The frigate La Clorinde, which was along-ſide the ſhore, for the purpoſe of aſſiſting the army, received ſome ſhot on board, and Le Watigny being ſent to the ſides of the harbour to ſilence

the Grand Fort, which the blacks abandoned in disorder, without having time to destroy any thing—some fine barracks, much powder, and some other ammunition were found; but no sooner had the 2d corps of troops touched the shore, than the blacks leapt over the two other forts, and set fire to the town. A detachment of an hundred armed sailors, and the officers of the fleet, distinguished themselves in a manner worthy of the highest praise. Lieutenant Mesoe, of the Artillery, Ensign Bordenbach, and the brave Gelin, were killed: the Ship-Lieutenant Livenard, and Lieutenant Kosamel, of the Artillery, were severely wounded. Two noble fellows, Picot Lapeyrouse and Legolias, shewed singular bravery in fighting at the head of the detachment; the latter received a ball, which went through his wrist I have recommended to the general officers, and all the commanders, to employ on all occasions the young men, who are the hope of our fleet; every where they signalized themselves by a glorious bravery, and a devotedness without example.

"The division of Rear-Admiral Ganthcaume having arrived at the Cape the 22d February, I sent the next day the vessel Le Jean Bart, with 400 men, for Port-au-Paix. Two days before, I had dispatched La Mignone to Rear-Admiral Magou. This officer continues to render essential service by his information and activity. The Captain-General intrusted to him the command of the army, which he united with that of the division stationed at Fort Liberté (Fort Dauphin). Notwithstanding the weakness of his means, he defended a large extent of country, where order and tranquillity were preserved, where the cultivators themselves pursued the incendiaries, and contrived to furnish the army with some advantageous resources; but he did not here confine his services; by his care the Mulatto General Clervaux, who commanded at St. Yago, in the department of Cibao, was brought over from the side of the rebels. Mauville the bishop was the mediator of this happy negotiation. All the important points on the part of the French were at this period made subservient to the force of the Republic; the rebels possessed nothing in comparison, and the engagement did not commence till the 17th February. Eight days sufficed for the whole of the operations, which presented a mass of fortunate results, and guaranteed to France, in a very short period, the conquest and possession of her finest colony.

"Every day augmented our resources and diminished our dangers. We found two millions three hundred thousand livres in the coffers of Port-au-Prince; this, however, was of little importance, had we not discovered an instance of dissimulation and hypocrisy, which nothing could disconcert: Toussaint Louverture had the audacity to require that this sum should be returned. On all sides we hear complaints against this obstinate man: he is detested in the Spanish part. Seven hundred mulattoes, refugees from the Island of Cuba, have begged to join against him; these were men devoted to General Rigaud; the dispatch boat Le Tricolore, which had been forced to put into St. Yago de Cuba, brought the intelligence of their desire: I appointed, at the request of the General-in Chief, the frigates La Créole and L'Indienne to bring them hither: this last frigate, which set out from Cadiz four days after Rear-Admiral Linois' division, arrived here in twenty-four hours after him.

"The 26th, the General appeared in sight of the Cape, with three vessels and two frigates. Judge, Citizen Minister, of my extreme surprise and regret in seeing this division lie to, at two cables distance from the entrance of the harbour, by a breeze at N. E. which would not permit the pilots to approach. Admiral Linois discovered too late the danger of his position, and tacking against the wind, he made the signal for his division to imitate his manœuvre; but the vessels Le Desaix, and Le Saint Genare, could not execute the movement with sufficient promptitude, and touched on the breakers:—All the assistance which the fleet could possibly give, was afforded with the utmost activity. Le Saint Genare, after having lost her rudder, only made nine inches of water. (Yesterday it was said 25 inches.) By an immediate repair she will therefore be again serviceable to the Republic. The Desaix was almost filled with water an hour after the accident, and the water increased every minute.

"I went to the spot with Citizen Molini, Chief of the Naval Staff, Adjutant Cordier, and Citizen Petit, who all, in directing the assistance, discovered equal knowledge and zeal. Captain Pailliere, although greatly affected by his misfortune, kept good order on board his vessel. All the troops were disembarked in safety: we have not to regret the loss of a single man, and have saved the rigging and materials of the ship. The frigate La Cornélie set out for Jamaica the 27th February, and La Bayonnaise has sailed this day, the 28th, for the United States. I have this instant received the following dispatch from Captain Bourdon, Commandant of the fleet at Port-au-Paix.

"Agreeable to the orders which I received from Captain Gourrege, on your part, I sent out the frigate La Furieuse for Le Môle Saint Nicholas, with instructions agreeable to those you have prescribed.

"At the moment of its departure there arrived here a numerous deputation, consisting of blacks and whites, from the commune of Jean Rabell, bringing a petition signed by a great number of citizens who offered to submit without striking a blow, and begged the aid of troops to second and assist the entrance of the frigate into the Môle. General Humbert has consented to supply them with 100 men of the Marine Artillery, which the frigate may leave at Jean Rabell: she is next to present herself before the Môle, and fulfil exactly the orders I have given them on your part. I have forwarded from hence a messenger to observe these important points. He is this day returned with satisfactory tokens.

"This information, Citizen Minister, gives us reason to hope that in a few days we shall occupy Le Môle St. Nicholas, and you well know how to appreciate the importance of this position.

"Accept, Citizen Minister, the assurance of my respect."

"VILLARET."

DUTY ON THE TONNAGE OF SHIPS.

To Mr. Cobbett.

Sir,

With regret I observe, that it is the intention of the legislature to lay a heavy duty upon shipping, both in the foreign and coasting trade; and feeling as I do, that such a measure is fraught with bad consequences to this country, I beg leave, through the channel of your paper, to offer a few considerations to the public, on this important subject.

It has heretofore been the conſtant policy of this country to make our commerce ſubſervient to navigation, on every occaſion where the two intereſts were likely to claſh with each other.—The wiſe and ſalutary regulations enacted by our anceſtors on this principle, have raiſed this country to a height of unparalleled greatneſs and proſperity, and we are now decidedly the firſt maritime nation in the world; experience having taught us the great advantages reſulting from this wiſe ſyſtem of our forefathers, the benefits of which we are now enjoying in ſo tranſcendant a degree, it is the intereſt and duty of every true Briton to endeavour with all his energy to preſerve, and deliver it unimpaired to poſterity.—The ſtrength and reſources diſplayed by this country during the long and arduous ſtruggle we have been engaged in, have attracted the notice and admiration of the other powers of Europe, which they very juſtly have attributed to the wiſdom and efficacy of our navigation laws; in conſequence it has now become their policy, (a ſtriking and recent proof of which we have before us in the northern confederacy) to endeavour to rival and ſupplant us in that important branch of commerce and power, the carrying trade: it therefore behoves the legiſlature of this country to pauſe, and conſider well before they adopt this new and impolitic meaſure of taxing Britiſh ſhipping, which muſt ultimately tend to forward the views of our contending rivals, and give them that ſuperiority they are ſo anxious to obtain.—In order to appreciate juſtly the expedience or inexpedience of this tax, let us take a view of the ſtate of the carrying trade of this country at this trying criſis: —During the late war, by the wonderful exertions of our gallant ſeamen, we have not only preſerved our own territories from the threatened invaſion of our enemies, but we have been enabled to take and poſſeſs almoſt all their diſtant colonies and dependencies; ſo that, in fact, the greateſt part of the trade of the whole world has been wreſted from them, and fallen into our hands.—From this cauſe has ariſen an unuſual and unprecedented demand for ſhipping, to meet which (beſides the numerous captures of merchantmen made by our cruizers from the enemy) great exertions have been made by building, and an immenſe capital has been embarked in that branch of commerce.—In conſequence of the return of peace, we muſt now be contented to ſhare that trade with other maritime nations, and with this ſuperabundance of ſhipping, from the cauſe before ſtated, at leaſt one third of them muſt lie unemployed, and the other two thirds will be employed to a certain loſs: can this criſis, then, be a proper period for laying a heavy tax on this property and trade? It may perhaps be ſaid, that the tax will fall on the merchandize, but this I deny: under the multiplicity of their undemanded numbers, they cannot have the power to enforce the tax on the merchandize, by increaſing the rate of freights.—It ought alſo to be remembered, that they have to contend with foreign ſhips, in which competition they have not an equal chance; all their dependence in this conflict muſt be on the enterpriſing ſpirit, frugality, and induſtry of Engliſh ſeamen; for, excluſive of any tonnage duties, there are many natural diſadvantages, as the exceſſive high prices of proviſions, with their conſequent attendant high wages; beſides, their expences in navigating are conſiderably augmented by the comparative prices of naval ſtores paid by Engliſh owners, and thoſe paid by foreigners. In this latter view the intended tax will operate as a double impoſt on ſhipping; for, while the miniſter means to mitigate the duties on exports to one half of what was paid under the Convoy Act, (with a view no doubt to encourage our manufactories) it ſeems his intention is to take the full tonnage duties as ſtated by that act; nay, further, he propoſes one third additional duties on all the *imports*, which includes almoſt every article of naval ſtores; conſequently it will operate in a two-fold degree, being a tax upon tonnage, and alſo a tax upon all materials uſed by ſhipping.

Let us now conſider how the propoſed tax of ſix-pence per ton on all our coaſting ſhips will affect that department of trade. Although, by the ſalutary regulations of the Navigation Act, we are not in danger from foreign competition in this branch of commerce, yet, nevertheleſs, it will be attended with great diſadvantages to this country. Much merchandize paſſes from port to port, where they lie contiguous, at very low rates of freight. This is particularly the caſe in the corn trade, where grain is exported from place to place as low as one ſhilling per quarter, which is very beneficial, as it nearly equalizes the price throughout the kingdom; conſequently this tax will be a prohibition to all ſmall freights for ſhort diſtances, as it would frequently amount to a great part of the whole ſum paid for carriage; nor ſuppoſing it to fall

on the commodity, can it bear the impoſt, except when the difference in price between the ports is material. In the coal trade too it will be felt very ſeverely, for this tonnage duty alone will be a tax of five-pence or ſix-pence per chaldron, although this article of Coals, (at leaſt when brought to London) is already ſo overborne with impoſts and cuſtoms, that it is impoſſible for the importers to obtain a price ſufficient to pay the expences, much leſs can they make any profit,—the reaſonable reward which every man is entitled to for his induſtry.

Neither can I perceive in any point of view, a reaſonable ground or utility, why a tax ſhould be laid on merchandize, and likewiſe upon tonnage. If the principle holds good in this caſe, *that every tax muſt find its level, and fall on the conſumer*, upon what ground is the tax divided, part on the merchandize, and part on the ſhip? Why is it not laid upon the merchandize totally in the firſt inſtance, and not left in part to be transferred to its remaining part on the commodity, where, by every principle of taxation, it is expected to be borne? Upon the whole, this duty will tend to reduce our carrying trade, and deſtroy the eſtabliſhed and valuable nurſeries for our ſeamen, the effects of which will be ſenſibly felt by our navy in a future war.—It ought likewiſe to be conſidered, that 130,000 of thoſe brave men have been employed in the ſervice of their country, the greateſt part of which muſt now be diſcharged; and therefore it highly behoves the government, by every poſſible means, to encourage and protect Britiſh ſhipping, that they may be enabled to find ſubſiſtence in a country during peace, which they have ſo nobly defended through the War. If that intereſt be not attended to, our ſeamen will moſt certainly be forced to emigrate to foreign countries, for want of employment in their own.

Strongly impreſſed with theſe ſentiments, it is my devout and ardent wiſh, that the legiſlature may deliberate, and maturely weigh the conſequences of ſuch a meaſure, before they attempt to break through the ſyſtem and policy of our anceſtors, by fettering the navigation of this kingdom with heavy impoſts, which it has hitherto been the unceaſing labour of their predeceſſors to foſter and protect, and which has elevated us to the unexampled pitch of greatneſs and proſperity that we now enjoy.

Amor Patriæ.

London, April 12, 1802.

FOR THE POLITICAL REGISTER.

A Simile.

As when the ſource of life and light retires
To veil in ocean's wave his unquench'd fires,
Vapours, and fogs, and deadly dews ariſe,
And the pale moon uſurps the vacant ſkies;
The wat'ry pageant of th' unwholeſome hour,
The cheerleſs type of *delegated* power;
From him ſhe borrows, not like him returns,
The heat that quickens or the fire that burns;
But one chill *ſolemn* influence ſheds around,
And locks in *deathlike* PEACE the faded ground.
Beneath her orb th' accurs'd their vigils keep,
Beneath her orb the *country's guardians* ſleep.
No arts adorn her defolated reign,
No labour throngs to her abandon'd plain.
Unhallow'd ravens from the churches call,
And owls infeſt the law's deſerted hall.
Through the dark land the beaſts of rapine roar,
And *rebel* waves inſult the trembling ſhore.

O'er the black philtre and the love-brew'd charm
Her baleful aſpect ſheds the power to harm;
In dull lethargic ties the ſoul to bind,
And in unnatural unions chain mankind.
The ſtars that ſhrunk before the blaze of day,
Now feebly ſhoot an unreſiſted ray,
Proud of permitted power—while *curs* unclean
In clam'rous adulation hail the ſcene.
Oh, riſe again, indignant Phœbus, riſe,
And ſweep the pageant from th' inſulted ſkies;
The flood of life and light again reſtore,
And bid the wiſe and virtuous *ſleep no more.**

* Without having any pretenſions to criticiſm on writing of this ſort, we may venture to doubt, whether the poet does not here diſcover a want of juſtice towards the pallid moon, the chilling fogs, and the noxious vapours. Why rail againſt them? They have a right to take their turn. Beſides, if Mr. Phœbus lags *too long* behind the globe, as the poet ſeems to inſinuate, the fault is, in reality, his; more eſpecially if the poet's ſtatement be true, that Phœbus has "*delegated*" the moon, &c. to occupy his place. He may, indeed, not without conſiſtency, reſume the power which he has delegated; but, we think, it is going rather too far to ſuppoſe him "*indignant*" at the influence of the elements, however baleful, which he himſelf has raiſed, and which (as the poet admits) he ſtill voluntarily ſuffers to exiſt, which is nearly the ſame thing as doing himſelf the miſchief attributed to them.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY,

His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

My Lord,

I now come to the 5th point, which I proposed to discuss; namely, the *cession of Louisiana*, and, as an inevitable consequence, of *the Floridas*, by Spain to France.

Laying aside, for the present, the flagrant and criminal neglect to obtain, in the Definitive Treaty, a renunciation of this cession, I shall proceed to point out some of the consequences of the cession itself.

The acquisition I am now speaking of, may be viewed in three distinct lights; *first*, as giving to France an addition of dominion and of commercial and maritime resources; *secondly*, as subjecting the United States of America to the dictates of her interests or her ambition, and thereby endangering our commercial intercourse and connection with a country which, at this time, consumes more than one fourth of all our exported manufactures; and, *thirdly*, as a military and naval position, from which she will be able to annoy Canada, and the United States, to seize on the Spanish mines, and to harass, if not cut off, a considerable portion of the trade of Great-Britain.

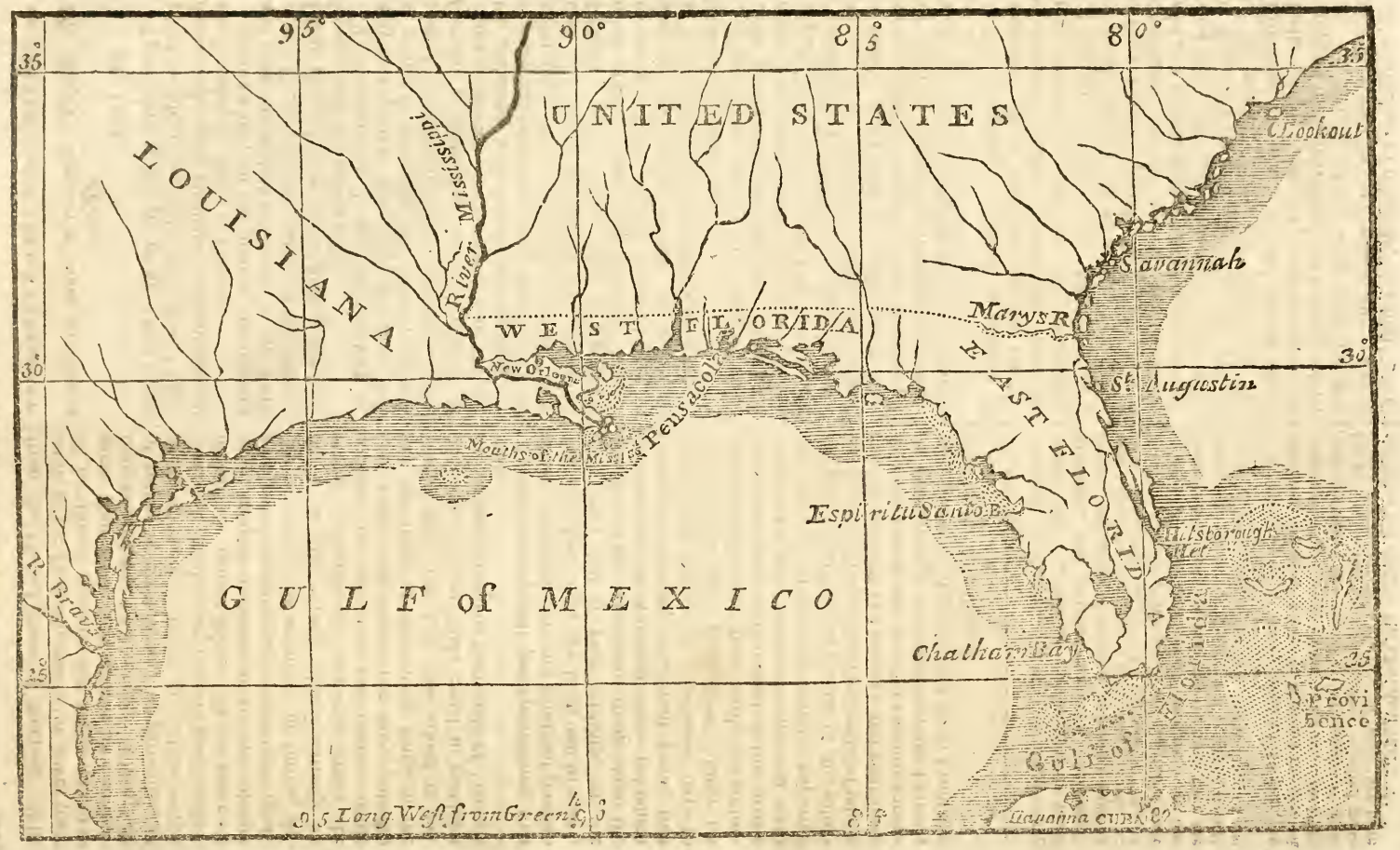
What I have to say, my Lord, on all of these points will, perhaps, amount to little more than what I have, at different times, already said; but, though I do not expect to produce any effect on your lordship, I am not quite so destitute of hope with respect to others, who may not possess an "*hereditary disposition to office*," and, therefore, I am inclined to venture on repetition, rather than to lose the chance of giving a triumph to truth.

First, *as giving to France an addition of dominion and of maritime resources*, the acquisition of Louisiana and the Floridas (for one without the other she cannot have) is of the utmost importance. We will, for a moment, suppose her to hold these colonies merely as such, merely for the purposes of cultivation, for the sake of their produce, and as a market for her own goods: in this view alone they are invaluable. The lands in Louisiana are unquestionably the richest in the world. From the borders of the Mississippi the whole of the French West-India colonies may, at a very low rate, be supplied with provisions and lumber, which are the articles of the very first necessity to those colonies, and which our colonies are compelled to purchase, at a high price, from the United States of America. The lands in the Floridas, and in the lower parts of Louisiana, produce rice and cotton in as great abundance, and with as little cultivation, as the lands of Georgia. The article of cotton is, at this time in particular, of great moment. It is an article which feeds the most extensive and most profitable of all manufactures. By the peace we have stripped ourselves of all the colonies whence we imported any considerable quantity of cotton, and we must, in future, depend, in this respect, almost entirely on foreign countries, on countries under the controul of our rival and enemy, while that rival and enemy not only possesses her full share of the cotton lands in the West-Indies, but has now added to her dominions cotton lands equal in goodness and greater in extent than those of Georgia itself.

Your lordship will perhaps tell me, that cotton plantations are not rendered productive in a day. No, my lord, not in *a day*, it is true; but if your lordship, or the board of trade, knows any thing about the commerce of the American States (of which I very much doubt), you must know, that it does not require a *great many* days to render such lands productive. Only *ten* years ago America grew hardly any cotton. She wanted very little indeed of this article in the raw state, but what she did want she *imported*. This same country exported last year 18 millions of pounds of this valuable material, more than nine tenths of which grew in the state of *Georgia*; and your lordship will see by the map * hereunto annexed, that Georgia is divided from the Floridas by a mere land mark, and from Louisiana only by the Mississippi.†

* The map contains the following *errata*. The strong black line describes the course of the River Mississippi, and therefore the word "*Mississippi*" should have followed that line, instead of winding away with the course of a little river towards the north-west.—The words "*Espiritu Santo B.*" should have been placed a little higher up, opposite the bay which receives the waters of the two little rivers, one coming from the north-east, and the other from the south-east.—For "*Hillsborough Ilet*" read *Hillsborough Inlet*.—There is a small mistake in the shape of the letter *d*, in the word *Providence*.

† The quantity of cotton exported last year, by the United States of America, surpasses the greatest quantity ever exported, in one year, by *all the West-India Islands put together*. The land capable of bearing cotton in Louisiana reaches two hundred miles to the Northward, and towards the West they have no limits but those of the Continent itself.


95°
90°
85°
80°
35°
30°
UNITED STATES
LOUISIANA
River Mississippi
WEST FLORIDA
New Orleans
Mouths of the Missisipi
Pensacola
GULF of MEXICO
Espiritu Santo B.
Chatham Bay
EAST FLORIDA
Lookout
Savannah
Marys R.
St. Augustin
Hillsborough River
Provi dence
Gulf of
Havanna CUBA
Long West from Green

Should your lordſhip, or the ſagacious Mr. Chalmers, aſk how it comes to paſs, that the Spaniards have never been able to make any thing of theſe cotton lands? I aſk you, in return, how it comes to paſs, that they have not been able to make any thing of two thirds of the iſland of St. Domingo, while the French have exported, annually, produce to the amount of *ſeven millions ſterling* from the other third of the ſame iſland? But, my lord, the Spaniards *have* been able to make ſomething of the cotton lands on the banks of the Miſſiſſippi. They have, in ſome degree, profited from the example of their more induſtrious neighbours; and New Orleans cotton is not leſs familiar to the ears of the merchant than that of Savannah. The cultivation has already been ſucceſsfully begun, and there wants nothing but the enterprize of the French, and the market of Europe, which France has at her abſolute command, to render the territory, now ceded to her, the firſt in the world for the produce of a commodity in the manufacture of which we have long been an object of her envy.—The ſages of the Board of Trade may illuminate their houſes, becauſe the cotton lands of the Miſſiſſippi and the manufacturing population of Belgium have paſſed together into the hands of the French; but the nation will finally feel the effects of this transfer, and it is *feeling* alone, my lord, that can teach them to eſtimate the merits of ſtateſmen, who have an "*hereditary diſpoſition to office.*"

Secondly, this ceſſion may be viewed, *as giving to the French a commanding influence over the will of the government and people of the United States, to the prejudice of Great-Britain.* And here, my lord, I am particularly anxious to direct your attention to the map, which I have cauſed to be made purely for the inſtruction of your lordſhip. "How poor a thing may do a noble office!" Had the ſhoeleſs wretch, who, in a garret at Saffron Hill, engraved this map, been called upon ten months ſooner to perform his taſk, your lordſhip's mind might have been enlightened, and a continent might have been ſaved from the fangs of France!

The ſtates of Kentucky and Tenneſſee, and the other diſtricts which are not yet formed into ſtates, together with the back part of the ſtate of Georgia, contain a population of about half a million of ſouls; that is to ſay, a tenth part of the whole population of the United States. Theſe people are ſeparated from the Eaſtern part of the Union by a wilderneſs of three, four, or five hundred miles. Their produce, which is raiſed on the moſt fertile ſoil in the world, their beef, their pork, their butter, their Indian corn, their wheat, their lumber, their ſhingles, their ſtaves, their boats and their ſloops, all the produce of their lands and of their labour, muſt find its way to market down the river Miſſiſſippi, of which the French will now have the ſole command by being in poſſeſſion of New Orleans. This place, which has increaſed of late years in an aſtoniſhing degree, and which is very conſiderable in point of population and wealth, has not only the command of the river, but it is the only convenient place of depoſit for goods coming down from the American ſettlements. By a treaty with Spain, which was, however, not obtained without ſome difficulty and a good deal of addreſs, the Americans obtained the free paſſage of the Miſſiſſippi; but France has ſtipulated for a transfer of Louiſiana, with all its attendant rights of ſovereignty, without any exception relative to the treaty entered into between America and Spain. A ſimilar treaty muſt now be obtained from France, or the Miſſiſſippi may, at any moment, be ſhut againſt the people of Kentucky and Tenneſſee. France, therefore, without any hoſtile attempts on this new and detached part of the Union, without even having recourſe to threats, is at once placed in a ſituation to dictate terms to the United States. Beſides this circumſtance, ſhe will have the people themſelves in her favour. They have very little attachment to their Eaſtern brethren; their intereſts are totally ſeparate; they are, indeed, the rivals of the latter, and can be expected to make no ſacrifices for the preſervation of union with them. All the protection they want is, occaſionally, againſt the Indians, which would be much more effectually afforded by the legions of France, than by their own diſtant, and, in a military point of view, feeble government. As to patriotiſm, he muſt be very little acquainted with their hiſtory who expects to find it amongſt them. Not one of thoſe, who is arrived at years of maturity, was born upon the ſpot. They are entirely compoſed of emigrants; all ſpeculators or agricultural adventurers; men who underſtand *ſoil*, indeed, extremely well, but who know nothing of *country*; who like the late Duke of Bedford, of glorious memory, can diſtinguiſh "with a learned ſpirit" all the various qualities of ſand and gravel and loam and marle and chalk and lime and mud and dung, but

who

who have no more idea of national honour and independence, who think no more about their ancestors or their posterity, than the gamblers of 'Change Alley, or the framers of the treaty of Amiens.

Such people, my lord, you well know, are not much disposed to make sacrifices for the good of their country. Yet, for many and weighty reasons, the government and people of the United States will be extremely loth to give up or endanger the allegiance of the Western Settlers. France too, will, for a time at least, have no desire to receive that allegiance; but, she will not fail to regard its existence in the hands of the United States as a pledge for their devotion to her will. When or how she may begin to turn this advantage to account, it is impossible to say; but, when our commercial treaty with the United States expires, which will be in *two years* from the signature of the Preliminaries between us and our new friend Buonaparté, I shall be very much astonished if British goods are suffered to enter the ports of America upon their present footing. Your lordship seems to think that commercial treaties are of *no use*, and, I dare say, you rejoice at the prospect of our getting rid of one more of the few that remain to cramp our operations: with you, therefore, it is useless to argue, but let me ask the manufacturer, how they would like to hear that America had imposed a duty of ten or twenty per centum more on their goods, than on similar goods from Holland, Germany, or France? They will, perhaps, answer, that they shall still endeavour to support a competition, and if they should fail, they can, as a last resource, *transfer their capital to the more favoured dominions of France*; to which of course, I have nothing to reply.

The French will not, however, exert their influence in this respect openly and despotic'ly. They will endeavour to give plausibility to their proceedings. They will allege, that they wish not to deprive Great Britain of her commerce, but to make her give up her *navigation laws*, and to come into a system less harsh and hostile towards other nations, a system which shall, in future, prevent her from being "the tyrant of the seas." These reasons will be satisfactory to all the maritime nations, and particularly to America, the President of which was himself the original author of the very system that France has now adopted, and that she will spare nothing to enforce; because it is the only means by which she can destroy the foundation of our naval power, on which alone our national existence depends.

"But," say the sleek-headed sons of Hope, "the Americans, surely, will not so easily be weaned from their British habits, and British connexions; the ties of language and of blood will not so easily be broken." I will tell you, my lord, what the Americans think on this subject, which they have already discussed, and the substance of which discussion I will now give you in their own words, taken from the "BALTIMORE EXAMINER" of the 6th of last month. —"The high-flying friends of monarchy, "who wish to fill us with gloom, because "they themselves have cause to be gloomy, "now lament that the French did not remain in Egypt rather than come to settle "on the banks of the Mississippi, which, "according to their predictions, will finally "compel us to break our commercial connexions with Britain. We also lament "that the friends of liberty have been forced "to quit Egypt, because, as well-wishers of "the whole human race, we hoped they "would have rescued the people of Africa, "as well as those of Asia, from the odious "tyranny under which they have laboured "for so many years; but we see no cause "to regret, that the troops who have evacuated Egypt should now come to receive "a reward for their valour on the fruitful "banks of the Mississippi. They are men "and republicans, and we have no objection to their sharing in the happiness "that our Western fellow-citizens enjoy. "That they will make our navigation of "the Mississippi depend on any part of "our commercial regulations there is "good reason to doubt. Suppose otherwise, suppose they should desire us even "to shut our ports against Britain, who except the friends of Britain, the friends of "a monarchy, and of a monarchy too that "tyrannizes over the seas, would, for a moment, hesitate to grant the request. Why "should we quarrel with France merely "for the sake of preserving a market for "British manufactures? For some time the "want of those manufactures might create "some inconvenience; but that inconvenience would be productive of good, as "it would, in the end, greatly encourage "our own domestic manufactures, and, in "the mean time, a supply would be afforded us by other countries, who would "gladly take up a branch of trade that the "haughtiness and injustice of Britain had "thrown away."

Thus, you see, my lord, the Americans

have made their mind up on the matter; they are resolved not to submit to any sacrifice for our sake; and, indeed, they appear to anticipate, with no small delight, the injury that England may experience from the commercial revolution, to which the cession of Louisiana will give rise: so great is their eagerness for our ruin, that they totally overlook the danger and disgrace which must thereby be brought upon themselves.

It is true, indeed, that these sentiments are entertained only by the democratic party, the party of Jefferson; but recollect, my lord, that party has now obtained a complete ascendency. It is the party that rules, and that will rule for many years to come. Your treaty has not only transferred to France our riches and our power, but our friends also, in every part of the world, and particularly in the American States. This is, as it should be; contempt is the just reward of cowardice: they who have deserted their friends must expect to be deserted in return. Whenever your lordship may wish to know why England is now universally detested and despised, ask Portugal; ask the King of Sardinia; and, if they should remain silent, conjure up the manes of the murdered royalists of La Vendée.

Thirdly, *as a military and naval position* Louisiana and the Floridas present themselves to us in a light still more alarming, than either of the other two, under which we have already considered them.

With respect to the *United States of America*, France will, for a long time at least, make her military and naval power subservient to her commercial views. Her new position operates as a constant, though silent, menace against the union of those states, which, while she can render them useful in the injuries, which she meditates against England, it will never be her interest to divide. Indeed, she sees, in the United States the most formidable rival of Great Britain, in matters of commerce and navigation, and for that reason, as well as for the purpose of insuring their aid in any future war against us, she will take special care not to hurry into any measure against them that may have the appearance of hostility, that may injure their interests, or wound their pride.

But, towards *Canada* she will look with very different eyes. Those who know any thing of the Northern boundaries of Louisiana, must perceive that the cession of that country to France enables her, at any hour she may choose, to enter into our last remaining provinces in that part of the world, where, I am sorry to say it, a vast majority of the natives would receive her with infinite joy. Dr. Beeke and Sir Frederick Eden will comfort your lordship by insisting, that Canada is not worth our preserving; against such politicians there is no argument to be opposed; and, if colonies be really a burden, if the fur-trade of Canada, and the market for our manufactures which that country affords, be also a burden, we have the satisfaction to know, that they are burdens, from which we shall, probably, very soon be relieved. Sir Alexander Mackenzie has clearly shewn, that the principal seat of the fur-trade is at the sources of those rivers, which fall into the Mississippi, and that those who have the command of that river, and are disposed to employ it for the prosecution of this trade, may easily monopolize it. There wants no new establishments, my lord, to transfer this trade to France. The Indians, who hunt for the furs, and the Canadians who collect them, are already on the spot, and are much more attached to France than to England. When, therefore, the whole country, and the Mississippi which flows through that country to the gulph of Mexico, are in the hands of the power for whom they already entertain a partiality, it would be folly in the extreme to hope, that they would seek for a market on the banks of the St. Laurence. Should they, however, contrary to all reason, be disposed to do this, France will have the power of preventing them, by seizing on Canada itself, which, I think, has been clearly pointed out in the Register, p. 253; and, I can assure your lordship, that the correctness of the statement there given has been fully confirmed by the opinion of several gentlemen, with whom I have since conversed on the subject, and who, to a deep interest in the affairs of Canada unite a thorough knowledge of its trade, of its internal situation, and its means of defence. The expression of one of these gentlemen, who stands high in military command in Canada, and who has passed great part of his life in the countries of which I am speaking, was, that the "French, once in possession of Louisiana, "might *walk* into Canada whensoever they "pleased."

From the cold regions of the North, my lord, from the haunts of the martin and the beaver, let us now turn to the mines of the South. In ceding Louisiana to France, Spain has not stipulated for *boundaries*. The dominion that France formerly claimed

(and she never recedes), extended, on the sea board, towards the South, as far as the Rio Bravo, which your lordship may see marked on the map. The mouth of this river, which affords good anchorage for vessels of almost any size, places the all-powerful Republic at no more than 60 miles from St. Andre, 123 miles from Panuco and St. Yago, and 300 miles from the city of Mexico itself, to all which places there is a road from Rio Bravo, much easier to pass than the space between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, which cost the American militia a march of only one-and-twenty days.

Supposing, therefore, Spain to be independent of France, and supposing La Vera Cruz capable of resisting the attacks of the latter, Mexico is completely exposed to her grasp by the cession, at which your lordship and your colleague have dared to connive. What the consequences of this exposure may be to England it is impossible precisely to say; but, those who can contemplate it without anxiety and dread, must have arrived at that happy state of insensibility, which enables men to smile while the ruins of their country are tumbling around on their heads.

But, great as are the injuries, which must inevitably arise to us from the command, which this cession will give to France over the United States, Canada, and Mexico, those to be apprehended with respect to our *naval power*, and particularly our *navigation in the West-India seas*, are of a nature and magnitude still more alarming. Whether the Floridas are *formally* ceded or not along with Louisiana, it is certain they must be under the command of France. She wants not those provinces but as a naval position, in which point of view they are extremely important in themselves, and singularly formidable to us. At the same time that they abound in ship-timber of every sort, from the keel to the top-gallant yard, they afford harbours for sheltering the fleets of our enemy, while the Mississippi pours down abundance of provisions for her men. There are two stations, in particular, in these colonies, from which, if we could ever see another war, we must expect the most serious annoyance. The first, and most capacious, is the bay of Espiritu Santo, in which the French have already projected a naval establishment, and for an account of which I refer your lordship to the speech of Governor Johnstone, on the peace of 1783, which peace put an end to what I greatly fear will prove to have been our *first Punic war* *. The situation of this excellent harbour your lordship will learn from the map. You will see that it is not 250 miles, not 48 hours sail, from the Gulph of Florida, which is the passage, and the *only* passage, by which a convoy can come home from Jamaica. It should moreover be observed, that, in consequence of the course of the Gulph stream, our ships are obliged to bear up, in the Gulph of Mexico, to within about 130 miles of Espiritu Santo: so that it is next to impossible that a fleet, consisting of thirty or forty ships, should ever escape the observation of the cruizers from that harbour. Should our trade, however, have the good fortune to enter the Gulph of Florida unobserved from Espiritu Santo, or from the Havannah (which lies on the opposite side of the entrance) how is it to elude observation from the inlet of Hillsborough, the other point at which the French have planned a naval establishment? The Gulph, in this part, is not more than a hundred miles wide altogether, and the charts will inform your lordship, that even a single vessel of any considerable size cannot, in a clear day, pass unobserved from the heights in the vicinity of Hillsborough. Thus, in case of another war, if the French act with that sagacity and vigour, which have characterized all their plans and operations, our communication with the West-India islands will be completely cut off. In fact, the new distribution of power in the Western hemisphere, has totally changed the nature of our connexion therewith. While the French have the command of the Amazons on one side, and of the Mississippi on the other, while they possess the ports of St. Domingo and Florida, we may talk of West-

* "Governor Johnstone dwelt, particularly, on the value of East Florida, which was ceded to Spain, and stated that when he was appointed governor of it, two commissions were obliged to be made out, in consequence of a geographical blunder in the first. He said ministers knew not the value of that province, either in point of situation, or of commercial produce; there was a bay in it, called the Bay of Espiritu Santo, that was one of the finest harbours in the world, (Mr. Secretary Townsend looking a little surprized at this, the governor said, "I see the right hon. secretary of "state is ignorant where the bay lies.") It lies in the Gulph of Mexico, on the north-west side of the province, is called Tampa Bay, or Espiritu Santo, and is one of the finest harbours in the world, infinitely better and more healthy than the Havannah. There, the ships are eaten by the worms, and the men are liable to much sickness; in the Bay of Espiritu Santo, neither of these inconveniencies are experienced."

India territory and trade, but we can enjoy them only as vassals of France.

Having now, my lord, pointed out the mischiefs and dangers to be apprehended from the cession of Louisiana, it is hardly necessary to observe, that the cession itself is to be ascribed to the peace; but, it is of some moment to prove, that its confirmation could not have taken place without *a departure from the Preliminary Article*; and that, therefore, those persons who approved of those articles, are, by no rule of consistency, bound to approve of the Definitive Treaty.

This cession was not publicly known, it was not officially known to you and your very worthy fellow labourer in the work of peace, at the time of signing the Preliminary Articles. Since that day, a day which will stand for ever blasted in the annals of England, this cession, as far at least as relates to Louisiana, has been publicly and officially announced to the world. By the promulgation of a treaty (See Register, p. 52), concluded between France and Spain, on the 21st of March, 1801, which treaty was never published till January, 1802 (more than three months after the conclusion of our Preliminary Articles with France), we now know, that Spain has ceded to our enemy the entire possession and sovereignty of Louisiana.

Now, unless your lordship should insist, that, by agreeing to the Preliminary Articles, this country resigned all pretension to interfere in, or to enquire into, the conduct or views of the other nations of the world; unless you should insist, that, by that act, she forfeited all her national rights, not excepting even the right of self-preservation, you must allow, that the conditions of the Preliminary Articles were, by the contracting parties, viewed in connexion with the *known* extent of dominion, respectively possessed by those parties; and, as a very great and dangerous addition is now made to that extent, it follows that a Definitive Treaty, made with the knowledge of that addition, and without any stipulation against it, is, in that respect, a departure from the conditions of the Preliminary Treaty.

Here, my lord, I close this letter with a promise to lose no time in taking up the remaining points of discussion.

I am, my lord,
Your lordship's most humble,
And most obedient Servant,
Wm. Cobbett.

Pall-Mall, 21 *April*, 1802.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the Regency of Tunis.

The First Consul of the French Republic, wishing to renew the articles of peace anciently agreed upon between France and Tunis, and to add thereto new articles, has appointed for this purpose Jacques Devoize, who by virtue of full powers given to him as the representative of the First Consul of the French Republic, has agreed with his Excellency Hamouda Pacha Bey and the Divan of Tunis, upon the following additional articles:

1. The First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, and his Excellency Hamouda Pacha Bey, and the Divan of Tunis, do confirm and renew all preceding treaties, particularly that of 1742.

2. The French nation shall be maintained in the enjoyment of all those privileges and exemptions which it enjoyed before the war; and being more distinguished and more useful than other natives established at Tunis, it shall also be the most favoured.

3. Whenever any French ship of war shall stop at the Goulette, the commissary of the Republic, or some one for him, shall be allowed to go on board without molestation.

4. The Commissary of the French Republic shall appoint, and change at his pleasure, the Dragomans and the Janissaries in the service of the Commissariat.

5. The merchandizes coming from France in French vessels, either to Tunis or any other ports dependent upon it, shall only pay as heretofore, a custom duty of 3 per cent. which shall not be collected on merchandize, but in the current coin of the country. The Tunisian subjects shall enjoy in France the same privilege.

6. All merchandize coming from countries at war with the regency, and which shall be imported into Tunis by French merchants, shall continue to pay a custom duty of three per cent.; and in case of a war between the French Republic and any other power, the merchandizes belonging to and laden in France on account of the French merchants, in vessels belonging to neutral powers, friends of the regency, shall only pay the duty of three per cent. until the cessation of hostilities. Reciprocal regulations shall be made in France, with respect to the Tunisians.

7. The Jewish brokers and other strangers resident at Tunis, in the service of the French merchants, shall be under the protection of the Republic; but if they import merchandize into the kingdom, they shall pay the impost usually paid by the subjects of the country to which they belong; and if any difference arise between them and the Christians or Moors of the country, they shall come with their antagonists before the commissary of the French Republic, where they shall choose, at their own option, two French and two Moorish merchants of the first rank, to decide their disputes.

8. Every individual of any country, which, by conquest or by treaty, shall have been re-united to the states of the French Republic, who shall be found in a state of captivity in the kingdom of Tunis, shall be set at liberty on the first request of the commissary of the Republic; but if that individual shall have been taken in the service and pay of a power at war with the regency, he shall not be released, but remain a prisoner.

9. In the event of a rupture between the two powers, the French residents at Tunis shall not be any ways molested; they shall be allowed the space of three months, during which they shall enjoy all manner of liberty and protection; and upon the expiration of that term, they shall be at liberty to retire unmolested with their effects, to wherever they may think proper.

Done at Tunis the 23d of February, 1802, or the 21st of the month Chewal, in the year one thousand two hundred and six of the Hegira.

(Signed) *Devoize*,
Commissary-General of the French Republic with the Bey of Tunis.
Hamouda,
Pacha Bey of Tunis.

Letter of Hamouda, Pacha Bey of Tunis, to the First Consul of the French Republic.

To the most distinguished among the followers of the Messiah, the greatest of those who profess the religion of Jesus, the First Consul of the French Republic, our highly honoured and sincere friend Buonaparté, may whose end be happiness and the summit of prosperity:

The present friendly letter is to remind you that heretofore (by the permission of the Supreme Being), a slight coolness took place between us; in consequence of which, Citizen Devoize, your commissary here, was obliged to return to you. Now that happy days have succeeded, and that this coolness has been changed into sincere friendship, by the return hither of our friend the Commissary Devoize, who has resumed his functions, and put an end to this indifference by re-establishing the ancient union and amity, for which you have again established and confirmed him in his post, as you inform me in your friendly letter, which he delivered in your name, the contents of which I have understood, and am satisfied with.—Be pleased to know that, after conferring with the said commissary, we have agreed that the ancient treaties, dated according to our Hegira 1155 (or of the Christian æra 1742) shall be on both sides renewed, and though it was not necessary to add others, yet in consideration of your sincere friendship, to which I ought to make a suitable return, I have amicably consented with your commissary to add to the ancient treaties nine new articles, and still more to unite and cement our sincere and unalterable friendship, our Divan, according to ancient usage, assisted at the instalment of the flag of the French Republic, which was hoisted at the house of the said commissary; and in consequence of the same friendship which prevails between us, I have consigned and delivered into the hands of the said commissary 35 Christians, subjects of countries which were before enemies to our regency, and which at present are under your dominion; and to give you a more striking proof of our sincere friendship, though the same Christians were subjects of the said countries, I have set them at liberty, in order that the said commissary may send them to you along with this amicable letter, by which I desire to give you an authentic proof of the lively and sincere friendship, which reigns between us, and which will always increase.

Tunis, the 5th day of the moon Zilkaade, of the Hegira 1216 (Ventôse 17th, 10th year of the French Republic,) March 8.

(Signed) *Hamouda*,
Pacha Bey of Tunis.

The Council of State of the Italian Republic, to the First Consul of the French Republic, President of the Italian Republic.

"*Milan, April 5*, 1802.

"The peace which you have concluded with England, crowns your warlike and political operations.

"In six years you have traversed the space of many years of glory.

"The astonished universe looks upon you as a man unparalleled (*unique*). Europe groaned under the weight of a disastrous war, of which history offers no example.

"You said, Let these evils cease; and the evils ceased. You have shut the gates of the temple of Janus.

"Sublime benefactor of humanity, taste the noble satisfaction of having established the greatness of our nation, and of having secured the happiness of Europe.

"The General Council of the Italian Republic becomes the interpreter of the national gratitude, and entreats you to accept of its homage. The homage of children is sweet to the heart of a parent; yes, we are your children, and that precious title is your greatest glory.

"*Melzi*, Vice-President."

The Vice-President of the Italian Republic to his Fellow Citizens.

"*Milan, April* 1.

"The Definitive Peace between France, England, Spain, and the Batavian Republic, was solemnly signed on the 25th of March. The treaty of Luneville had already secured continental peace; that of Amiens secures maritime peace. These disastrous resentments, which for so long a time divided and distracted nations, are at last extinguished.

"The peace proclaimed is general.—The treaty of Amiens shall tell posterity, that if Buonaparté was great by his valour, he was so no less by his wisdom. Let us therefore rejoice, fellow-citizens; we to whom that great man peculiarly belongs by so many titles, the founder of our liberty, the restorer, the support, and the guide of our Republic. Is not his glory the pledge of our independence? And to whom can his name and his glory be dearer than to us? Let us therefore rejoice and take courage; let us put an end to the fatal uncertainties which hitherto have kept opinions divided, and sentiments suppressed.

"No, our destiny is no longer uncertain: it no longer depends, except on ourselves. Prosperity, security in the interior, independence, and consequence abroad; all is in our power, if we will it. Let us therefore will it boldly, and I swear to you that our country shall be happy and powerful. But to consolidate the unity and the force of a state composed of discordant and divided parts; to create a strict and pure administration amidst the enormous corruption which weighs down this country, to confirm the grandeur and prosperity of a people just emerging from the disasters of revolution, of conquest, and of war; this is not the work of one man or of one day.

"That great work cannot be accomplished without the union of wills, firm, constant, and directed to good; without the concurrence of the efforts of all the good and virtuous. The pretexts of malice, the excuses of timidity shall no longer be admitted; to hesitate, to prefer one's own personal advantage to the service of the public, is a crime, when the country calls the good to labour in repairing past disasters, and securing future happiness.

"To how many misfortunes shall he be exposed, to how much remorse shall be condemned, such of her children as shall not hearken to her voice. Far be from us the thought, that the Italians can cover themselves with such disgrace. Nothing, in spite of the greatest difficulties, was ever impossible to them. They were seen trying every expedient when any thing regarded the interests of their children, their families, or their country.

"If the love of one's country was always a fruitful source of magnanimous enterprises, what ought we to hope, we who are to receive as the reward of our services, not only to serve, but to create a country?

"Let us, therefore, fellow-citizens, be impressed with our high destiny; and while we prepare ourselves to fulfil its difficult obligations, let us not cease to repeat, with a sentiment of the most profound gratitude, glory, and honour to these immortal phalanxes who have procured peace to the world.

"*Melzi.*
"*Guicciardi*,
"Counsellor of State."

PROCLAMATION.

The Consuls of the Republic to the French.

Frenchmen,

From the bosom of a revolution, inspired by the love of the country, burst forth at once, in the midst of you, religious dissensions, which became the scourge of your families, the nurse of factions, and the hope of your foes.

A senseless policy attempted to stifle them under the wrecks of altars and the ruins of religion herself. At the voice of that policy, those pious solemnities ceased

in which citizens called each other by the tender name of brothers, and acknowledged themselves all equal, under the hand of the God that had created them: the dying, alone with grief, no longer heard that consolatory voice which summons Christians to a better life; and God himself seemed exiled from nature.

But the public consciousness, but the sentiment of the independence of opinions arose, and soon, misled by the enemies without, their explosions carried ravage and havock into our departments. Frenchmen forgot that they were Frenchmen, and became the instruments of foreign hate.

On the other hand, passions let loose, morality without support, misery without hope in futurity, every thing united to carry disorder and dismay into society.

To stop that disorder, it was necessary to re-fix religion on her basis, and this could not be done but by measures acknowledged by religion herself.

It was to the sovereign pontiff that the example of ages and reason commanded recourse to be had, to approximate opinions, and to conciliate hearts.

The head of the church has weighed, in his wisdom, and the interests of the church, the propositions which the interest of the state dictated; his voice was heard by the pastors; what he approves, the government have consented to, and the legislators have made it a law of the republic.

Thus disappear all the elements of discord; thus vanish all the scruples which might alarm consciences, and all the obstacles which ill-will might oppose to the return of internal peace.

Ministers of religion, of peace, let the deepest oblivion cover your dissensions, your miseries, and your faults; let the religion that unites you, bind you all in the same ties, in indissoluble ties, to the interests of the country.

Exert for her all the strength and ascendancy which your ministry gives you over the mind; let your lessons and your examples form the young citizens to the love of our institutions; to respect and attachment to the tutelary authorities which have been created to protect them; let them learn from you, that the god of peace is also the god of armies, and that he fights with those who defend the independence and freedom of France.

Citizens, who profess the protestant religion, the law has extended her solicitude equally to you. Let that morality common to all Christians, that morality so holy, so pure, so fraternal, unite them all in the same love for the country, the same respect for its laws, the same affection for all the members of the great family.

Let the contests respecting doctrine never injure the sentiments which religion inspires and commands.

Frenchmen!—be all united for the good of the country, and of humanity! Let that religion which has civilized Europe be again the tie that binds the inhabitants of it; and let the virtues it requires be ever associated to the lights that illuminate us.

The First Consul, (Signed) *Buonaparté.*

Given at Paris, at the Palace of Government, the 27th Germinal (April 17), 10th year of the French Republic.

ST. DOMINGO DISPATCHES.

Paris, April 10.

The General in Chief to the Minister of Marine.

Head-Quarters, Gros-Morne, the 8th Ventôse, Feb. 27, 10th year of the French Republic.—1802.

"Citizen Minister,

"Agreeably to the information which I have already had the honour of sending to you, I opened the campaign on the 28th ultimo (January 18), and on that day Gen. Desfourneaux's division advanced to Limbe; Gen. Hardy's division advanced to the Great Boucan and to the Mornets, while that of Gen. Rochambeau proceeded to the Tannerie, and to the Bois de L'Ance. A small force, composed of the garrisons of the Cape and of Fort Dauphin, marched towards St. Suzanne, Trou, and Velliere. These divisions had actions of a difficult nature to encounter, from the local advantages possessed by the natives, inasmuch as the rebels concealed themselves in the under wood, and impenetrable forests that shelter the valleys, and who possessed, when they were repulsed, a secure retreat in the Mornes. The troops whom I ordered to advance, have, notwithstanding, made themselves masters of the positions which I had given them orders to take.

"On the 29th, Gen. Desfourneaux's division took a position near Plaisance; Hardy's division posted themselves at Dondon; and Rochambeau's at St. Raphael. These three divisions *disconfited* the enemy in all directions, with the greatest impetuosity. One must be acquainted with the country, in order to form a competent idea of the difficulties that are to be struggled with in every encounter. I experienced nothing in the Alps to be compared with them.

"On the 30th, Desfourneaux's division posted themselves at Plaisance, without meeting with any obstacle. This district was commanded by J. P. Dumesnel, a man of excellent character, who took the first opportunity of a parley with Gen. Desfourneaux. He had under his command 200 cavalry and 300 infantry, and manifested the generous resolution of saving his country in spite of the orders issued by Toussaint to set every thing on fire.

"Hardy's division posted itself at Marmelade. Previous to its arrival they made themselves masters

of the Morne at Borspen, one of the most formidable positions which I have ever had occasion to attack since I entered into the military profession. This division entered Marmelade with fixed bayonets, though it was a post defended by Gen. Christophe in person, who had under his command 1200 men of the line, and an equal number of common labourers.—Every thing gave way to French impetuosity. On the same day Gen. Rochambeau took a position at St. Michel, where he met with very little resistance. His right column which was to pass by Marie-à la-Roche, which was entrenched and defended by artillery and a body of 400 men, carried that position with the bayonet, without firing a single shot, and joined the General in the evening at St. Raphael.

"I was well aware that it was the enemy's intention to defend the Canton of Ennery and of Gonaïves, and for that reason I harassed them in that position as much as was in my power. With that view I dispatched Gen. Debelle to Port-de-Paix, at the head of a division, and he had instructions to press hard, and drive back Gen. Maurepas upon the Gonaïves. The latter General had under him 2000 troops of the line, and as many cultivators, entrenched about two leagues from Port-de-Paix, in the narrow pass of the Trois-Rivières. I thought it of great advantage to annihilate this corps, who had obtained some advantages over Gen. Humbert. I gave orders to Gen. Boudet to advance by Mirebalais, towards the Petite-Rivière, in order to cut off the enemy's retreat, whom I had hopes of discomfiting at the Gonaïves. Of these two divisions I could not avail myself, in order to give success to that operation.

"Gen. Debelle, who, according to my calculations, should have landed his troops at Port-de-Paix on the 29th, could reach it only on the 30th, and that very late. The Eastern winds, which prevail upon the coast, having failed during the passage from the Cape to Port-de-Paix.

"On the 1st Ventôse (February 20) Gen. Debelle proceeded to attack Gen. Maurepas; but a dreadful fall of rain which came on prevented the column which was intended to turn the enemy's position from arriving in time. The columns which attacked the front of the position were overpowered with fatigue and could not carry it; and as to the column that was to turn the enemy's position, it employed twenty-four hours in executing that manœuvre, having been obstructed in its march by torrents and bad roads; it was moreover attacked by the whole force of the rebels collected together against it. It effected, however, a retreat in very good order. Gen. Debelle had advanced to favour its motions.

"Boudet's division, on setting out from Port-au-Prince, marched towards the Croix-des-Bouquets, to which the rebels set fire on seeing him approach. Gen. Dessalines, who commanded at this point, made a feint to retreat to the Montagne des Grands-Bois; but by a rapid march, he advanced towards Leogane after passing by the Montagne-Noire. I had left orders for Gen. Boudet to dispatch a frigate to take possession of Leogane, but his forces were unable to preserve the town, which Dessalines had ordered to be set on fire. From thence Dessalines advanced against Jacmel, from whence he addressed a letter to me, signed by all the inhabitants of the commune, in which these wretches expressed their regret at not being under the barbarous and ferocious government of Toussaint. Never were heads cut off with more facility at Constantinople, or bastonadings bestowed with more generosity than at St. Domingo under the government of Toussaint and his adherents.

"General Boudet, who was aware of the intentions of General La Plume, who summoned the Southern district to submit to the French Government, did not think it expedient to depart from that interesting quarter. He dispatched thither 1500 men under the command of Adjutant Darbois, in order to force General Dessalines to retreat, and to determine the submission of General La Plume. This measure saved the Southern District. Dessalines retreated with his followers into the Grands-Bois, and General La Plume sent me a certificate of his submission. Since that time I have received no communications from General Boudet: I am only informed, that the day before yesterday he entered Saint Mark, which he found in part consumed by fire.

"On the 1st Ventôse the different divisions remained in their respective positions. On the 30th the weather was abominable, and continued so till the first.

"On the 2d, Desfourneaux's division advanced within two leagues of Plaisance. Hardy's division took possession of Ennery with the bayonet, as usual. This post was also defended by Christophe, who had under him 1000 troops of the line and 1200 cultivators. I learned that General Christophe had retreated to the Plantation Bayonnai: I immediately ordered General Hardy to dispatch thither the brigade of General Salm. This brigade, which had performed a very fatiguing march on the 2d, continued, nevertheless, to march the whole of the night, and, on break of day of the 3d, carried the position of Christophe. They, moreover, made considerable booty, having got possession of a dépôt belonging to the rebels.

"On the 3d, Rochambeau's division posted itself at the head of the Ravine-à-Couleuvre, which leaves the Coupe-à-Linde to the left, and the Mornes, where Christophe had entrenched himself, to the right. On the same day, General Desfourneaux came and posted himself before Ennery, where General Hardy also assembled his division.

"On the 4th, Desfourneaux's division marched to Coupe-à-Pintade, where they fell in with the enemy. I had ordered that division to be supported by Desplanque's and Hardy's Brigade. General Desfourneaux attacked the enemy, and drove them to Gonaïves, which had been burnt two days before. The enemy being vigorously pursued could no longer make head, but retreated towards the river Ester, leaving 200 men killed upon the field of battle.

"Salm's Brigade, belonging to Hardy's division, came the same day and took its position at the Piteau, in face of La Coupe-à-Pintade.

"On the same day the division of Rochambeau entered the Ravine-à-Couleuvre. It was there that General Toussaint, with his guards, forming a body of 1500 grenadiers, drawn from different demi-brigades, and about 1200 men, chosen from the best battalions of his army, together with 400 dragoons, expected to be able to defend himself. The Ravine at Couleuvre is enclosed on all sides in an extraordinary manner. It is flanked by mountains, the tops of which are covered with woods, in which were placed more than 2000 armed cultivators in addition to the troops already enumerated. The rebels had collected a quantity of materials for the purpose of obstructing the passage, and were possessed of the entrenched positions which commanded the Ravine. A position so uncommonly strong as this would have deterred almost any other man than Gene-

ral Rochambeau; he however, made his dispositions with the rapidity of lightning, and attacked the entrenchments of the enemy.

"A combat of man to man commenced; the troops of Toussaint fought with great courage and obstinacy, but every thing yielded to French intrepidity. Toussaint evacuated his position, and retired in disorder to Petite-Rivière, leaving eight hundred of his troops dead on the field of battle. On the 5th I arrived at Gonaïves. I was extremely anxious about the fate of Generals Debelle and Boudet, of whom I had received no intelligence.

"On the 6th I discovered by means of my spies the General Debelle had not succeeded in repulsing General Maurepas. I gave orders to the division under General Desfourneaux to march to Gros Morne on the road to Port de Paix, and to General Rochambeau to advance to the bridge of Ester, and to push forward on the right and left, for the purpose of gaining intelligence of General Boudet, and the retreat of the enemy.

"On the 7th I gained intelligence that General Boudet had made himself master of St. Mark. I saw in this quarter no other enemy but Maurepas to encounter; I gave orders to General Hardy to march to Gros Morne with five companies of grenadiers and 800 men drawn from his division. I added to this body a company of my guards, consisting of 100 men. I marched in person with this body, and on the evening of the 7th took up a position within two leagues of Gros Morne. My intention was to march with the division of Desfourneaux, and 1500 men of Hardy's division, for the purpose of taking up a position on the 8th two leagues further in the rear of General Maurepas, with a view of attacking him at break of day on the 9th in concert with General Debelle, whom I had apprized of this movement. But General Maurepas, who had no means of retreat left, had previously sent deputies to General Debelle, whom my letters had not then reached, offering to surrender on the terms specified in my proclamation, in which I offer to continue those officers, who should submit, in their respective ranks. To this proposal General Debelle assented, and notwithstanding the excellence of my position I thought it my duty to confirm what General Debelle had done, and gave orders to General Maurepas to join the army at Gros Morne, where I was waiting his arrival. I have sent back the body drawn from the division of Hardy to Gonaïves, to which place I shall march for the purpose of recommencing to-morrow the pursuit of Toussaint.

"Since the affair of the 4th the inhabitants consider Toussaint as lost; the cultivators return to their habitations, the soldiers desert his standards, and already it is the opinion of all, that we are masters of the colony.

"General Desfourneaux bestows particular praise on Grandet, Chief of Brigade; General Hardy gives great credit to the exertions of Desplanques, Adjutant Commandant, whom I have appointed General of Brigade; General Salm is also highly spoken of. I have appointed Congeat a Chief of Battalion, formerly a Chief of Brigade in the 11th Light, on the field of battle. This brave officer is since dead of the wounds which procured for him this accession of rank.

"General Rochambeau speaks in high terms of the services of Brunet, General of Brigade; of Lavallette and Andrieu, Adjutant Commandants; and of Citizen Rey, Chief of Brigade in the 5th Light. Citizen Lachatre, one of this General's Aid-de-Camps, was killed in storming Fort Dauphin. I have every reason to be satisfied with the exertions of Bruyère, my Aid-de-Camp Chef d'Escadre, and of Billcourt, holding the same rank, who is attached to the General Staff.

"The exertions of the whole army deserve my particular acknowledgments; the 5th, 11th, and 17th Light, and the 31st and 68th of the line, have particularly distinguished themselves. General Boudet is liberal in his commendation of Pamphile Lacroix and Darbois, Adjutant Commandants. As soon as the returns from the different corps shall reach the Chief of the Staff, a detailed account on this point will be trasmitted to you. He will send you a list of those brave individuals to whom I have judged it proper to assign rewards. I have to beg of you to require a confirmation of them from the Chief Consul.

"Thus has the Army of St. Domingo, in the space of a campaign of fifteen days, dispersed the principal bodies of the Rebels, got possession of a great part of their baggage, and a considerable portion of their artillery.

"Among the number of Officers who have submitted are Clervaux, La Plume, and Maurepas; a number of other Negro Chiefs or Men of Colour, have also submitted to our arms. The whole plantations on the South are preserved. The whole of the Spanish part of the island is in our hands.

"Health and respect,

(Signed) "LECLERC."

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Paris, April 15. The law relative to religious worship decreed by the legislative body on the 8th, will be promulgated next Sunday at day-break.—That day will be kept as a holiday at all the public offices.—The sittings of the council of state are fixed for the future on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday in every week.

Sunday Evening, April 18. Early this morning the cannon were fired, and the new religious code proclaimed. The different councils and constituted authorities assembled to proceed to the grand service at the Metropolian Church of Notre Dame, and the proclamation, (See Register, p. 460) was posted up all over Paris. The approach of the Chief Consul was announced by the firing of cannon. Before he entered, the councils were seated in the galleries, the legislative body on the left, the conservative senate on the right, and the tribunate in the centre. In the body of the church, the clergy were ranged on the left: the ministers, ambassadors, chief officers, &c. &c. on the right. The aisles of the church were thickly lined with soldiers, and the number of military officers was great. Terminating the passage of the main aisle stood the altar, nearly in the centre of the church. On the right was erected a temple

raised on four pillars, ten or twelve feet high, over which was suspended from the roof a splendid canopy. This temple, which was covered with crimson velvet, and most superbly decorated with gold and precious stones, was designed for the three consuls, and it was open all round that they might be seen. On the opposite side of the altar stood a similar temple, not so magnificent, in which were to sit the Pope's legate and two archbishops, one of them of Paris.—Soon after twelve o'clock the Chief Consul entered, canon firing, and a fine band of music playing in the church. The grenadiers were ranged three deep on each side of the aisle, along which he passed to the altar, the Pope's legate introducing him to the church, and conducting him. He was followed by the two other consuls, who seemed to attend him as footmen. After certain ceremonies he ascended the temple, and the cardinal and bishops entered theirs. The service of high mass was then performed, Buonaparté going through all the ceremonies, not apparently with the greatest zeal. In those parts of the service where the congregation bow, the soldiers presented their arms, by word of command from their officers. The oath of fidelity was taken by the clergy, who were very numerously assembled round the legate's temple, as already described, after which a sermon was preached by M. de Boisgelin now bishop of Tours, formerly archbishop of Aix, member of the royal academy, and the same person who preached before Louis the XVI. on his coronation. A grand *Te Deum* followed, in which all the best vocal performers in Paris assisted. About four o'clock, the whole ceremony having concluded, the Chief Consul retired in the manner he entered, and the rest of the company withdrew.

Telegraphic dispatch.—Admiral Ganthcaume to the Minister of the Marine and of the Colonies.

"*Brest, April* 13. The squadron under my orders is arrived from St. Domingo, without accident, after a passage of thirty-six days.—There is no other news than what has been brought by the Cisalpine."

The French commanders in St. Domingo, about the 24th of February, sent a frigate to the Havannah, to demand from the Spaniards an auxiliary force of 11,000 men, with a supply of provisions, &c. in aid of their operations against Toussaint. Two Spanish seventy-fours, a frigate and a sloop of war, with a French sixty-four, had arrived at the Havannah, and several other French ships were expected there to refit, and to take on board the supplies required by the troops, &c. in St. Domingo.

On the arrival of the French expedition at that Island, there were in the different ports about sixty sail of American vessels freighted with flour. The commanders of the French troops proposed to purchase their cargoes, by payment of one-fifth in specie, and to give bills on the republican government for the remainder, this was not accepted, when the French put them in requisition.

April 16. The Cardinal Legate has declared, by virtue of his apostolic power, that the following days shall be kept as festivals and holidays.—Christmas-day, the Ascension, the Assumption, and the Feast of All Saints.—M. Cambaceres, Archbishop of Rouen, yesterday performed the ceremony of washing feet in the church of St. Roch.

Naples, March 27.—The news from Sicily is of great importance. The King has opened the States of Palermo with the greatest pomp. After congratulating the Sicilians on having looked on in tranquility, at the waves of the political ocean, which have raged round their coast during ten years, he announced to them that for the future, the Court should reside at Sicily, and that this should be the pledge of the prosperity of that realm. He had also engaged the Sicilians to supply the wants of the State.

Lisbon, April 1. General Lannes arrived here on the 26th of last month. A carriage of the court, drawn by eight horses superbly decorated, remained on the quay of the Place of Commerce, waiting for him, from mid-day till ten o'clock at night. Greater honours were paid him than are generally rendered to the diplomatic rank which he holds, he being only envoy and minister plenipotentiary. His wife, a second aid du camp, and the secretary Fitte, were with him. He had likewise carriages of the court for them.

He ordered the former French chargés-des-affaires to announce to the factory, that he would receive them on Sunday the 28th, at eleven in the morning; but that he would only receive those who should wear the national cockade, and these only should have a claim to the protection of the representation of the nation. The duc de Luxembourg, who is raised from the list of emigrants, and whose daughter is married to the duc de Cadaval, conformed to this order. On the same day he dined with

General Lannes, the envoy from Holland being of the party. The prince of Luxembourg, his son, in the service of Portugal, but who has been in France these two months, is about to marry the niece and heiress of the minister Talleyrand Perigord.—On the 30th ult. the envoy and minister plenipotentiary of the French republic, presented his letters of credence to the prince regent. On this occasion the palace of Caylus was new furnished, and an order was given for all the *fidalgos* to attend at the presentation. Never were such pains taken to receive, in the most marked and magnificent manner, any foreign ambassador.—It was at this moment of ceremony and parade, that by a *fatality* which can neither be conceived nor explained, that the Portuguese gave to the English a mortification which demands reparation.—On the 27th of March, the English frigate the Active arrived in three days from Gibraltar. From the tower of Bolem, a signal was made to her to stop her course, conformable to an ordonnance of health, which enjoins all ships coming from the Mediteranean to perform quarantine. The commandant of the frigate took the anchorage which appeared to him the best and safest. The sailors of the barges of the Active, and of the Constance, captain Mudge, attending their respective captains to a place called the packet-boat stairs, were seized by the guard of the police, without any cause being assigned, and carried to one of the subterraneans of that guard. The commandants of the two frigates, upon their return not finding their men, went to demand them, when an officer ordered his men to conduct them both to the main guard, commanded by a captain of the regiment of Lisbon, who immediately upon their arrival ordered them to be shut up in one of his apartments, exposed to the insults of the soldiers.—As soon as His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, Mr. Frere, and General Fraser, were informed of this transaction, they flew to the main guard, and assured themselves by their eyes of what they could not otherwise have believed.—They immediately went to the proper authority to demand their release, but notwithstanding all their zeal and diligence, the two officers remained in an unwholesome place from eleven at night till next day after mid-day.—The Portuguese government is disposed to give ample satisfaction, but that it equally demands it of the captain of the Active.—General Lannes has brought as a present for the Prince Regent, a superb set of harness, and an elegant robe for the princess.

Hague, April 4.—Admiral de Winter has received instruction to sail to Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli. These powers have expressed some discontent, and have even declared war against our Republic, because the usual presents, amounting to 130,000 florins a year, were not sent. Admiral de Winter will pay the sum which is due, and renew the former relations between the two states.

The government has authorised the council of war, and the council of the colonies to establish dépôts for the colonial troops that go to India. These dépôts shall be established at Amsterdam, and in some other ports of the republic.—The trade to the Cape of Good Hope shall not, as formerly, belong to an exclusive company; every individual of the republic shall be free to traffic there, on paying a certain duty. The inhabitants of the countries which have by their ministers, concluded a definitive treaty of peace, shall enjoy the same privileges as the traders of this republic.

The commerce at Amsterdam recovers all its former activity; 23 vessels are at this moment in that port, waiting a favourable wind to sail to the coast of Guinea. The same activity reigns at Dordrecht and Rotterdam, where there are also several vessels loaded for the colonies.—It is asserted that we are to have an exclusive company for the trade to China; we hope soon to see the trade to the East Indies made free, as well as that to the Cape.—The East India company is become so burthensome, that its debts, with which the State is charged, amount to 5,153,813 livres.

Antwerp, April 4.—Hedouville, prefect of the ci-devant Netherlands, to citizen Werbroeck, mayor of Antwerp.

"I have heard, citizen mayor, that some of your citizens have been so far misled by letters from their correspondents at Amiens, as to believe that the Scheldt is not to be free. The uneasiness occasioned by this report is so great, that I can no longer think it consistent with my duty not to do it away. Letters from correspondents on official subjects, should never be depended upon, without direct communications from the government. Let it therefore be made publicly known, that the Scheldt is free, and completely free, in order that all the merchants may avail themselves of the ad-

vantages to be derived from the intelligence; and let us all unite to return our acknowledgments to the First Consul, who has restored peace to Europe, happiness to France, and prosperity to Europe! Have the goodness to communicate this letter to the merchants.

(Signed) "*Hedouville.*"

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

Presentations at the Levee on Wednesday.

The Rev. Dr. Huntingford, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; he had the honour to kiss the King's hand on succeeding to the see of Gloucester.—Counsellor Erskine, Chancellor of the Dutchy of Cornwall, given him by the Prince of Wales, was introduced by Earl Moira.—Mr. Perceval, on his appointment as his Majesty's Attorney General.—The Bishop of Gloucester kissed hands on his being translated to the see of Bath and Wells.—Lord Ellenborough kissed hands on being appointed Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench.—His Excellency the Sardinian Ambassador, had a private audience of the King, to announce the death of the Queen of Sardinia, on which occasion, the Court will go into mourning on Sunday next.—After the Levee, a Council of his Majesty's ministers was held, on the Ratification of the Treaty of Peace received on Wednesday, between Great-Britain and France.

On Monday last, his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, with several of the nobility and gentry, dined at the Mansion-House.

The Lord Mayor not having treated the Sheriffs with that respect, which those in their office had been accustomed to receive, they did not appear amongst the guests at the Mansion House.

The following is a Copy of the Letter sent by the Sheriffs to the Prince of Wales respecting their Conduct on Monday last.

May it please your Royal Highness,

Deeply as it would grieve us to appear wanting in that respect and affection so justly due to your Royal Highness's person, and your Illustrious Family, a respect and affection we most fervently feel in common with every good subject, we consider it a duty we owe ourselves, as Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, to account to your Royal Highness for not appearing in our places on your Royal Highness's condescending to honour the city with your august presence at the festivities of Easter Monday.

When our fellow-citizens called us to the high office we have now the honour to serve, we thought it our first duty and our greatest pride to maintain its consequence with splendour while we held it, and to return it into their hands again, its dignity unsullied, and its rights unbroken.

It cannot be necessary to obtrude on your Royal Highness's attention the minute circumstances wherein we imagined that the Lord Mayor intended to sully that dignity, and to abridge those rights, but only to observe that we conceived him to have abated of that proper respect due to the established church of England and Ireland, in the person of our Chaplains, who, in their official capacity, represented it, and, in our own persons to have neglected those honours, which custom had authorised us to expect, which our high office entitled us to demand, and which, as representing our Sovereign, it was his duty to pay us.

We, Royal Sir, with the whole civilised world, have seen and deplored the fatal effects of those principles, which, in another nation, in destroying respect, ceremony, and veneration for place, office, and rank, had nearly destroyed with them all that was great and good, and threatened to deprive society of its noblest blessings.

Under this impression your Royal Highness will not be surprised that we resented what we considered indignity to our station; that we refused to be mere puppets in what he presumed to be his private pageant; that we consented to sacrifice the unbounded pleasure we ought to have enjoyed in humbly receiving and dutifully waiting upon your Royal Person, to the feelings of public propriety.

We trust, therefore, that your Royal Highness will not only exercise your usual goodness to pardon our seeming neglect, but will extend it to an approbation of our conduct, that, in having accepted our high office from the hands of our fellow-citizens, and holding it under the influence of our Gracious Sovereign, we feel jealous of its honour, and defenders of its rights.

We beg leave to subscribe ourselves, with the greatest deference and veneration, your Royal Highness's most dutiful, most loyal, and most humble servants,

(Signed) *Wm. Rawlins, Robt. Alb. Cox,* } *Sheriffs.*

Easter Tuesday, April 20, 1802.

A List of the Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East-Indies for the year 1802:

Sir Francis Baring, Bt.	Sir Stephen Lushington, Bt.
Sir William Bensley, Bt.	John Manship, Esq.
Jacob Bosanquet, Esq.	T. Theophilus Metcalfe, Es.
Sir J. Smith Burges, Bt.	Edward Parry, Esq.
Joseph Cotton, Esq.	John Roberts, Esq.
Sir Lionel Darrell, Bart.	George Smith, Esq.
William Devaynes, Esq.	G. Woodford Thellusson, Es.
Hon. W. Elphinstone,	Robert Thornton, Esq.
Charles Grant, Esq.	William Thornton, Esq.
John Hunter, Esq.	Sweny Toone, Esq.
Sir Hugh Inglis, Bart.	John Travers, Esq.
Paul Le Mesurier, Esq. and Alderman.	Stephen Williams, Esq.

All the French prisoners of war at the dépôt of Portsmouth, were embarked on board sundry cartel vessels, on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, the 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th inst.—The number between three and four thousand.

The total amount of the actual payment out of, and future charge upon, the Consolidated Fund, for the year ended January 5, 1802, is £24,385,224 : 10.—The National Debt, on the 1st of February last, amounted to £477,989,894 : 6 : 5½.

At a meeting of the Proprietors of Bank Stock, in Dublin, it was agreed to purchase the Parliament-house for a National Bank; they are to pay £40,000 and £240 per annum.

Vice-Admiral Sir Andrew Mitchell is appointed to the chief naval command on the Nova Scotia station: his force will consist of a 50 gun ship and a squadron of frigates.

The Hon. Mr. Pierrepoint arrived in Town at two o'clock on Wednesday morning, with the Ratification by the French Government, of the Definitive Treaty.

On Saturday last, dispatches were received at the India-House from the Government-General of Bengal, by the Arran, a country ship, loaded with grain; she left the presidency in October. We learn by a private letter, that the Governor-General was on his way to Lucknow, for the purpose of having an interview with the Vizier, or Nabob of Oude. His Lordship had taken his departure from Monghir, and penetrated more than 300 miles in the interior, north-west of Calcutta.

TAX UPON TONNAGE.

A general meeting of the ship-owners of the city of London was held yesterday at the George and Vulture Tavern, Cornhill, to take into consideration the intended duties upon the tonnage of shipping.

Mr. Rowcroft being called to the chair, briefly stated the object of the meeting, the general sense of which appearing to be against the duties;

A resolution was proposed to the following effect:

"Resolved, that a committee be appointed to take such measures as may induce the minister to withdraw, lessen, or modify, the intended tax upon the tonnage of shipping."

The mover of this resolution stated, in its support, that the government of France had imposed a duty upon tonnage to the amount of nearly three livres, and that, therefore, the ship-owners might consent to a similar tax, if laid low, in case the minister could not be prevailed upon to abandon it entirely.

Mr. Hill reprobated all idea of modification. His objection was to the principle of the tax, and therefore he should oppose it in any shape or state of reduction. It was always the policy of this country to encourage its shipping, and hence the unrivalled greatness and glory which it had attained.—All measures against this policy had therefore been hitherto resisted, and such resistance was uniformly crowned with success. The opposition in the present instance, he trusted, would experience a similar fate. It was a fallacy to suppose that the ship-owner could reimburse himself any part of the tax, by raising the price of carriage upon the article.—From the great extent of our shipping, there was at present a competition for freight, which rendered any such mode of indemnification impossible.—Such an effect could not take place, until by a reduction of the quantity of shipping the owners might be able to raise the freight. The tax therefore would ultimately tend to reduce that establishment which had proved the source of our prosperity, particularly as it would give foreign shipping an advantage over that of Great-Britain. For these reasons, therefore, he should oppose the principle of the tax, and move that the words "lessen or modify" be omitted. This amendment was unanimously agreed to.

A gentleman then proposed, after a short speech, enforcing the arguments of Mr. Hill, that the meeting should come to some strong resolutions in terms that should express their decided and marked disapprobation of the measure, but still guarded from any words that could give offence, or be construed into a disrespect to the minister.

The chairman being now called away by public business, he was succeeded in the chair by Mr. Hill, and, after a good deal of conversation, the following resolution, in conformity with the above suggestion, was unanimously adopted. "Resolved, &c. that the intended tax upon the tonnage of shipping is impolitic, and, if carried into effect, will be injurious to the interests of Great-Britain, by ultimately depriving the country of its principal support."

It was then suggested, that the representatives of the city be instructed to endeavour to procure the delay of the progress of the bill imposing the tax, now before parliament, in order that there might be time to communicate with the ship-owners in the out-ports, and to have the benefit of their co-operation. To this it was answered, that a private request from the committee for delay was as likely to be successful as any other mode, and that the ship-owners in several of the out-ports, viz. Newcastle, Durham, &c. had already taken the subject into consideration, and apprised their representatives of their disapprobation of the tax.

It was then unanimously "resolved, that said resolutions be transmitted to the ship-owners of the out-ports for their co-operation with the ship-owners of London, in their endeavours to prevent said tax from being carried into effect."

A committee was then appointed, consisting of Mr. Rowcroft, Mr. Hill, and several other gentlemen, and the meeting was dissolved.

By accounts laid before the House of Commons, it appears the average number of barrels of strong beer, brewed for the last fifteen years, has been nearly five millions barrels per annum.

Two state prisoners in Dublin, and eleven out of thirteen of those in Kilmainham, were lately liberated, agreeable to an agreement which they were induced to enter into, four years since, of being then liberated on giving security to quit his Majesty's European dominions, and not to enter any country at war with Great-Britain; but as several of these are men of large families, and incapable of procuring the means of removing to any other country, it is thought the clemency of government will be extended to persons of this description. The state prisoners confined in Fort George are, it is said, to be brought to Ireland without delay, and liberated on the same terms.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The formal acknowledgment of the truth of the Christian faith, by the Chief Ruler and by the people of France, which took place at Paris on Sunday last, is an event, which cannot be looked upon but as wonderful in itself, and important in its consequences. What those consequences may finally be, it is impossible even to guess at, until time has shewn us the effect which this national recantation will produce in the minds of the people. That the system, mutilated as it is, which is now introduced, will not tend to the restoration of religion, it would, perhaps, be going too far to assert; yet, we think, there is very good reason to believe, that it will answer no other end than that of tearing up the very foundations of the Roman Catholic church; and, we Protestants should recollect, that the people of France will be either Catholics or Infidels. —As to the political consequences, there are two opinions, one of which is, that the partial re-establishment of the influence and authority of the Pope and the priests will, though by slow degrees, sap the power of the Consul, and finally overthrow the Republic; the other is, that it will strengthen the former, and tend to perpetuate the latter. To this opinion we subscribe. The ecclesiastical power is entirely dependent on the military power: the consecration of Buonaparté's *sword* was most aptly emblematical of the future state of things: the only purpose which the church is intended to answer, is to preserve domestic tranquillity, to further the operations and to sanctify the deeds of the army.

The dispatches from St. Domingo are regarded by the French as containing full proof of their success in that island. The war may possibly drag out till the month of June; but we fear it will not. We have heard much of woods and mountains, and a long-protracted Maroon war, but have never yet found any one to tell us how Toussaint and his army are to live without provisions, which they can have only from the sea. When we are reminded of the *ten thousand men and twenty millions of money*, which *we* lost in a fruitless attempt to subdue Toussaint and other black chiefs, our constant reply is, that *we* are not Frenchmen. If Buonaparté had committed the expedition to the humane Generals Maitland and Williamson, we should have regarded the sailing of the armament as a master-stroke of policy on the part of our Ministers. But the Le Clercs and the Rochambeaus are

men of a different mould. Instead of throwing up a ditch to let their men die in quiet, they harass them to death in pursuit of the negroes. These bloody-minded men go to war to kill their enemies, and not, like our gentle St. Domingo commanders, to save their enemies lives and their own into the bargain. When we are asked how the negroes found provisions and ammunition to carry on the war against *us* for so long a time, we readily answer, that they found them in the sea-ports, of which we kindly left them in possession, and into which, with all our swarm of ships, we never prevented the entrance of supplies. In short, when we reflect on the millions that we expended in the expedition against that island, on the ample forces by land and sea, on the time spent, and the final result, we see with shame the progress that Le Clerc, destitute of provisions, and with an empty military chest, has made in the space of twenty days. We love not the French; nay, we trust, that few people on earth hate them more cordially than we; but we cannot help admiring the wisdom of their plans, and the promptitude and resolution with which they carry them into effect. We admire their devotion to their country, their regard for her glory, and their disregard of death when put in competition with that glory: and, however the maxim may disagree with the peace-seeking cant of the day, we have no scruple to assert, that such men will rule, and have a *right* to rule, the selfish, the effeminate, and cowardly part of mankind.

The omission, in the Definitive Treaty, to renew former treaties, has, we are happy to perceive, created a general alarm, which shews that there is yet some regard for the interests, if there be none for the honour, of the country. All the consequences of this omission will not be readily perceived. They are like biles in the embryo, and will make us smart and wince in their successive eruption. In our next we shall endeavour to point out their nature and extent, a duty which we should already have discharged, if our limits would have permitted. "Sufficient," however, "to the day is the evil thereof:" those who may take the pains to peruse our remarks on the cessions in Guiana and North America, will, we imagine, want nothing more to rouse their indignation against the negotiators of the ruinous compact, which is now to be celebrated by *compulsory* illuminations. On this latter topic we shall have much to say. The arts which have been made use of at once to wheedle and to bully the nation into this affectation of joy, this shameful act of self-debasement, deserves the most severe and most lasting reprobation.

The article from Lisbon, which will be found under the head of Foreign Intelligence, furnishes us with an early specimen of the effects of a disgraceful peace: it teaches us what it is to be considered as an *inferior* power. Time was when the captains of British men of war would not, in the city of Lisbon, have been crammed into a guard-house, merely for an act of informality in the observance of the health-laws; time was when such an exhibition would not have graced the entry of an envoy of France; time was when the British uniform was a protection from insult; but that time is no more: we have basely abandoned those who had dared danger and destruction by our side, and the nations of the world will soon make us feel, that nothing is so contemptible as pride without honour. Let those, therefore, who mean to visit foreign climes, go to Downing Street before their departure, and take a lesson of humility: if they wish to avoid the cuffs and the kicks of mankind, let them cast off the bull-dog, and put on the airs of the spaniel.

Yet, there will not be wanting persons to charge the Portuguese with *ingratitude* for their having rigorously exercised the law in the instance above alluded to. Such a charge is fashionable. To represent ourselves as having *fought the battles of other countries* is the popular cant of the day. We were "paying the Emperor to fight his "*own* battles." We pay him no longer; the consequence of which is, we prostrate ourselves at the feet of our enemy, give up the conquests we have made, and submit to such disgrace as the Emperor has never submitted to. But, we never paid Portugal; we never purchased her co-operation with our insolent guineas. She bore her portion of the expense, more than her portion of the danger, without the smallest participation in the profits. We make a peace by which we secure two islands to ourselves in exchange for a part of her colonial and her European dominions. And can we, after this, have the effrontery to complain of her *ingratitude*, because she withdraws the respect and deference with which we were formerly treated? She owes us nought, no not even good will, and he must be an idiot who expects it at her hands. To be hated is the lot of the rich and the powerful; but our present

statesmen have been able to unite against us feelings hitherto thought incompatible; to render us an object of universal hatred and contempt.

The French ratification of the definitive treaty has (as will be seen by our Domestic Occurrences) been received. The Dutch and Spanish ratifications are hourly expected. Peace is, it seems, to be *proclaimed by the heralds*, as if a printed proclamation were an insufficient assurance of our disgrace. Every possible effort is made to dazzle and blind the people, who are hurried on from folly to folly with a velocity that leaves them not a moment for reflection. The present infatuation, however, shall not discourage us: the day of reflection will finally come: the day must come, when the nation will join their voices to ours in execrating the measure, on which they are now preparing to bestow public demonstrations of joy. "A weak foundation, "slippery and unsure, hath he who buildeth "on the vulgar heart." To court the approbation of the multitude, in any way whatever, is very little honourable to a statesman; what must it be, then, to exclude all their better feelings, and speak to their baseness alone? Yet, such is the nature of the present appeal. It is from their bellies, and not from their heads or their hearts; it is from their love of eating and drinking, and not from their patriotism or their loyalty, that the peace-makers look for applause.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

The King has been pleased to grant the Dignity of a Baron of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland unto Sir Edward Law, Knight, Chief Justice of his Majesty's Court of King's Bench, and to the Heirs Male of his Body lawfully begotten, by the Name, Style, and Title of Baron Ellenborough, of Ellenborough, in the county of Cumberland.

BIRTH AND DEATHS.

Birth.—On Sunday evening, at his Lordship's house in Hill-street, Lady Morpeth, of a son and heir.

Deaths.—On Thursday, 22d inst. at Bath, Colonel Adeane, of the forty-fifth Regiment, Member for Cambridgeshire, and one of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Bedchamber. Thursday morning, at her house in Hertford-street, May-fair, the Hon. Mrs. Bateman, aged 73. On Wednesday last, at her house in Fareham, at an advanced age, Mrs. Montagu, relict of the late Admiral Montagu. The 16th inst. at his house in Hanover-square, the Right Hon. Henry Temple, Lord Viscount Palmerston, of the Kingdom of Ireland. On Tuesday evening in Piccadilly, after a lingering illness, the Earl of Guildford. He is succeeded by his brother, the Hon. Colonel North.

PRICE OF STOCKS.

ENGLISH three per cent. consols.

Saturday....	76⅞ 7⅜ ½	Wednesday..	77⅛ ½ ⅝
Monday....	Shut	Thursday..	77⅛ 6½ ⅝ 7
Tuesday....	Shut.	Friday....	76⅞ ¾ ⅞

AMERICAN STOCKS.—Eight pr. c. 113¼.

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 55 f. 55 c.

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s.	s.		s.	s.
Eng. Wheat per q.	58	to 72	Hops per cwt...	83	to 161
Foreign.....	48..	70	Hay per load....	37..	91
Rye.....	36..	39	Beef, per stone....	5s.	to
Barley.....	30..	34	5s. 9d.		
Malt.....	36..	47	Mutton.. 6s. 6d.	to 7s.	9d.
Oats.....	12..	19	Veal.....	6s.	to 7s.
Pease.....	28..	33	Pork.... 6s.	to 7s.	0d. 0d.
Beans.....	30..	38	Tallow	4s.	0d.
Flour per sack ..	50..	53	Average of Sugar		
Seconds.....	45..	50	per cwt.....	38s.	9d.
Coals per chal...	29..	39			

Bread *Ten Pence* the Quartern Loaf.

Porter Four Pence Halfpenny per Pot.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

HAMBURGH	33 0 2½ us.	NAPLES.....	44½
ALTONA ..	33 1 2½ us.	GENOA.....	47½
CADIZ....	33¾ in paper	LISBON.....	71½
MADRID ..	33¾ ditto	OPORTO.....	71
LEGHORN..	50¼	DUBLIN.....	12

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER,

Near Guildford, in Surrey, for the Month of April, 1802.

Days.	M's Age	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barometer. Inches. M.	Barometer. Inches. A.	Thermometer. Degrees. M.	Thermometer. Degrees. A.
15		Fair.	NW	W	29,92	29,9	52	57
16		Fine.	NW	NW	29,83	29,83	53	59
17		Fine.	W	W	30,01	30,02	54	59,5
18	○	Fine.	W	W	30,1	30,1	58	63
19		Fine.	S	SW	30,12	30,12	62	65,5
20		Fine.	W	W	30,05	30,05	61,5	66
21		Fine.	NE	W	30	30	54	64

● *New Moon* ☾ *1st. Quar.* ○ *F. Moon.* ☽ *last Quar.*

LONDON.

LONDON, *April* 24 *to May* 1, 1802.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Commercial Stipulations made by France, in the several Treaties and Conventions, which she has entered into since the year 1794, *inclusive.*

In the Letter to Lord Hawkesbury (Register, p. 398), on the omission to stipulate, in the treaty of Amiens, for *treaties of commerce* with the parties, with whom we were making peace, it was stated, that this omission, on the part of our negotiators, did not arise from any *new practice* having in this respect, been adopted by the powers of Europe. In support of this statement, the commercial stipulations, which France had made with Russia, Turkey, and Portugal, were cited; and, since the publishing of that letter we have seen another instance of the same sort, in her treaty with Tunis. This might have sufficed for every purpose; but, in order to demonstrate the universality of the practice of France in obtaining those stipulations, which she has not suffered us to obtain, and which our ministers now affect to regard as of *no value*, we have examined all the treaties made by the republic since the beginning of her destructive career, and the following extracts will show, that, in *thirteen* treaties and conventions, besides the four above-mentioned, she has made stipulations in favour of the interests of her commerce.

Extract from the Treaty of Peace, &c. between the French Republic and that of the United Provinces. Signed at the Hague, May 16, 1795.

Art. XII. The French Republic has reserved, as a just indemnity, the conquered towns and countries restored by the preceding article, viz.

1. Dutch Flanders, comprising all the territory on the right bank of the Hondt.

2. Maestricht, Venloo, and their dependencies, as well as the other boundaries and possessions of the United Provinces, situated to the south of Venloo, on both sides of the Meuse.

XIII. There shall be in the town and port of Flushing, a French garrison exclusively, whether in time of peace or war, until it shall be otherwise stipulated by the two nations.

XIV. The port of Flushing shall be common to the two nations in every respect; its use shall be submitted to a *regulation* agreed upon between the two contracting parties, which regulation shall be added as a supplement to the present treaty.

XVIII. The navigation of the Rhine, the Meuse, the Scheldt and the Hondt, and of all their branches as far as the sea, shall be free to the French as well as to the Dutch nation; the ships of the French and of the United Provinces, shall be received there indiscriminately, and on the same conditions.

Regulations for determining the Use of the Port of Flushing in consequence of the XIVth *Article of the Treaty before-mentioned. Signed, May* 16, 1795.

Art. I. The French and Dutch nations shall equally resort to the port and bason of Flushing, for the purpose of repairing and equiping their ships.

II. Each nation shall have in that port, separately and distinctly, its own arsenals, magazines, docks, and workmen.

III. In order, from the present time, to introduce the French nation to the common advantages of the port of Flushing, the Republic of the United Provinces will cede to it the building, over the bason, or wet dock, which serves as a warehouse for the West-India Company: there shall likewise be assigned to it land sufficient for erecting docks and arsenals, and till these can be completed it shall have the use of the docks at present existing.

IV. With respect to the acquisition of new territory, and the construction of buildings which each nation may be inclined to make in the port and bason of Flushing, to enlarge its own magazines, arsenals, and docks, or to erect others, the expenses of rebuilding or repairing the said arsenals, magazines, and docks, and the expenses incurred by the building, repairing, and equiping of the respective ships, with every thing relating thereto, shall be defrayed by each nation respectively.

V. The repairs necessary for the port, bason, and quays, being for the mutual advantage of both nations, the expense of such repairs shall be defrayed by both governments.

These repairs shall be ascertained, ordered, and conducted under the direction of the United Provinces: the direction of the French Republic shall only relate to the repairs that are to be made; and when they are finished, it shall be limited to the means of preservation, and to transmitting the procès-verbal to its government, together with the statement of expenses, in order that it may be afterwards prepared to discharge its moiety of the said expenses.

VI. It is agreed that neither of the two nations shall station in the port an admiral's ship nor a guard ship.

VII. In all instances where disputes may arise, which cannot be amicably terminated, as to the execution of the present regulation, such disputes shall be decided by five arbitrators, who shall be appointed as follows: viz. two by the French direction, two by the Dutch direction, and, for the fifth, each direction shall appoint a *neuter*, and of the two *neuters* so appointed, the one who is to fulfil the functions of fifth arbitrator, shall be determined by chance.

VIII. The present regulation shall be executed according to its form and tenor, as making part of the XIVth article of the treaty of peace and alliance of the present day, between the French Republic and that of the United Provinces.

From the Treaty relative to the Neutrality of a Part of the Empire, between the French Republic and the King of Prussia. Signed at Basle, May 17, 1795.

Art. I. In order to remove the seat of war from the frontiers of the states of his Majesty the King of Prussia, to preserve the tranquillity of the north of Germany, and to re-establish the entire liberty of commerce between that part of the Empire and France, in the same manner as before the war, &c.

From the Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the King of Spain. Signed at Basle, July 22, 1795.

Art. XI. In the interim, while a new treaty of commerce is preparing between the contracting parties, all the communications and commercial relations shall be re-established between France and Spain on the same footing as they were before the present war.

All French merchants shall be at liberty to return to and resume in Spain their commercial establishments, and to form new ones, as may suit their convenience, on submitting, like other individuals, to the laws and customs of the country.

The Spanish merchants shall enjoy the same privilege in France, and on the same conditions.

From the Treaty between the French Republic and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. Signed at Basle, August 28, 1795.

Art. VI. All communications and commercial relations shall be re-established between France and the states of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, on the footing on which they were before the present war.

From the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between the French Republic and the King of Sardinia. May 15, 1796.

Art. VII. There shall be immediately concluded between the two powers, a treaty of commerce on an equitable basis, and such as may secure to the French nation advantages, at least equal to those enjoyed in the dominions of the King of Sardinia by the most favoured nations.

From the Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the Duke of Wirtemburg. Signed, August 20, 1796.

Art. VI. There shall be immediately concluded between the two powers, a treaty of commerce, on bases reciprocally advantageous.

In the mean time all commercial relations shall be re-established, the same as they were before the present war.

All the goods and merchandizes, the produce of the soil, the manufactures, colonies, or French fisheries, shall enjoy in the states of his Serene Highness, the liberty of *transit* and *entrepôt*, and be exempted from all duties, except those of tolls on carriages and horses.

The French carriers shall be treated, with respect to the payment of the said tolls, in the same manner as the most favoured nation.

From the Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the Margrave of Baden. August 22, 1796.

Art. XV. There shall be immediately concluded between the two powers, a treaty of commerce, on bases reciprocally advantageous. In the mean time all commercial relations shall be re-established, the same as they were before the present war.

All the goods and merchandizes, the produce of the soil, the manufactures, colonies, or French fisheries, shall enjoy, in the states of his Serene Highness, the liberty of *transit* and *entrepôt*, and be exempted from all duties, except those of tolls on carriages and horses.

The French carriers shall be treated, with respect to the payment of the said tolls, in the same manner as the most favoured nation.

From the Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the King of the Two Sicilies. Oct. 11, 1796.

Art. XI. There shall be negotiated and concluded, as speedily as possible, a treaty of commerce between the two powers, founded on the basis of mutual utility, and such as will ensure to the French nation advantages equal to those enjoyed by the most favoured nations, in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Till this treaty be concluded the commercial and consular relations shall be reciprocally re-established, the same as they were before the war.

From the Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the Infant Duke of Parma. Nov. 5, 1796.

Art. IX. The French Republic and his Royal Highness the Infant Duke of Parma, being desirous of re-establishing and increasing, by stipulations reciprocally advantageous, the commercial relations which existed between their respective citizens and subjects, agree as follows:

Art. X. Silks in the woof, grain, olive, oil, cattle, cheeses, wines, oil of petroleum, and other merchandizes and raw products of the states of his Royal Highness, may be exported, to be introduced into the territory of the Republic, without any other restrictions than those which the wants of the country may render necessary. The said restrictions can never particularly and especially apply to the French citizens; they shall even be granted every preference in trading with the objects mentioned or specified in the present article, the export of which might, from certain circumstances, be suspended or prohibited.

Art. XI. All the products of the territory of the Republic, of the colonies, and French fisheries, may freely be introduced into the states of his Royal Highness, and they may be exported for that destination from the territory of the said Republic, in conformity with the restrictions which its own wants may render necessary.

Art. XII. All the products of the French manufactories may likewise be introduced into the states of his Royal Highness. If he deem it necessary, for

the prosperity of his manufactures to decree certain restrictions or prohibitions, they cannot be applied in particular to French manufactures, to which his Royal Highness likewise promises to grant every preference which may be compatible with the prosperity of the manufactures of his own states.

The present article shall be executed with the most scrupulous reciprocity, to facilitate the introduction into France of the manufactures of the states of his Royal Highness.

XIII. There shall be a separate convention, for the purpose of establishing the duties on exports and imports, to be received by both parties. In case the said separate convention should not be excepted by the Republic, it is expressly agreed that the said duties shall be respectively collected and paid, in the same manner as they are by the most favoured nations.

XIV. The produce of the territory of the Republic, of the manufactures, colonies, and French fisheries, may freely pass through the states of his Royal Highness, or be deposited there, to be afterwards conveyed into other states of Italy, without paying any Custom-house duty, but merely a duty of *transit*, or passage, to be applied to the support of the roads; which duty shall be immediately established upon a moderate footing, which may be agreed upon by the contracting parties, at a certain rate per quintal and per league: this duty shall be payable at the first Custom-house.

From the Treaty of Peace concluded between the French Republic and the Pope. Feb. 19, 1797.

XXI. Until a treaty of commerce shall be concluded between the French Republic and the Pope, the commerce of the Republic shall be restored and maintained in the states of his Holiness on the same footing as that of the most favoured nation.

From the Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the Emperor, concluded at Campo Formio, Oct. 17, 1797.

Art. XV. There shall be immediately concluded a treaty of commerce, established on equitable bases, and such as will ensure to his Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and to the French Republic, advantages equal to those enjoyed in their respective states by the most favoured nations.

In the mean time all communications and commercial relations, shall be re-established in the same manner as they were before the war.

The Treaty of Commerce between the French and Cisalpine Republics, 1797.

Art. I. Neither of the two Republics shall ever prohibit the importation or consumption of any merchandize of the growth or manufacture of the other Republic, its ally.

II. Neither of the said Republics shall ever prohibit the exportation of any production of its territory, or merchandize of its manufacture, which may be destined for the Republic, its ally, excepting a temporary retention of grain or flour, merely in time of scarcity, and when the same prohibition shall apply, by a general law, to all other nations.

III. In case either of the two Republics should think fit to put the importation duty on any production or merchandize of the growth or manufacture of its ally, such duty must not exceed six per cent. on the value of the article.

IV. Until the period of a general peace, all the duties shall be reduced one half, when the productions or merchandizes of the growth or manufacture of the two Republics shall arrive in waggons or ships of either party, conducted, if waggons, by citizens of one or other Republic, or if ships, with the proviso, that three-fourths at least of the crew shall consist of citizens of one or other Republic.

V. At a general peace, the premium stipulated in the preceding article shall be taken off the productions or merchandizes which arrive in ships; but at that period, the productions and merchandizes of the growth or manufacture of France may not be imported into the ports of the Cisalpine Republic except in French or Cisalpine vessels. And likewise, the productions and merchandizes of Cisalpine growth and manufacture, must not be imported in the ports of France, except in Cisalpine or French vessels, the whole being intended to exclude the ships of every other nation, under penalty of confiscation of vessel and cargo, and of a fine of three thousand livres, to be levied on the persons of the proprietors, consignees and agents of the ships and cargoes, captains and lieutenants.

VI. The value, which will serve as a basis for the estimate of the importation duties, shall be ascertained by the bills of lading, or written declarations which accompany the expeditions; and in case the Custom-house Officers should conceive the bills of lading or declarations to be fraudulent, they shall be at liberty to retain the merchandize, on paying for it at the rate of twenty-five per cent. on the value, and entering such payment at the bottom of the bill or declaration.

VII. Every vessel or waggon shall be provided with a declaration, made before the consul, or in his absence, before the municipal officer of the place, where the lading is made; which declaration must mention the country where the said merchandize was produced or manufactured.

VIII. The two Republics shall reciprocally employ all their good offices and influence, in order to obtain from the intermediate powers the desirable facility for the *transit* of their reciprocal commerce, either by the exemption of the conveyance duties, or by restitution, on egress, of those which may have been taken, at ingress.

IX. There shall be established relays of post-horses, and post-offices for letters, on the road from Milan to Paris; which road shall be directed by the Valais, the Pays de Vaud, passing through Lausanne, and along the road used before the peace of 1748. The French and Cisalpine Republics shall defray the expenses of these establishments on their respective territories. They shall jointly require the Helvetic Republic to form similar establishments in the territory.

X. The Executive Directory of the French Republic will employ its good offices with the powers of Barbary, to cause the Cisalpine flag to be treated with the same respect by their corsairs as is paid to the French flag.

From the Convention between France and the United States of America. Signed at Paris, Sept. 3, 1800.

VI. The trade between the two parties shall be free; the ships of the two nations, and their privateers, as well as their prizes, shall be treated in their

respective ports as those of the most favoured nation, and in general the two parties shall enjoy in each others port, with respect to commerce and navigation, the same privileges as the most favoured nations.*

Extract of a Letter from his Excellency Lord St. Helen's to the Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury, dated Moscow, October 28, 1801.

I have the honour to transmit to your lordship, by this messenger, the additional articles to the convention of the 17/5th June, which have been signed by myself and the plenipotentiaries of this crown; together with an act which I have also concluded with the Danish plenipotentiary, containing the accession of that court to the said convention and additional articles, and its acceptance on the part of his Majesty.

Extract of a Letter from his Excellency Lord St. Helen's to the Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury, dated Petersburgh, April 2, 1802.

I have the satisfaction of transmitting to your lordship the Swedish Act of Accession to the convention of the 17/5th June 1801, which was signed (with its duplicate) on the 30th past, by myself, and the Baron de Stedingk, and instruments of a like tenor were at the same time interchanged between that minister and the plenipotentiaries of his Imperial Majesty. I have moreover the satisfaction of being enabled to assure your lordship, that the Swedish ambassador has been distinctly informed by the Count de Kotschoubey, that as the motives which had occasioned the late revival of the system of the Armed Neutrality were now happily done away, that system is considered by this court as completely annulled and abandoned, not only as a general code of maritime law, but even in its more limited meaning of a specific engagement between the Russians and the other confederates.

By the KING.—A PROCLAMATION.

GEORGE R.

Whereas a Definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Us, the French Republic, his Catholic Majesty, and the Batavian Republic, hath been concluded at Amiens, on the Twenty-seventh day of March last, and the Ratifications thereof have been duly exchanged: in conformity thereunto. We have thought fit hereby to command that the same be published throughout all Our dominions; And We do declare to all our loving subjects Our will and pleasure, that the said Treaty of Peace and Friendship be observed inviolably as well by sea as land, and in all places whatsoever; strictly charging and commanding all Our loving subjects to take notice hereof, and to conform themselves thereunto accordingly.

Given at Our Court at Windsor, the Twenty-sixth Day of April, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Two, in the Forty-second Year of Our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

By the KING.—A PROCLAMATION.

DECLARING THE CONCLUSION OF THE WAR.

GEORGE R.

Whereas by an Act passed in the Thirty-fourth Year of our Reign, intituled, An Act for the further Encouragement of British Mariners, and for other purposes therein mentioned, various provisions are made which are directed to take effect from and after the expiration of six months from the conclusion of the then existing war, to be notified in manner therein mentioned; and it is thereby further enacted, that, for the purposes of the said Act, the conclusion of the said war shall be holden to be from the time that the same shall be notified by our Royal Proclamation, or Order in Council, to be published in the London Gazette: And whereas a Definitive Treaty of Peace has been duly ratified between Us, the French Republic, his Catholic Majesty, and the Batavian Republic; We have therefore thought fit, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, for the purposes of the said Act, hereby to notify and declare the conclusion of the said war, by this our Royal Proclamation, to be published in the London Gazette; and we do direct the same to be published accordingly.

Given at our Court at Windsor, the Twenty-sixth day of April, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Two, in the Forty-second Year of our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

By the KING.—A PROCLAMATION

For a PUBLIC THANKSGIVING.

GEORGE R.

Whereas it has pleased Almighty God, in His great goodness, to put an end to the late bloody, extended, and expensive war, in which we were engaged; we, therefore, adoring the Divine Goodness, and duly considering that the great and public blessings of peace do call for public and solemn acknowledgments, have thought fit, by the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our Royal Proclamation, hereby appointing and commanding, that a General Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for these His Mercies, be observed throughout those parts of our united Kingdom called England and Ireland, on Tuesday, the first day of June next: and for the better and more devout solemnization of the same, we have given directions to the Most Reverend the Archbishops and the Right Reverend the Bishops of England, to compose a Form of Prayer suitable to this occasion, to be used in all churches and chapels, and other places of public worship, and to take care for the timely dispersing of the same throughout their respective Dioceses: And we do strictly charge and command, that the said Public Day of Thanksgiving

* The Convention consists of *twenty-seven* articles, *twenty-two* of which relate to commerce and navigation; and some of them adopt, in direct terms, the principles of the Northern Confederacy. —This Convention is to be found entire in Porcupine's Works, Vol. xii. p. 218.

To the treaties, above extracted from, may be added those, which France has lately formed with Russia (Register, p. 165,) the Porte (Register, p. 166,) Portugal (Register, p. 166,) and Tunis (Register, p. 456,) making in all *sixteen treaties*, concluded by France since the year 1794, in which she has stipulated for commercial privileges,

be religiously observed by all our loving subjects, as they tender the favour of Almighty God, and upon pain of suffering such punishment as we may justly inflict upon all such as shall contemn or neglect the same.

Given at Our Court at Windsor, the Twenty-sixth Day of April, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Two, in the Forty-second Year of Our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

By the KING.—A PROCLAMATION

For a PUBLIC THANKSGIVING.

GEORGE R.

Whereas it has pleased Almighty God, in His great goodness, to put an end to the late bloody, extended, and expensive war, in which we were engaged; we, therefore, adoring the Divine Goodness, and duly considering that the great and public blessings of peace do call for public and solemn acknowledgments, have thought fit, by the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our Royal Proclamation, hereby appointing and commanding, that a General Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for these His Mercies, be observed throughout that part our kingdom called Scotland, upon Tuesday, the first day of June next: and we do strictly charge and command, that the said Public Thanksgiving be reverently and decently observed by all our loving subjects in Scotland, on the first day of June next, as they tender the favour of Almighty God, and would avoid his wrath and indignation, and upon pain of such punishment as we may justly inflict on all such as contemn or neglect the performance of so religious a duty: Our will and pleasure is therefore, and we charge, that this our Proclamation seen, ye pass to the Market Cross of Edinburgh, and all other places needful, and there, in our name and authority, make publication thereof, that none pretend ignorance; and our will and pleasure is, that our Solicitor do cause printed copies hereof to be sent to the Sheriffs of the several Shires, Stewarts or Stewartries, and Bailiffs of Regalities, and their Clerks, whom we ordain to see the same published: And we appoint them to send copies thereof to the several parish churches within their bounds, that upon the Lord's Day immediately preceding the day above-mentioned, the same may be published and read from the pulpits immediately after Divine Service.

Given at our Court at Widsor, the Twenty-sixth Day of April, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Two, in the Forty-second Year of Our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY,

His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

My Lord,

I now come to the 8th, and last point, of my proposed discussion of the Treaty of Amiens, namely, the *omission of the customary renewal of former treaties*, which is pregnant with present disgrace and with future disadvantage and danger. The treaties heretofore renewed, at the conclusion of every peace, form part of the law of nations, and are, in the settling of disputes, by which wars are prevented, universally referred to as such. * The omission to renew them, therefore, renders them, at once, so many volumes of waste paper, and unequivocally, though tacitly, sanctions the right, which France has assumed, to make all nations amenable to that new code of laws, which is made up of the treaties that she has, during the last ten years, by force or by fraud, obtained from the powers of Europe.

There are some, who affect to doubt, whether the position, that all former treaties are abrogated because not renewed, can be maintained upon the simple ground that it has been customary to make such renewal; but, my lord, those who have other and stronger grounds, whereon to maintain this position, will not confine themselves to the one here pointed out. They will assert, that it is universally admitted, that war abrogates all the treaties, which before existed between the powers opposed to each other in the war. This is a maxim as clearly acknowledged, and of as unshaken validity in settling the rights and pretensions of nations, as are any of the decisions in the books of our common law, in deter-

---

* The list of treaties, renewed at the peace of 1783, was as follows:

"Art. II. The treaties of peace of Westphalia of 1648, of Nimeguen of 1678 and 1679, of Ryswick of 1697, and of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; that of the triple alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1736; the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748; and the definitive treaty of Paris of 1763, serve as a basis and foundation to the peace, and to the present treaty, and for this purpose they are all renewed and confirmed in the best form, so that they are to be exactly observed for the future in their full tenour, and religiously executed by both parties in all the points, which shall not be derogated from by the present treaty of peace."

The same list, with the exception of that of Westphalia, of 1648, with the addition of that of Paris, of 1783, was proposed for renewal in the project of Lord Malmesbury of Lisle; and, as there were certain stipulations relative to Spain, Portugal and Holland, the following general renewal was introduced with respect to former treaties with those powers.

"Art. XVII. All former treaties of peace between the respective parties, to whom the said three articles relate, and which subsisted and were in force at the commencement of hostilities between them respectively, shall be renewed, except in such instances only where the same may be derogated from by mutual consent."

mining the rights of individuals. In what light the French see this matter, what is their opinion of the consequence of the omission I am speaking of, appears very clearly, not only from the objection, which, during the negotiation at Lisle, they made to the renewal of former treaties, but also, and still more clearly, from the reasons, on which that objection was founded. * That the opinion of the Dutch, supposing them independent, perfectly coincides with that of their ally, the exposition which they have given of the treaty of Amiens (Register, p. 381) leaves not the shadow of a doubt; and, unless miracles should revive, to supply the omissions of political compacts, from Spain we may surely depend on a similar decision.

If, then, my lord, all former treaties between England and the opposite contracting parties are, as, I think, you will not deny, entirely abrogated and effaced by the treaty of Amiens, it behoves the nation to enquire what they have lost by that abrogation.

With respect to those colonies and countries of which we are actually in possession, over which we exercise the *sole* and *undisputed* sovereignty, the omitted renewal of former treaties may, for some time, at least, be attended with no material consequence; but, as far as regards those rights and privileges, whether of an honorary, a commercial, or a territorial nature, which we enjoy purely in virtue of some positive stipulation, and the enjoyment of which we have not the power to retain without having recourse to arms, the effects of the present abrogation will, some of them immediately, and others at no very distant period, be seriously felt.

To point out *all* the rights and privileges, which we have abandoned by this fatal omission, and to show, in their full extent, all the mischiefs reasonably to be expected therefrom, would require much more knowledge on the subject than I can be supposed to possess. Some of them, however, have occurred to me, as they must to even the most superficial observer, and on these I shall offer your lordship some remarks.

In virtue of our former treaties with France, and by no other title whatsoever, we enjoy the *gum trade* on the coast of Africa. This privilege was renewed to us in the treaty of Versailles, and Mr. Fox, who was then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, assumed, in the debate upon that treaty, great merit for having taken

---

* *Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, July* 16, 1797.

" It was at the express invitation of the French Plenipotentiaries that I met them on Thursday the 13th instant; *one of them* stated their motive for wishing to confer with me not to be in consequence of any answer they had received from Paris on the subject of the project, which, he observed, could not be expected so soon, but to resume the discussion on the article which he had objected to on my first reading the project, and on which they conceived it was possible and even expedient to argue, before we entered upon the more important branches of the negotiation. It was article II that he referred to. He objected to the renewal of the treaties therein-mentioned, from various reasons; first, that many, and even most of them, were irrelevant to that we were now negotiating; secondly, that they were in contradiction to the new order of things established in France, as they seem to imply an acknowledgment that a portion of the regular authority is still existing:—thirdly, that they might be supposed to apply to conventions and stipulations in direct contradiction to their present form of government, and he quoted the convention of Pilnitz in particular. I was about to reply to him, and I trust in a way that would have done away his apprehensions on this point, when *another of them* interposed, by saying, that their sincere and only desire was, that the treaty we were now entering upon might be so framed as to secure permanently the object for which it was intended; that no article likely to produce this end might be omitted, nor any doubtful one inserted; but that the whole, as well with regard to the past as to the future, might be so clearly and distinctly expressed, that no room for cavil might be left. This, he assured me, in the name of his colleagues, was all that was meant by their objection to renew so many treaties, in which such various interests were blended, and so many points discussed foreign to the present moment. Their renewing them in a lump, and without examing carefully to what we were pledged by them, might involve us in difficulties much better to be avoided. I replied, that I admitted most certainly all he said, and that it was with this view, and on this principle solely, that the renewal of these treaties was proposed by his Majesty; and that if he recollected (as he undoubtedly did,) the different wars which were terminated by these treaties, and the many important regulations stipulated by them, he would admit that the allowing them to remain in their full force was simply an acknowledgment of the tenure by which almost all the sovereigns of Europe, and particularly the French Republic, held their dominions up to this day. That these treaties were become the law of nations, and that infinite confusion would result from their not being renewed.

He replied that our object was evidently the same, that we only differed as to the manner. I thought the renewing these treaties *in toto* would the best contribute to it; while they were inclined to think, that extracting from them every thing which immediately related to the interests of the two countries, and stating it in one article, was more likely to attain this desirable object.

care that it should ascertain with precision the conditions, on which the trade should in future be carried on. *

This trade, though, doubtless, of very trifling value in the estimation of your lordship, would not have been lightly thrown away by a statesman less indifferent to the interests of his country. It has, of late years, employed 5,000 tons of shipping and 600 seamen. The cargoes brought an immense profit to the traders; they were of indispensable utility in certain branches of our manufactures, and contributed something very considerable towards the revenue, which is now, more than ever, necessary to answer the necessities of the state. Let it be observed, too, that this trade was attended with no national risk or expense. It was carried on in the dominion of another power; to protect it required neither fleets nor armies, neither governors nor officers of any description. It was such a trade as even Dr. Tucker, Dr. Price, Dr. Priestley, Dr. Becke, or any other economical politician, might have suffered us to carry on without remonstrance. It was, in short, so much clear gains: it demanded neither money nor blood, but was the spontaneous fruit of diplomacy.

The tenure, on which we held this trade, was, I have before observed, purely that of a positive stipulation, renewed from time to time, and last of all, in the treaty of peace, concluded at Versailles, in 1783. †

Disgraceful as the American war was to the arms and the cabinet of England, ruinous as it was to her finances, her manufactures, and her navigation, unpopular and hateful as it was to the people, still the ministers, who made the peace, took care to retain those rights and privileges, to preserve those interests and honours, which your lordship and your colleague have now sacrificed to our enemy. Do you imagine, my lord, that the French will, notwithstanding the omission to renew the stipulation respecting the gum trade, suffer us to carry on that trade as usual? Do you hope that, having rendered its continuation entirely dependent on their pleasure, they will keep it in their hand as a hold on our selfishness, as a sort of pledge for some further concession, some act of submission, some acknowledgment of vassalage, which has not yet entered even into the mind of your lordship? I must confess that such a hope on your part, and such conduct on theirs, would in no wise derogate from the opinion, which you must certainly entertain of each other; but, my lord, their haste to derive commercial benefit from your disposition, your readiness, to sacrifice the interests of your country, has not permitted them to leave you a foundation even for this humble and pitiful hope. By a decree, issued on the 15th of December last, six weeks after the fatal 1st of October, they have declared to the world, that *none but* FRENCH SHIPS *shall be allowed to trade to the colony of Senegal or its dependencies*, after three months from the publication of the said decree at Port Louis ‡. Thus, then, unless your lord-

* Mr. Fox said, that by the preliminary treaty, no boundaries were ascertained for our carrying on the gum trade; whereas by the 11th article of the definitive treaty, the boundaries were expressly laid down and described: that ambiguity and want of precision, which would have been the productive source of quarrels, was removed; and it would not be easy to dispute on the meaning of the spirit of the article, as now worded. According to the preliminary articles, the gum trade was to be carried on in the same manner in which it used to be carried on before the year 1755; that is to say, when it was carried on by violence, and constantly attended by acts of hostility, which daily afforded grounds of quarrel, that might possibly, in the end, bring on a war, that would defeat the honourable member's laudable wishes for the establishment of a real sinking fund, for paying off some part of the national debt:—by the care taken during the late negotiation, the coast on which the gum trade might be carried on was ascertained, he hoped, to the satisfaction of all the persons concerned in it; at least it was an advantage to have it ascertained.

† *Extract from the Treaty between the Kings of England and France, signed at Versailles, Sept.* 3, 1783.

"Art. XI. For preventing all discussion in that part of the world, the two high contracting parties shall, within three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, name commissaries, who shall be charged with the settling and fixing of the boundaries of the respective possessions. As to the gum trade, the English shall have the liberty of carrying it on, from the mouth of the river St. John, to the bay and fort of Portendic, inclusively. Provided that they shall not form any permanent settlement, of what nature soever, in the said river St. John, upon the coast, or in the bay of Portendic.

‡ *Bulletin of the Laws, No.* 139.

Decree respecting ships allowed to trade with the French colony of Senegal, dated the 25th Frimaire, 10th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

The Consuls of the Republic, upon the report made by the Minister of Marine to the Council of State, decree:

First article.—That from the day of the publication of the present decree at the Island of St. Louis, in the Colony of Senegal, *French ships only shall be allowed to trade in all parts of the said French colony.*

ships should insist, that, seeing the state of servitude to France, in which we are now placed, our vessels can hardly be considered as any thing else than *French ships*; unless you should, which is not altogether improbable, bolster up your defence of the peace with this consolatory reflection, you must allow, that, in consequence of the treaty of Amiens, the gum trade is already completely wrested from our hands.

The next right, which we have lost, or, at least, exposed to imminent danger, by the omissions in the treaty of Amiens, is, the very important right *of restraining the commerce of the French in India.*

I must confess, my lord, that, for my own part, I am no great admirer of that *imperium in imperio*, called "the Honourable East-India Company;" I feel very little awe, and not much reverence, when I pass under the Corinthian portico in Leadenhall Street. I speak not of the persons, but of the thing, and I really do not see with pleasure any subject, or body of subjects, participating in those acts of sovereignty and of sovereign munificence, which ought to be exclusively exercised by him, to whom we all owe allegiance, and who ought to be the only source of authority and of honour. Nor can I bring my mind to adopt that extravagant estimate which is usually made of our East-India colonies, or to speak in the modern style of our *Empire* in the East. That empire is very unweildy, not at all congenial with the species of force which we possess, and, of course, held on a tenure much more frail than parcels of territory surrounded by the sea. I have viewed the extension of the Eastern Empire, and the increasing partiality for its partnership-kind of government, with fear rather than exultation, and I never hear of the contention between the Company and the private-trade without reflecting on the consequences of the stamp act.

But, my lord, though I would prefer St. Domingo to the whole continent of Asia, I am not, for that reason, to approve of your having endangered the safety of India, which is certainly now become the most important of our foreign possessions. Hemmed up in the West-Indies; beset on every side, thwarted in every wind, and stopped in every passage, as we are in that our more natural element, it behoves us to guard with greater caution what we elsewhere retain. India is, in fact, our last stake. That there wants nothing but the loss of it, or a serious interruption to its tranquillity, to render England a poor and diminutive power, is the opinion of the whole world; and, my lord, that the treaty of Amiens has laid the foundation for such loss, or such interruption, will, I think, be denied by but very few of those persons, who have given themselves time to reflect on the probable consequences of that treaty.

To enter into a history of our dominion in India would be foreign to my purpose; suffice it to say, that we there have *no territorial rights, nor rights of any sort, but those which the French claim in common with us.* Of this claim, on the part of France, we have never been able to obtain a renunciation. She has never acknowledged our sovereignty over what we call our empire; nor has she ever yielded, except in virtue of special agreement, her right to trade to, and to form settlements in, any part of that empire. To restrain her connexion and commerce with the several provinces of India is a right founded solely on her consent, a right which was first obtained by positive stipulations between her and us. At the peace of 1783, the right was preserved by the *renewal* of these stipulations; and, as the treaty of Amiens contains no such renewal, the right no longer exists.

This right as it was formerly exercised, and as it was renewed to us in the treaty of 1783,* authorized us to confine the set-

---

II. That neutral ships which shall be taking in cargoes at the time of the arrival of the decree may compleat their loading, for which purpose they will be allowed a delay of two decades.

III. That the Ministers of the Marine and of the Interior, are charged each as far as it concerns them, with the execution of the present decree, which shall be inserted in the Bulletin of the Laws.

(Signed) BUONAPARTÉ, First Consul.

By order of the First Consul,

HUGUES R. MARET, Secretary of State.

DACRES, Minister of the Marine and Colonies.

---

* *Extract from the Treaty of Versailles, of* 1783.

"Art. XIII. The King of Great-Britain restores to his most Christian Majesty all the settlements which belonged to him at the beginning of the present war, upon the coast of Orixa, and in Bengal, with liberty to surround Chandernagore with a ditch for carrying off the waters: and his Britannic Majesty engages to take such measures as shall be in his power for securing to the subjects of France in that part of India, as well as on the coast of Orixa, Coromandel, and Malabar, a safe, free, and independent trade, such as was carried on by the French East-

LONDON, April 24 to May 1, 1802.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Commercial Stipulations made by France, in the several Treaties and Conventions, which she has entered into since the year 1794, inclusive.

In the Letter to Lord Hawkesbury (Register, p. 398), on the omission to stipulate, in the treaty of Amiens, for *treaties of commerce* with the parties, with whom we were making peace, it was stated, that this omission, on the part of our negotiators, did not arise from any *new practice* having in this respect, been adopted by the powers of Europe. In support of this statement, the commercial stipulations, which France had made with Russia, Turkey, and Portugal, were cited; and, since the publishing of that letter we have seen another instance of the same sort, in her treaty with Tunis. This might have sufficed for every purpose; but, in order to demonstrate the universality of the practice of France in obtaining those stipulations, which she has not suffered us to obtain, and which our ministers now affect to regard as of *no value*, we have examined all the treaties made by the republic since the beginning of her destructive career, and the following extracts will show, that, in *thirteen* treaties and conventions, besides the four above-mentioned, she has made stipulations in favour of the interests of her commerce.

Extract from the Treaty of Peace, &c. between the French Republic and that of the United Provinces. Signed at the Hague, May 16, 1795.

Art. XII. The French Republic has reserved, as a just indemnity, the conquered towns and countries restored by the preceding article, viz.

1. Dutch Flanders, comprising all the territory on the right bank of the Hondt.

2. Maestricht, Venloo, and their dependencies, as well as the other boundaries and possessions of the United Provinces, situated to the south of Venloo, on both sides of the Meuse.

XIII. There shall be in the town and port of Flushing, a French garrison exclusively, whether in time of peace or war, until it shall be otherwise stipulated by the two nations.

XIV. The port of Flushing shall be common to the two nations in every respect; its use shall be submitted to a *regulation* agreed upon between the two contracting parties, which regulation shall be added as a supplement to the present treaty.

XVIII. The navigation of the Rhine, the Meuse, the Scheldt and the Hondt, and of all their branches as far as the sea, shall be free to the French as well as to the Dutch nation; the ships of the French and of the United Provinces, shall be received there indiscriminately, and on the same conditions.

Regulations for determining the Use of the Port of Flushing in consequence of the XIV*th Article of the Treaty before-mentioned. Signed, May* 16, 1795.

Art. I. The French and Dutch nations shall equally resort to the port and bason of Flushing, for the purpose of repairing and equiping their ships.

II. Each nation shall have in that port, separately and distinctly, its own arsenals, magazines, docks, and workmen.

III. In order, from the present time, to introduce the French nation to the common advantages of the port of Flushing, the Republic of the United Provinces will cede to it the building, over the bason, or wet dock, which serves as a warehouse for the West-India Company: there shall likewise be assigned to it land sufficient for erecting docks and arsenals, and till these can be completed it shall have the use of the docks at present existing.

IV. With respect to the acquisition of new territory, and the construction of buildings which each nation may be inclined to make in the port and bason of Flushing, to enlarge its own magazines, arsenals, and docks, or to erect others, the expenses of rebuilding or repairing the said arsenals, magazines, and docks, and the expenses incurred by the building, repairing, and equiping of the respective ships, with every thing relating thereto, shall be defrayed by each nation respectively.

V. The repairs necessary for the port, bason, and quays, being for the mutual advantage of both nations, the expense of such repairs shall be defrayed by both governments.

These repairs shall be ascertained, ordered, and conducted under the direction of the United Provinces: the direction of the French Republic shall only relate to the repairs that are to be made; and when they are finished, it shall be limited to the means of preservation, and to transmitting the procès-verbal to its government, together with the statement of expenses, in order that it may be afterwards prepared to discharge its moiety of the said expenses.

VI. It is agreed that neither of the two nations shall station in the port an admiral's ship nor a guard ship.

VII. In all instances where disputes may arise, which cannot be amicably terminated, as to the execution of the present regulation, such disputes shall be decided by five arbitrators, who shall be appointed as follows: viz. two by the French direction, two by the Dutch direction, and, for the fifth, each direction shall appoint a *neuter*, and of the two *neuters* so appointed, the one who is to fulfil the functions of fifth arbitrator, shall be determined by chance.

VIII. The present regulation shall be executed according to its form and tenor, as making part of the XIVth article of the treaty of peace and alliance of the present day, between the French Republic and that of the United Provinces.

From the Treaty relative to the Neutrality of a Part of the Empire, between the French Republic and the King of Prussia. Signed at Basle, May 17, 1795.

Art. I. In order to remove the seat of war from the frontiers of the states of his Majesty the King of Prussia, to preserve the tranquillity of the north of Germany, and to re-establish the entire liberty of commerce between that part of the Empire and France, in the same manner as before the war, &c.

From the Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the King of Spain. Signed at Basle, July 22, 1795.

Art. XI. In the interim, while a new treaty of commerce is preparing between the contracting parties, all the communications and commercial relations shall be re-established between France and Spain on the same footing as they were before the present war.

All French merchants shall be at liberty to return to and resume in Spain their commercial establishments, and to form new ones, as may suit their convenience, on submitting, like other individuals, to the laws and customs of the country.

The Spanish merchants shall enjoy the same privilege in France, and on the same conditions.

From the Treaty between the French Republic and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. Signed at Basle, August 28, 1795.

Art. VI. All communications and commercial relations shall be re-established between France and the states of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, on the footing on which they were before the present war.

From the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between the French Republic and the King of Sardinia. May 15, 1796.

Art. VII. There shall be immediately concluded between the two powers, a treaty of commerce on an equitable basis, and such as may secure to the French nation advantages, at least equal to those enjoyed in the dominions of the King of Sardinia by the most favoured nations.

From the Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the Duke of Wirtemburg. Signed, August 22, 1796.

Art. VI. There shall be immediately concluded between the two powers, a treaty of commerce, on bases reciprocally advantageous.

In the mean time all commercial relations shall be re-established, the same as they were before the present war.

All the goods and merchandizes, the produce of the soil, the manufactures, colonies, or French fisheries, shall enjoy in the states of his Serene Highness, the liberty of *transit* and *entrepôt*, and be exempted from all duties, except those of tolls on carriages and horses.

The French carriers shall be treated, with respect to the payment of the said tolls, in the same manner as the most favoured nation.

From the Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the Margrave of Baden. August 22, 1796.

Art. XV. There shall be immediately concluded between the two powers, a treaty of commerce, on bases reciprocally advantageous. In the mean time all commercial relations shall be re-established, the same as they were before the present war.

All the goods and merchandizes, the produce of the soil, the manufactures, colonies, or French fisheries, shall enjoy, in the states of his Serene Highness, the liberty of *transit* and *entrepôt*, and be exempted from all duties, except those of tolls on carriages and horses.

The French carriers shall be treated, with respect to the payment of the said tolls, in the same manner as the most favoured nation.

From the Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the King of the Two Sicilies. Oct. 11, 1796.

Art. XI. There shall be negotiated and concluded, as speedily as possible, a treaty of commerce between the two powers, founded on the basis of mutual utility, and such as will ensure to the French nation advantages equal to those enjoyed by the most favoured nations, in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Till this treaty be concluded the commercial and consular relations shall be reciprocally re-established, the same as they were before the war.

From the Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the Infant Duke of Parma. Nov. 5, 1796.

Art. IX. The French Republic and his Royal Highness the Infant Duke of Parma, being desirous of re-establishing and increasing, by stipulations reciprocally advantageous, the commercial relations which existed between their respective citizens and subjects, agree as follows:

Art. X. Silks in the woof, grain, olive, oil, cattle, cheeses, wines, oil of petroleum, and other merchandizes and raw products of the states of his Royal Highness, may be exported, to be introduced into the territory of the Republic, without any other restrictions than those which the wants of the country may render necessary. The said restrictions can never particularly and especially apply to the French citizens; they shall even be granted every preference in trading with the objects mentioned or specified in the present article, the export of which might, from certain circumstances, be suspended or prohibited.

Art. XI. All the products of the territory of the Republic, of the colonies, and French fisheries, may freely be introduced into the states of his Royal Highness, and they may be exported for that destination from the territory of the said Republic, in conformity with the restrictions which its own wants may render necessary.

Art. XII. All the products of the French manufactories may likewise be introduced into the states of his Royal Highness. If he deem it necessary, for

the prosperity of his manufactures to decree certain restrictions or prohibitions, they cannot be applied in particular to French manufactures, to which his Royal Highness likewise promises to grant every preference which may be compatible with the prosperity of the manufactures of his own states.

The present article shall be executed with the most scrupulous reciprocity, to facilitate the introduction into France of the manufactures of the states of his Royal Highness.

XIII. There shall be a separate convention, for the purpose of establishing the duties on exports and imports, to be received by both parties. In case the said separate convention should not be excepted by the Republic, it is expressly agreed that the said duties shall be respectively collected and paid, in the same manner as they are by the most favoured nations.

XIV. The produce of the territory of the Republic, of the manufactures, colonies, and French fisheries, may freely pass through the states of his Royal Highness, or be deposited there, to be afterwards conveyed into other states of Italy, without paying any Custom-house duty, but merely a duty of *transit*, or passage, to be applied to the support of the roads; which duty shall be immediately established upon a moderate footing, which may be agreed upon by the contracting parties, at a certain rate per quintal and per league: this duty shall be payable at the first Custom-house.

From the Treaty of Peace concluded between the French Republic and the Pope. Feb. 19, 1797.

XXI. Until a treaty of commerce shall be concluded between the French Republic and the Pope, the commerce of the Republic shall be restored and maintained in the states of his Holiness on the same footing as that of the most favoured nation.

From the Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the Emperor, concluded at Campo Formio, Oct. 17, 1797.

Art. XV. There shall be immediately concluded a treaty of commerce, established on equitable bases, and such as will ensure to his Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and to the French Republic, advantages equal to those enjoyed in their respective states by the most favoured nations.

In the mean time all communications and commercial relations, shall be re-established in the same manner as they were before the war.

The Treaty of Commerce between the French and Cisalpine Republics, 1797.

Art. I. Neither of the two Republics shall ever prohibit the importation or consumption of any merchandize of the growth or manufacture of the other Republic, its ally.

II. Neither of the said Republics shall ever prohibit the exportation of any production of its territory, or merchandize of its manufacture, which may be destined for the Republic, its ally, excepting a temporary retention of grain or flour, merely in time of scarcity, and when the same prohibition shall apply, by a general law, to all other nations.

III. In case either of the two Republics should think fit to put the importation duty on any production or merchandize of the growth or manufacture of its ally, such duty must not exceed six per cent. on the value of the article.

IV. Until the period of a general peace, all the duties shall be reduced one half, when the productions or merchandizes of the growth or manufacture of the two Republics shall arrive in waggons or ships of either party, conducted, if waggons, by citizens of one or other Republic, or if ships, with the proviso, that three-fourths at least of the crew shall consist of citizens of one or other Republic.

V. At a general peace, the premium stipulated in the preceding article shall be taken off the productions or merchandizes which arrive in ships; but at that period, the productions and merchandizes of the growth or manufacture of France may not be imported into the ports of the Cisalpine Republic except in French or Cisalpine vessels. And likewise, the productions and merchandizes of Cisalpine growth and manufacture, must not be imported in the ports of France, except in Cisalpine or French vessels, the whole being intended to exclude the ships of every other nation, under penalty of confiscation of vessel and cargo, and of a fine of three thousand livres, to be levied on the persons of the proprietors, consignees and agents of the ships and cargoes, captains and lieutenants.

VI. The value, which will serve as a basis for the estimate of the importation duties, shall be ascertained by the bills of lading, or written declarations which accompany the expeditions; and in case the Custom-house Officers should conceive the bills of lading or declarations to be fraudulent, they shall be at liberty to retain the merchandize, on paying for it at the rate of twenty-five per cent. on the value, and entering such payment at the bottom of the bill or declaration.

VII. Every vessel or waggon shall be provided with a declaration, made before the consul, or in his absence, before the municipal officer of the place, where the lading is made; which declaration must mention the country where the said merchandize was produced or manufactured.

VIII. The two Republics shall reciprocally employ all their good offices and influence, in order to obtain from the intermediate powers the desirable facility for the *transit* of their reciprocal commerce, either by the exemption of the conveyance duties, or by restitution, on egress, of those which may have been taken, at ingress.

IX. There shall be established relays of post-horses, and post-offices for letters, on the road from Milan to Paris; which road shall be directed by the Valais, the Pays de Vaud, passing through Lausanne, and along the road used before the peace of 1748. The French and Cisalpine Republics shall defray the expenses of these establishments on their respective territories. They shall jointly require the Helvetic Republic to form similar establishments in the territory.

X. The Executive Directory of the French Republic will employ its good offices with the powers of Barbary, to cause the Cisalpine flag to be treated with the same respect by their corsairs as is paid to the French flag.

From the Convention between France and the United States of America. Signed at Paris, Sept. 3, 1800.

VI. The trade between the two parties shall be free; the ships of the two nations, and their privateers, as well as their prizes, shall be treated in their

respective ports as those of the most favoured nation, and in general the two parties shall enjoy in each others port, with respect to commerce and navigation, the same privileges as the most favoured nations. *

Extract of a Letter from his Excellency Lord St. Helen's to the Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury, dated Moscow, October 28, 1801.

I have the honour to transmit to your lordship, by this messenger, the additional articles to the convention of the 17/5th June, which have been signed by myself and the plenipotentiaries of this crown; together with an act which I have also concluded with the Danish plenipotentiary, containing the accession of that court to the said convention and additional articles, and its acceptance on the part of his Majesty.

Extract of a Letter from his Excellency Lord St. Helen's to the Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury, dated Petersburgh, April 2, 1802.

I have the satisfaction of transmitting to your lordship the Swedish Act of Accession to the convention of the 17/5th June 1801, which was signed (with its duplicate) on the 30th past, by myself, and the Baron de Stedingk, and instruments of a like tenor were at the same time interchanged between that minister and the plenipotentiaries of his Imperial Majesty. I have moreover the satisfaction of being enabled to assure your lordship, that the Swedish ambassador has been distinctly informed by the Count de Kotschoubey, that as the motives which had occasioned the late revival of the system of the Armed Neutrality were now happily done away, that system is considered by this court as completely annulled and abandoned, not only as a general code of maritime law, but even in its more limited meaning of a specific engagement between the Russians and the other confederates.

By the KING.—A PROCLAMATION.

GEORGE R.

Whereas a Definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Us, the French Republic, his Catholic Majesty, and the Batavian Republic, hath been concluded at Amiens, on the Twenty-seventh day of March last, and the Ratifications thereof have been duly exchanged: in conformity thereunto. We have thought fit hereby to command that the same be published throughout all Our dominions; And We do declare to all our loving subjects Our will and pleasure, that the said Treaty of Peace and Friendship be observed inviolably as well by sea as land, and in all places whatsoever; strictly charging and commanding all Our loving subjects to take notice hereof, and to conform themselves thereunto accordingly.

Given at Our Court at Windsor, the Twenty-sixth Day of April, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Two, in the Forty-second Year of Our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

By the KING.—A PROCLAMATION.

DECLARING THE CONCLUSION OF THE WAR.

GEORGE R.

Whereas by an Act passed in the Thirty-fourth Year of our Reign, intituled, An Act for the further Encouragement of British Mariners, and for other purposes therein mentioned, various provisions are made which are directed to take effect from and after the expiration of six months from the conclusion of the then existing war, to be notified in manner therein mentioned; and it is thereby further enacted, that, for the purposes of the said Act, the conclusion of the said war shall be holden to be from the time that the same shall be notified by our Royal Proclamation, or Order in Council, to be published in the London Gazette: And whereas a Definitive Treaty of Peace has been duly ratified between Us, the French Republic, his Catholic Majesty, and the Batavian Republic; We have therefore thought fit, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, for the purposes of the said Act, hereby to notify and declare the conclusion of the said war, by this our Royal Proclamation, to be published in the London Gazette; and we do direct the same to be published accordingly.

Given at our Court at Windsor, the Twenty-sixth day of April, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Two, in the Forty-second Year of our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

By the KING.—A PROCLAMATION

For a PUBLIC THANKSGIVING.

GEORGE R.

Whereas it has pleased Almighty God, in His great goodness, to put an end to the late bloody, extended, and expensive war, in which we were engaged; we, therefore, adoring the Divine Goodness, and duly considering that the great and public blessings of peace do call for public and solemn acknowledgments, have thought fit, by the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our Royal Proclamation, hereby appointing and commanding, that a General Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for these His Mercies, be observed throughout those parts of our united Kingdom called England and Ireland, on Tuesday, the first day of June next: and for the better and more devout solemnization of the same, we have given directions to the Most Reverend the Archbishops and the Right Reverend the Bishops of England, to compose a Form of Prayer suitable to this occasion, to be used in all churches and chapels, and other places of public worship, and to take care for the timely dispersing of the same throughout their respective Dioceses: And we do strictly charge and command, that the said Public Day of Thanksgiving

* The Convention consists of *twenty-seven* articles, *twenty-two* of which relate to commerce and navigation; and some of them adopt, in direct terms, the principles of the Northern Confederacy. —This Convention is to be found entire in Porcupine's Works, Vol. xii. p. 218.

To the treaties, above extracted from, may be added those, which France has lately formed with Russia (Register, p. 165,) the Porte (Register, p. 166,) Portugal (Register, p. 166,) and Tunis (Register, p. 456,) making in all *sixteen treaties*, concluded by France since the year 1794, in which she has stipulated for commercial privileges.

be religiously observed by all our loving subjects, as they tender the favour of Almighty God, and upon pain of suffering such punishment as we may justly inflict upon all such as shall contemn or neglect the same.

Given at Our Court at Windsor, the Twenty-sixth Day of April, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Two, in the Forty-second Year of Our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

By the KING.—A PROCLAMATION

For a PUBLIC THANKSGIVING.

GEORGE R.

Whereas it has pleased Almighty God, in His great goodness, to put an end to the late bloody, extended, and expensive war, in which we were engaged; we, therefore, adoring the Divine Goodness, and duly considering that the great and public blessings of peace do call for public and solemn acknowledgments, have thought fit, by the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our Royal Proclamation, hereby appointing and commanding, that a General Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for these His Mercies, be observed throughout that part our kingdom called Scotland, upon Tuesday, the first day of June next: and we do strictly charge and command, that the said Public Thanksgiving be reverently and decently observed by all our loving subjects in Scotland, on the first day of June next, as they tender the favour of Almighty God, and would avoid his wrath and indignation, and upon pain of such punishment as we may justly inflict on all such as contemn or neglect the performance of so religious a duty: Our will and pleasure is therefore, and we charge, that this our Proclamation seen, ye pass to the Market Cross of Edinburgh, and all other places needful, and there, in our name and authority, make publication thereof, that none pretend ignorance; and our will and pleasure is, that our Solicitor do cause printed copies hereof to be sent to the Sheriffs of the several Shires, Stewarts or Stewartries, and Bailiffs of Regalities, and their Clerks, whom we ordain to see the same published: And we appoint them to send copies thereof to the several parish churches within their bounds, that upon the Lord's Day immediately preceding the day above-mentioned, the same may be published and read from the pulpits immediately after Divine Service.

Given at our Court at Widsor, the Twenty-sixth Day of April, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Two, in the Forty-second Year of Our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY,

His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

My Lord,

I now come to the 8th, and last point, of my proposed discussion of the Treaty of Amiens, namely, the *omission of the customary renewal of former treaties*, which is pregnant with present disgrace and with future disadvantage and danger. The treaties heretofore renewed, at the conclusion of every peace, form part of the law of nations, and are, in the settling of disputes, by which wars are prevented, universally referred to as such. * The omission to renew them, therefore, renders them, at once, so many volumes of waste paper, and unequivocally, though tacitly, sanctions the right, which France has assumed, to make all nations amenable to that new code of laws, which is made up of the treaties that she has, during the last ten years, by force or by fraud, obtained from the powers of Europe.

There are some, who affect to doubt, whether the position, that all former treaties are abrogated because not renewed, can be maintained upon the simple ground that it has been customary to make such renewal; but, my lord, those who have other and stronger grounds, whereon to maintain this position, will not confine themselves to the one here pointed out. They will assert, that it is universally admitted, that war abrogates all the treaties, which before existed between the powers opposed to each other in the war. This is a maxim as clearly acknowledged, and of as unshaken validity in settling the rights and pretensions of nations, as are any of the decisions in the books of our common law, in deter-

---

* The list of treaties, renewed at the peace of 1783, was as follows:

"Art. II. The treaties of peace of Westphalia of 1648, of Nimeguen of 1678 and 1679, of Ryswick of 1697, and of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; that of the triple alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1736; the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748; and the definitive treaty of Paris of 1763, serve as a basis and foundation to the peace, and to the present treaty, and for this purpose they are all renewed and confirmed in the best form, so that they are to be exactly observed for the future in their full tenour, and religiously executed by both parties in all the points, which shall not be derogated from by the present treaty of peace."

The same list, with the exception of that of Westphalia, of 1648, with the addition of that of Paris, of 1783, was proposed for renewal in the project of Lord Malmesbury of Lisle; and, as there were certain stipulations relative to Spain, Portugal and Holland, the following general renewal was introduced with respect to former treaties with those powers.

"Art. XVII. All former treaties of peace between the respective parties, to whom the said three articles relate, and which subsisted and were in force at the commencement of hostilities between them respectively, shall be renewed, except in such instances only where the same may be derogated from by mutual consent."

mining the rights of individuals. In what light the French see this matter, what is their opinion of the consequence of the omission I am speaking of, appears very clearly, not only from the objection, which, during the negotiation at Lisle, they made to the renewal of former treaties, but also, and still more clearly, from the reasons, on which that objection was founded.* That the opinion of the Dutch, supposing them independent, perfectly coincides with that of their ally, the exposition which they have given of the treaty of Amiens (Register, p. 381) leaves not the shadow of a doubt; and, unless miracles should revive, to supply the omissions of political compacts, from Spain we may surely depend on a similar decision.

If, then, my lord, all former treaties between England and the opposite contracting parties are, as, I think, you will not deny, entirely abrogated and effaced by the treaty of Amiens, it behoves the nation to enquire what they have lost by that abrogation.

With respect to those colonies and countries of which we are actually in possession, over which we exercise the *sole* and *undisputed* sovereignty, the omitted renewal of former treaties may, for some time, at least, be attended with no material consequence; but, as far as regards those rights and privileges, whether of an honorary, a commercial, or a territorial nature, which we enjoy purely in virtue of some posititive stipulation, and the enjoyment of which we have not the power to retain without having recourse to arms, the effects of the present abrogation will, some of them immediately, and others at no very distant period, be seriously felt.

To point out *all* the rights and privileges, which we have abandoned by this fatal omission, and to show, in their full extent, all the mischiefs reasonably to be expected therefrom, would require much more knowledge on the subject than I can be supposed to possess. Some of them, however, have occurred to me, as they must to even the most superficial observer, and on these I shall offer your lordship some remarks.

In virtue of our former treaties with France, and by no other title whatsoever, we enjoy the *gum trade* on the coast of Africa. This privilege was renewed to us in the treaty of Versailles, and Mr. Fox, who was then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, assumed, in the debate upon that treaty, great merit for having taken

---

* *Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, July 16, 1797.*

"It was at the express invitation of the French Plenipotentiaries that I met them on Thursday the 13th instant; *one of them* stated their motive for wishing to confer with me not to be in consequence of any answer they had received from Paris on the subject of the project, which, he observed, could not be expected so soon, but to resume the discussion on the article which he had objected to on my first reading the project, and on which they conceived it was possible and even expedient to argue, before we entered upon the more important branches of the negotiation. It was article II that he referred to. He objected to the renewal of the treaties therein-mentioned, from various reasons; first, that many, and even most of them, were irrelevant to that we were now negotiating; secondly, that they were in contradiction to the new order of things established in France, as they seem to imply an acknowledgment that a portion of the regular authority is still existing:—thirdly, that they might be supposed to apply to conventions and stipulations in direct contradiction to their present form of government, and he quoted the convention of Pilnitz in particular. I was about to reply to him, and I trust in a way that would have done away his apprehensions on this point, when *another of them* interposed, by saying, that their sincere and only desire was, that the treaty we were now entering upon might be so framed as to secure permanently the object for which it was intended; that no article likely to produce this end might be omitted, nor any doubtful one inserted; but that the whole, as well with regard to the past as to the future, might be so clearly and distinctly expressed, that no room for cavil might be left. This, he assured me, in the name of his colleagues, was all that was meant by their objection to renew so many treaties, in which such various interests were blended, and so many points discussed foreign to the present moment. Their renewing them in a lump, and without examing carefully to what we were pledged by them, might involve us in difficulties much better to be avoided. I replied, that I admitted most certainly all he said, and that it was with this view, and on this principle solely, that the renewal of these treaties was proposed by his Majesty; and that if he recollected (as he undoubtedly did,) the different wars which were terminated by these treaties, and the many important regulations stipulated by them, he would admit that the allowing them to remain in their full force was simply an acknowledgment of the tenure by which almost all the sovereigns of Europe, and particularly the French Republic, held their dominions up to this day. That these treaties were become the law of nations, and that infinite confusion would result from their not being renewed.

He replied that our object was evidently the same, that we only differed as to the manner. I thought the renewing these treaties *in toto* would the best contribute to it; while they were inclined to think, that extracting from them every thing which immediately related to the interests of the two countries, and stating it in one article, was more likely to att in this desirable object.

care that it should ascertain with precision the conditions, on which the trade should in future be carried on. *

This trade, though, doubtless, of very trifling value in the estimation of your lordship, would not have been lightly thrown away by a statesman less indifferent to the interests of his country. It has, of late years, employed 5,000 tons of shipping and 600 seamen. The cargoes brought an immense profit to the traders; they were of indispensable utility in certain branches of our manufactures, and contributed something very considerable towards the revenue, which is now, more than ever, necessary to answer the necessities of the state. Let it be observed, too, that this trade was attended with no national risk or expense. It was carried on in the dominion of another power; to protect it required neither fleets nor armies, neither governors nor officers of any description. It was such a trade as even Dr. Tucker, Dr. Price, Dr. Priestley, Dr. Becke, or any other economical politician, might have suffered us to carry on without remonstrance. It was, in short, so much clear gains: it demanded neither money nor blood, but was the spontaneous fruit of diplomacy.

The tenure, on which we held this trade, was, I have before observed, purely that of a positive stipulation, renewed from time to time, and last of all, in the treaty of peace, concluded at Versailles, in 1783. †

Disgraceful as the American war was to the arms and the cabinet of England, ruinous as it was to her finances, her manufactures, and her navigation, unpopular and hateful as it was to the people, still the ministers, who made the peace, took care to retain those rights and privileges, to preserve those interests and honours, which your lordship and your colleague have now sacrificed to our enemy. Do you imagine, my lord, that the French will, notwithstanding the omission to renew the stipulation respecting the gum trade, suffer us to carry on that trade as usual? Do you hope that, having rendered its continuation entirely dependent on their pleasure, they will keep it in their hand as a hold on our selfishness, as a sort of pledge for some further concession, some act of submission, some acknowledgment of vassalage, which has not yet entered even into the mind of your lordship? I must confess that such a hope on your part, and such conduct on theirs, would in no wise derogate from the opinion, which you must certainly entertain of each other; but, my lord, their haste to derive commercial benefit from your disposition, your readiness, to sacrifice the interests of your country, has not permitted them to leave you a foundation even for this humble and pitiful hope. By a decree, issued on the 15th of December last, six weeks after the fatal 1st of October, they have declared to the world, that *none but* FRENCH SHIPS *shall be allowed to trade to the colony of Senegal or its dependencies,* after three months from the publication of the said decree at Port Louis ‡. Thus, then, unless your lord-

* Mr. Fox said, that by the preliminary treaty, no boundaries were ascertained for our carrying on the gum trade; whereas by the 11th article of the definitive treaty, the boundaries were expressly laid down and described: that ambiguity and want of precision, which would have been the productive source of quarrels, was removed; and it would not be easy to dispute on the meaning of the spirit of the article, as now worded. According to the preliminary articles, the gum trade was to be carried on in the same manner in which it used to be carried on before the year 1755; that is to say, when it was carried on by violence, and constantly attended by acts of hostility, which daily afforded grounds of quarrel, that might possibly, in the end, bring on a war, that would defeat the honourable member's laudable wishes for the establishment of a real sinking fund, for paying off some part of the national debt:—by the care taken during the late negotiation, the coast on which the gum trade might be carried on was ascertained, he hoped, to the satisfaction of all the persons concerned in it; at least it was an advantage to have it ascertained.

† *Extract from the Treaty between the Kings of England and France, signed at Versailles, Sept. 3, 1783.*

" Art. XI. For preventing all discussion in that part of the world, the two high contracting parties shall, within three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, name commissaries, who shall be charged with the settling and fixing of the boundaries of the respective possessions. As to the gum trade, the English shall have the liberty of carrying it on, from the mouth of the river St. John, to the bay and fort of Portendic, inclusively. Provided that they shall not form any permanent settlement, of what nature soever, in the said river St. John, upon the coast, or in the bay of Portendic.

‡ *Bulletin of the Laws, No.* 139.

Decree respecting ships allowed to trade with the French colony of Senegal, dated the 25th Frimaire, 10th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

The Consuls of the Republic, upon the report made by the Minister of Marine to the Council of State, decree:

First article.—That from the day of the publication of the present decree at the Island of St. Louis, in the Colony of Senegal, *French ships only shall be allowed to trade in all parts of the said French colony.*

ships should insist, that, seeing the state of servitude to France, in which we are now placed, our vessels can hardly be considered as any thing else than *French ships*; unless you should, which is not altogether improbable, bolster up your defence of the peace with this consolatory reflection, you must allow, that, in consequence of the treaty of Amiens, the gum trade is already completely wrested from our hands.

The next right, which we have lost, or, at least, exposed to imminent danger, by the omissions in the treaty of Amiens, is, the very important right *of restraining the commerce of the French in India.*

I must confess, my lord, that, for my own part, I am no great admirer of that *imperium in imperio*, called "the Honourable East-India Company;" I feel very little awe, and not much reverence, when I pass under the Corinthian portico in Leadenhall Street. I speak not of the persons, but of the thing, and I really do not see with pleasure any subject, or body of subjects, participating in those acts of sovereignty and of sovereign munificence, which ought to be exclusively exercised by him, to whom we all owe allegiance, and who ought to be the only source of authority and of honour. Nor can I bring my mind to adopt that extravagant estimate which is usually made of our East-India colonies, or to speak in the modern style of our *Empire* in the East. That empire is very unweildy, not at all congenial with the species of force which we possess, and, of course, held on a tenure much more frail than parcels of territory surrounded by the sea. I have viewed the extension of the Eastern Empire, and the increasing partiality for its partnership-kind of government, with fear rather than exultation, and I never hear of the contention between the Company and the private-trade without reflecting on the consequences of the stamp act.

But, my lord, though I would prefer St. Domingo to the whole continent of Asia, I am not, for that reason, to approve of your having endangered the safety of India, which is certainly now become the most important of our foreign possessions. Hemmed up in the West-Indies; beset on every side, thwarted in every wind, and stopped in every passage, as we are in that our more natural element, it behoves us to guard with greater caution what we elsewhere retain. India is, in fact, our last stake. That there wants nothing but the loss of it, or a serious interruption to its tranquillity, to render England a poor and diminutive power, is the opinion of the whole world; and, my lord, that the treaty of Amiens has laid the foundation for such loss, or such interruption, will, I think, be denied by but very few of those persons, who have given themselves time to reflect on the probable consequences of that treaty.

To enter into a history of our dominion in India would be foreign to my purpose; suffice it to say, that we there have *no territorial rights, nor rights of any sort, but those which the French claim in common with us.* Of this claim, on the part of France, we have never been able to obtain a renunciation. She has never acknowledged our sovereignty over what we call our empire; nor has she ever yielded, except in virtue of special agreement, her right to trade to, and to form settlements in, any part of that empire. To restrain her connexion and commerce with the several provinces of India is a right founded solely on her consent, a right which was first obtained by positive stipulations between her and us. At the peace of 1783, the right was preserved by the *renewal* of these stipulations; and, as the treaty of Amiens contains no such renewal, the right no longer exists.

This right as it was formerly exercised, and as it was renewed to us in the treaty of 1783,* authorized us to confine the set-

---

II. That neutral ships which shall be taking in cargoes at the time of the arrival of the decree may compleat their loading, for which purpose they will be allowed a delay of two decades.

III. That the Ministers of the Marine and of the Interior, are charged each as far as it concerns them, with the execution of the present decree, which shall be inserted in the Bulletin of the Laws.

(Signed) BUONAPARTÉ, First Consul.

By order of the First Consul.

HUGUES R. MARET, Secretary of State.

DACRES, Minister of the Marine and Colonies.

---

* *Extract from the Treaty of Versailles, of* 1783.

"Art. XIII. The King of Great-Britain restores to his most Christian Majesty all the settlements which belonged to him at the beginning of the present war, upon the coast of Orixa, and in Bengal, with liberty to surround Chandernagore with a ditch for carrying off the waters: and his Britannic Majesty engages to take such measures as shall be in his power for securing to the subjects of France in that part of India, as well as on the coast of Orixa, Coromandel, and Malabar, a safe, free, and independent trade, such as was carried on by the French East-

tlements and factories of France within certain fixed bounds, and to prevent her from trading with other parts of India beyond an extent, which was not, indeed, precisely defined, but which was thought to be so clearly understood by both parties, that neither regarded it as capable of furnishing a ground of dispute Such, however, was the inclination of the French to extend their trade with the British possessions in India, and, indeed, to claim and exercise the same privileges which we claim and exercise in those possessions, that a very serious misunderstanding, not unaccompanied with violence, soon took place between our colonial rulers and the traders of France. To put an end to a contestation, which, if long suffered to exist, must have again involved the two nations in a war, a convention was entered into at Versailles, in August, 1787. In this convention, France consents to restrict her importation of salt into Bengal to a specific quantity per annum, and also to deposit the said salt into the hands of the officers of the British government there, at a certain price fixed by the convention. She further consents to restrict her exports from the same province, to specified articles and quantities; and, in those places where she possessed houses of commerce, in any of the territories, which we called ours, she consents that her factors, and other of her subjects there residing, shall be under the British jurisdiction, and not exempt from the ordinary justice of the country, exercised over British subjects. *

Now, my lord, this convention, together with the circumstances which gave rise to it, most clearly evince the necessity of positive stipulations to enable us to restrain the commercial and territorial rights of France in India. These stipulations are now completely abrogated. The French may now import as much salt as they can find the means of importing, and they may sell it at whatsoever price, and to whatsoever persons, they please. They may export, if they are able, the whole produce of India, in every part of which they may, and very probably they at this moment do, claim a jurisdiction of equal validity with our own. We have, it is true, nine points of the law in our favour—we have *possession*; but this brings back our tenure to the *droit du plus fort*; deprives it of all legal security; places it at once upon the issue of the sword; and, my lord, you have, without *marching to Paris*, learnt, that this is an instrument which Buonaparté has constantly by his side.

What plans the French have in contemplation, what measures they may pursue, with respect to India, what will be the nature of their pretext or the date of their operations, it is impossible precisely to fore-

---

India Company, whether they exercise it individually, or united in a company.

"Art. XV. France shall re-enter into possession of Mahé, as well as of its factory at Surat; and the French shall carry on their trade in this part of India conformably to the principles established in the thirteenth article of this treaty."

* *Extract from a Convention between the Kings of England and France. Signed at Versailles, August* 31, 1787.

"Art I. His Britannic Majesty again engages "to "take such measures as shall be in his power, for "securing to the subjects of France a safe, free, and "independent trade, such as was carried on by the "French East-India Company," and as is explained in the following articles "whether they exercise it "individually or as a company" as well in the Nabobship of Arcot and the countries of Madura and Tanjore, as in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, the Northern Circars, and in general in all the British possessions on the coasts of Orixa, Coromandel, and Malabar.

"Art. II. In order to prevent all abuse and disputes relative to the importation of salt, it is agreed that the French shall not import annually into Bengal more than two hundred thousand maunds of salt; the said salt shall be delivered at a place of deposit appointed for that purpose by the government of Bengal, and to officers of the said government at the fixed price of one hundred and twenty rupees for every hundred maunds.

"Art. III. There shall be delivered annually for the French commerce, upon the demand of the French agent in Bengal, eighteen thousand maunds of saltpetre, and three hundred chests of opium, at the price established before the late war.

"Art. IV. The six antient factories, namely, Chandernagore, Cossimbuzar, Dacca, Bugdea, Balasore, and Patna, with the territories belonging to the said factories, shall be under the protection of the French flag, and subject to the French jurisdiction.

"Art. V. France shall also have possession of the antient houses of Soopore, Keerpoy, Cannicole, Mohunpore, Serampore and Chittagong, as well as the dependencies on Soopore, viz. Gautjurat, Allende, Chintzabad, Patorcha, Monepore, and Dolobody, and shall further have the faculty of establishing new houses of commerce, but none of the said houses shall have any jurisdiction or any exemption from the ordinary justice of the country exercised over British subjects.

"Art. VI. His Britannic Majesty engages to take measures to secure to French subjects, without the limits of the antient factories above-mentioned, an exact and impartial administration of justice, in all matters concerning their persons or properties, or the carrying on their trade, in the same manner, and as effectually as to his own subjects."

see; but, he who can reflect on the irresistible desire which they have to wrest India from our hands; he who can reflect on their reiterated denunciations against this source of our riches and our power, on the desperate and incredible efforts they have already made to accomplish their object, and on the vast increase of means, of every sort, which your treaty has given them; he who can reflect on all this, without trembling for the consequences of the treaty of Amiens, must, I think, equal even your lordship in that happy frigidity of soul, which enables you to contemplate with unconcern the present disgrace and the approaching ruin of your country.

Such are a part, and only a part, of the losses and dangers to which the omissions of the treaty will subject us, with respect to those rights which we enjoyed by virtue of former treaties with France. The rights forfeited by a neglect to renew our former treaties, or, at least, part of those treaties, with Spain, are far from being inconsiderable. Of these I shall mention, at present, only that of *cutting dying woods and mahogany in the Bay of Honduras*

This right, like those before-mentioned, rests solely upon positive and special convention between our Sovereign and the King of Spain. We have no claim, nor have ever preferred any pretensions, to the sovereignty of the lands, on which this right has hitherto been exercised. In former treaties, as in that of 1763, for instance, we obtained a renewal of the permission, in rather loose and general terms, to cut logwood in the Bay of Honduras.* This permission was again renewed at the peace of 1783; but, Mr. Pitt, sensible of the importance of the privilege, wished to secure its enjoyment by stipulations more specific and solemn, which he obtained in the convention, signed at London, in 1786.† This

* *Extract from the Treaty of Peace, &c. between the Kings of England, France, and Spain, concluded at Paris, Feb.* 10, 1763.

"Art. XVII His Britannic Majesty shall cause to be demolished all the fortifications which his subjects shall have erected in the Bay of Honduras, and other places of the territory of Spain in that part of the world, four months after the ratification of the present treaty: and his Catholic Majesty shall not permit his Britannic Majesty's subjects, or their workmen, to be disturbed or molested under any pretence whatsoever, in the said places, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away logwood; and for this purpose they may build without hindrance, and occupy without interruption, the houses and magazines which are necessary for them, for their families, and for their effects: and his Catholic Majesty assures to them, by this article, the full enjoyment of those advantages and powers, on the Spanish coast and territories, as above stipulated, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty."

† *Extract from the Convention between his Britannic Majesty and the King of Spain, signed at London, July* 11, 1786.

"Art. I. His Britannic Majesty's subjects and the other colonists who have hitherto enjoyed the protection of England shall evacuate the country of the Mosquitos, as well as the continent in general and the islands adjacent without exception, situated beyond the line hereinafter described, as what ought to be the frontier of the extent of territory granted by his Catholic Majesty to the English, for the uses specified in the 3d article of the present convention, and in addition to the country already granted to them in virtue of the stipulations agreed upon by the commissaries of the two crowns in 1783.

"Art. II. The Catholic King, to prove, on his side, to the King of Great-Britain, the sincerity of his sentiments of friendship towards his said Majesty, and the British nation, will grant to the English more extensive limits than those specified in the last treaty of peace: and the said limits of the lands added by the present convention shall, for the future, be understood in the manner following:

"The English line, beginning from the sea, shall take the centre of the river Leun, or Jabon, and continue up to the source of the said river; from thence it shall cross in a straight line the intermediate land, till it intersects the river Wallis; and by the centre of the same river, the said line shall descend to the point where it will meet the line already settled and marked out by the commissaries of the two crowns in 1783: which limits, following the continuation of the said line, shall be observed as formerly stipulated by the definitive treaty.

"Art. III. Although no other advantages have hitherto been in question, except that of cutting wood for dying, yet his Catholic Majesty, as a greater proof of his disposition to oblige the King of Great-Britain, will grant to the English the liberty of cutting all other wood, without even excepting mahogany, as well as gathering all the fruits, or produce of the earth, purely natural and uncultivated, which may, besides being carried away in their natural state, become an object of utility or of commerce, whether for food or for manufactures; but it is expressly agreed that this stipulation is never to be used as a pretext for establishing in that country any plantation of sugar, coffee, cocoa, or other like articles, or any fabric or other manufacture, by means of mills or other machines whatsoever (this restriction however does not regard the use of saw mills, for cutting, or otherwise preparing the wood,) since all the lands in question being indisputably acknowledged to belong of right to the Crown of Spain, no settlements of that kind, or the population which would follow, could be allowed.

"The English shall be permitted to transport and convey all such wood, and other produce of the place, in its natural and uncultivated state, down the rivers to the sea, but without ever going beyond the limits which are prescribed to them by the stipulations above granted, and without thereby taking an opportunity of ascending the said rivers beyond their bounds, into the countries belonging to Spain."

convention, together with the former stipulations on the subject, were abrogated by the late war; and, as you have not obtained a renewal of them, the right to cut logwood and mahogany may, of course, be numbered amongst those encumberances, of which your lordship has procured us so happy a riddance.

How long the Spaniards, acting under the mandates of France, will suffer us to trade to Honduras, I cannot say. It is possible that they might find some amusement in tantalizing us with hopes of forbearance; in regarding us as tenants at will, continually liable to ejectment. But, when they reflect on the cession of Trinidada, which we have so honestly and so honourably obtained, they cannot but seize with eagerness every opportunity to injure our interests and to mortify our pride. The enjoyment of the logwood trade will, therefore, be of short duration, and I shall be much disappointed if our wood-cutters are not very soon ejected, and that too with all those injuries and all those marks of contempt, which the subjects of Britain must now expect to meet with from every nation in the world, however base its disposition or however feeble its power.

The Dutch have, by the omission to renew former stipulations, deprived us of the right to an *unobstructed navigation in the Eastern seas*, and also of the right to demand and receive *the honours of the flag*.

These rights also were founded purely on special agreement. The right to navigate freely in the Eastern seas is derived from the consent of the States-General, as expressed, for instance, by the stipulation on that subject in the treaty of peace of 1784,* where they promise and engage *not to obstruct* the navigation of British subjects in the Eastern seas, the obtaining of which engagements clearly acknowledges, on our part, that they had a *right* to interpose such obstruction, and that that right now reverts to them from our omission to obtain a renewal of their engagement to the contrary. *Navigation* in the Eastern seas was, by us, construed to mean *trading to the Dutch possessions in those seas*, a meaning which we failed not to illustrate by practice, by the carrying on of a trade in spices of great emolument to our revenue, commerce, and navigation, and of indispensable necessity to the existence of Bengal. The Dutch disapproved of the broad construction, which we gave to the word *navigate* and its derivatives, in consequence of which provision was made in the treaty of alliance of 1788, for the forming of a separate convention on this and some other points relating to the East-India trade † which convention having never been entered into, the stipulation remained unimpaired by any thing but the war, till your lordship, resolving to get rid of *all disputes*, swept it away by the treaty of Amiens.

And here, again, let me ask how Mr. Fox, who prided himself (and not without reason) on having, in 1784, obtained this valuable stipulation, can defend, or rather, let me ask, how he can forbear to condemn, the present Definitive Treaty?

To the *honour of the flag*, ‡ my lord, I

---

* *Extract from the Definitive Treaty of Peace, &c. between the King of Great-Britain and the States-General of the United Provinces*, 1784.

" Art. VI. The States-General of the United Provinces promise and engage not to obstruct the navigation of the British subjects in the Eastern seas."

† *Extract from the Treaty of Defensive Alliance, between the King of Great-Britain and the States-General of the United Provinces, April* 15, 1788.

" Art. XI. And whereas their high Mightinesses have now renewed their request for obtaining that restitution, as well as for settling and determining precisely the sense of the VIth article of that treaty, concerning the navigation of British subjects in the Eastern seas; his Britannic Majesty, in order to manifest his good will towards the Republic, is disposed to concur in these desires of their High Mightinesses, and even to secure to the Republic addition and real commercial advantages in that part of the world, as soon as an equivalent for those objects can be agreed upon; in return for which his Britannic Majesty will require nothing but what is favourable to the reciprocal interests and security of the contracting parties in the Indies, and to prevent the negotiations for such arrangements from retarding the conclusion of the present treaty, it is agreed that they shall be begun as soon as possible, and be concluded in the space of six months from the date of the present treaty, and that the convention to be made thereon shall have the same force as if it was inserted in the treaty itself."

‡ *Extract from the Definitive Treaty of Peace between his Britannic Majesty and the States-General*, 1784.

" Art. II. With respect to the honours of the flag, and the salute at sea, by the ships of the Republic towards those of his Britannic Majesty, the same custom shall be followed, as was practised before the commencement of the war which is just concluded."

The mark of honour here stipulated for is defined in former treaties as follows:

Extract from the Treaty of Peace between Charles II. and the States-General, concluded the 21-31 *July*, 1667.

" Art. XIX. That the ships and vessels of the United Provinces, as well men of war as others,

am not, after the late experience which the world has had of your sentiments, weak enough to suppose that *you* ever attached much importance. Yet, my lord, though the loss of this honour diminishes neither the salaries in Downing Street nor the profits of the London Flour Company, it is a loss that will be felt by the nation to the last hour of its political existence, the arrival of which hour it will, too, strongly, though invisibly, tend to accelerate. Honour is the soul of a nation, which, the moment it is deprived of its animating influence, ceases to excite either envy or dread; the pity that is bestowed on it for awhile gradually changes to disgust, 'till, at last, the world turns its back, leaving the lothsome object quietly to decay. That your lordship should treat these notions with contempt is perfectly natural; but, with respect to the particular point of honour, which I am now speaking of, I scruple not to assert, that we owe more to its former maintenance than to any other of those advantages, which are sacrificed by the peace. The yielding of this point, at the end of a war, is, to all intents and purposes, a signal of defeat, as completely so as the striking of the flag at the end of an engagement. We shall in vain endeavour to remind the world of our naval victories: they will, perhaps, allow that we were successful at the battle of Camperdown; but they will insist, and with great truth, that, if our *fleet* was victorious, our *country* is defeated. The Dutch, who have lost not a moment in proclaiming their triumph, exultingly observe, that they have *now* obtained what their forefathers so long and so desperately contended for without success; and you, my lord, and your worthy co-operators, have sacrificed what *our* forefathers purchased with their valour and their blood. How will the veteran sailor, who has been rocked in the cradle of the sea, who has, from his infancy, been accustomed to see the flag of Holland bow before that under which he sailed and fought; how will the Nelsons, and the Duncans, the Smiths, the Warrens, and the Pellews; how will they despise, how will they execrate, the men, by whom the honour of the navy has thus been solemnly and irretrievably blasted? Where are we now to look for the source of that pride, that consciousness of superiority, which has hitherto, more than any other circumstance, contributed to our maritime success? Not only is every notion of superiority abandoned, but the contrary notion is acknowledged, declared, sanctioned, and ratified by the peace of Amiens. The world will give us full credit for sincerity, in this respect: he who bows down his neck will never want for feet to tread upon it. There is not a country upon earth where we shall not be, where we are not already, despised. The name of England will become a by word and a reproach amongst the nations; to be descended from her will be disgrace, and to belong to her infamy. In America, more particularly, we shall feel the effects of this degradation. There, where our friends were so numerous, so zealous, and so powerful, where, in spite of every thing that had happened, the people still boasted of their British descent; many of them still openly exulted, and all felt an inward pride, at the glorious achievements of Britain. In that country, my lord, we shall not have a single friend: the natives will now rejoice at having, in time, shaken off their allegiance; and those who have the misfortune to be still British subjects will disguise their connexion with as much care and anxiety as the branded felon hides the mark in his hand. In the State of New-York, my lord, I knew an old gentleman, who was born in England, and who in the early part of his life, had been a sailor in the royal navy. This gentleman happened to have a house take fire on the very day that the news of the battle off Camperdown reached the place where he lived. The neighbours assembled with great alacrity, as they always do in America, to assist in extinguishing the flames, but were desired, by the owner, to desist, for that it was "*an excellent bonfire for Duncan's victory.*" So remarkable, so strong, so noble an instance of devotion to the country is not, perhaps, to be found in the history of the world. Well, my lord, this gentleman, whose name is Corney; this very man now writes to his friend in London, "*I am ashamed to call myself an English-*" *man!*" Such is the change, which our disgrace will produce in the opinions and in the hearts of all those, who were formerly attached to England, and whose attachment contributed, in so many ways, to her influence, her interests, her power, and her safety.

Having gone through the enumeration of the most prominent of those rights and

---

meeting any men of war of the said King of Great-Britain, in the British seas, shall strike the flag and lower the top-sail in such manner as the same hath been formerly observed in any times whatsoever."

privileges, which you have abandoned by the omission to renew former treaties, or, at least such parts of those treaties as particularly applied to this country and were essential to the preservation of her prosperity and her honour, I should now proceed to show, that this omission proceeded entirely from the ignorance, or the abject submission of those, by whom the negotiation was, on our part, conducted. But, my lord, your peace-proclaiming cavalcade approaches; your admirers begin to bray through the streets, and I must repair to remove my wife and children; for, I have already found, that your partizans have hoofs as well as ears. Your lordship will, therefore, have the goodness to excuse me, for the present, well assured, as you must be by this time, that death alone shall prevent me from doing ample justice to the diplomatic talents of you and your colleague.

I am,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most humble,
and most obedient Servant,
Wm. Cobbett.

Pall Mall, April 29, 1802.

Comparative View of the American War and Peace, and the last War and present Peace.

AMERICAN WAR.	LAST WAR.
Losses.	*Losses.*
In North America, the Thirteen Colonies. In the West-Indies, Tobago, Grenada, Dominica, St. Kitt's, St. Vincent's, Montserrat, Nevis, Tortola, and Turk's Island. In the Mediterranean, Minorca.	None.
Conquests.	*Conquests.*
In the West-Indies, St. Lucie. In the East-Indies, Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Mahé, and Surat.	In 1793. Tobago, St. Pierre, Miquelon, Pondicherry, with the other French settlements in the East-Indies; St. Domingo, Toulon. In 1794. Martinique, Guadaloupe, St. Lucie, Desiada, Corsica. In 1795. Malacca, Ceylon, Cape of Good Hope. In 1796. Amboyna, Banda, &c. in the East-Indies; Demerary, Essequibo, Berbice, in the West-Indies. In 1797. French establishments at Madagascar destroyed; Trinidad. In 1798. Minorca. In 1799. Surinam. In 1800. Goree, Curaçoa, Malta. In 1801. Egypt.
Of these France reconquered Toulon Corsica, and Guadaloupe; the rest we had to treat with for peace.	
By the peace of 1783, which Parliament condemned, we restored to France,	By the peace of 1801, we restore to France,
In the West-Indies,	
St. Lucie, and she acquired Tobago.	St. Lucie, Tobago, and Martinique.
We obtained back Grenada, Dominica, St. Kitt's, Montserrat, Nevis, Tortola, St. Vincent's, and Turk's Island; all which colonies had been conquered from us.	And to Holland we restore Surinam, Demerary, Essequibo, Berbice, Curaçoa. We give up to Spain our settlements and trade in the Bay of Honduras; and France acquires the Spanish part of St. Domingo, and a very large part of Portuguese Guiana, with the absolute command of the Brazils. We are allowed to keep Trinidad, which we have conquered from Spain.
In the East-Indies,	
we restored Pondicherry, with a limitation not to fortify it. Chandernagore, Mahé, and Surat.	we restore to France Pondicherry, without any restraint whatever; Chandernagore, Mahé, and Surat. And to Holland, Cochin, Malacca, Amboyna, Banda, and all the Dutch Spice Islands.
We obtained Negapatam (which we had not conquered), and were to have retained Ceylon, if it had not been re-conquered from us. We also obtained an acknowledgment from Holland, of our right to navigate the Eastern seas. And we restored to France a limited trade in India.	We are allowed to keep Ceylon (which we have conquered). We have made no stipulation for our navigation in the Eastern seas, without which we cannot carry on any trade to China, and we have left France in the unlimited enjoyment of such rights of intercourse and trade in India, as must annihilate our government in that country.
In Africa,	
we gave up Goree and Senegal. We obtained a right to trade for gum on the gum coast.	we give up Goree and Senegal, without any stipulation for the gum trade; we restore the Cape of Good Hope; and we bind ourselves to evacuate Egypt, even though the Turks should be willing to grant us an establishment there.
In America,	
we acknowledged the independence of the United States; we ceded St. Pierre	we restore St. Pierre and Miquelon to France, and we suffer her to acquire

By the *Peace of* 1783.	By the *Peace of* 1801.
and Miquelon to France, and Florida to Spain; we obtained back the Bahamas (which in the interim we had re-conquered).	Florida and Louisiana, which give her the entire command of Mexico, and a decisive influence over the United States.
In the Mediterranean,	
Spain kept Minorca, which she had conquered from us.	we restore Minorca, which we had conquered from Spain; we cede Malta; we evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and leave to France the Island of Elba; we suffer France to annex to her dominions all Piedmont, together with Lombardy, and the largest and richest part of Italy.
In the Channel,	
we ceded the Utrecht restriction on the harbour, &c. of Dunkirk, which had never been executed.	we restore St. Marcou, which we actually held; and we renounce the right of sovereignty of our flag in the British seas, which has been maintained for ages, and was expressly secured by our treaty with Holland in 1783.
The Army,	
1783, in England, was represented, by the minister who made the peace, as being totally unequal to the defence of the country, and we had not 3,000 men fit for any foreign service. Our whole force in Great Britain was only 20,000 regulars of every description, and invalids, and 40,000 militia.	1801, was, in England, 116,000 men, exclusive of artillery, of 10,000 supplementary militia, of 7,000 seafencibles, and of a volunteer force of 130,000 men, capable of augmentation to any extent.
The Army in	
Ireland did not amount to above 8,500 men, of whom 1,500 were recruits, and there was not in that country a man to spare sor foreign service.	Ireland was 53,000 men, exclusive of artillery, and of the whole yeomanry force. Besides this we had large garrisons in Ceylon, Malta, Minorca, the Cape of Good Hope, Madeira, and in the French, Dutch, and Danish West-India colonies which we had conquered. And in Egypt we had a victorious and disposable army of above 20,000 men.
The Navy, in	
1783, was 127 ships of the line in commission, including 50's and guard-ships, and 265 frigates, sloops, bombs, &c.; total pennants 392, many of which were in bad condition and unmanned.	1801, was 167 ships of the line in commission, including 50's and guard-ships, and 533 frigates, sloops, bombs, &c., total pennants 700. Brest, Toulon, Cadiz, the Archipelago, and the Adriatic, were blocked by our fleets.
Total French, Spanish, and Dutch ships of the line 165, which were to have been augmented in that year by from 13 to 20 sail of the line; while it was said that not more than 2 or 3 sail of the line could be added to our force.	Total French, Spanish, and Dutch ships of the line, 57. We had taken and destroyed, in the war, above 80 sail of the line of enemies, little less than 200 frigates, and from 240 to 250 smaller ships, besides 834 private armed vessels,
Prisoners in	
1783, in England and Ireland, are supposed to have been nearly equal to those in France.	1801, in England 25,000 besides those in Ireland. In France, probably none, or at most 50, or 100 men.
Finances in	
1783, a revenue rapidly decreasing, and deficient by nearly $\frac{1}{3}$ of the amount for which it was imposed. An enormous unfunded debt. Decreasing commerce.	1801, a revenue rapidly increasing. Financial means such as have enabled us even under the present management, to fund above 90 millions in the present year. Increased commerce and resources of every kind keeping pace with the growing prosperity of the country.
Sinking Fund,	
None.	between 4 and 5 millions for 1801, and rapidly increasing.
Commerce in	
1783 was reduced to the lowest ebb by the loss of all our colonies; the total abandonment of the Mediterranean, and our naval inferiority in every quarter of the globe.	1801 was increased to a pitch of unparalleled prosperity by the conquests of almost all the enemy's foreign possessions, and the absolute superiority of our flag over the whole world. The value of our exports to our West-India *conquests* and to the Cape amounted to near 1,800,000l. and our increased exports since the war to our own colonies was 1,433,000l. being the difference between 2,550,000l. at which it stood before the war, and 3,983,000l. the amount in 1800.

Commerce in

1783.		1801.	
British manufactures exported	£9,400,000	British manufactures exported	£24,000,000
Total exports	14,000,000	Total exports	35,000,000
Total imports	10,300,000	Total imports	29,900,000
Total tons of merchant shipping	550,000	Total tons of merchant shipping	1,900,000

TO THE PUBLIC.

Most of the persons, who read this article, will recollect, that my house was assaulted by the celebraters of the Preliminaries of peace, because I refused to illuminate it on that occasion. There were two nights of illumination after that assault took place; but, I having applied to Lord Pelham for protection, his Lordship granted it with readiness and with effect. When the news of the signing of the Definitive Treaty arrived, I again took the liberty to apply to Lord Pelham, for the same purpose, and, if any serious attempt had been made on my house, I am fully persuaded that protection was at hand. No such attempt was, however, made. All the hints and invitations of the ministerial prints, though backed by the example of the public officers (where several hundreds of pounds of the public money were thrown away in illuminations) were not sufficient to recall the "*delirium of joy*," excited in the minds of the ignorant and unthinking, upon the arrival of the Preliminaries. The people had, in fact, had time to reflect; they had had time to feel; they had discovered, that peace brought none of those blessings, which they had foolishly expected from it, and, in proportion as they became acquainted with its disadvantageous and dishonourable terms, the gratitude they at first felt towards the framers of it, gradually changed into a resentment mixed with contempt; in short, the peace was daily becoming unpopular, and the projected illuminations, the endeavour to extort a shew of a contrary persuasion, completely failed.

To retrieve this defeat, to dazzle, to blind the people, to keep up the infatuation yet a little longer, by a grand and general blaze on the evening of the day on which peace should be proclaimed, every trick that necessity could devise, was put in practice. I have heretofore mentioned some of these tricks, and at the same time, I stated, that, if the government would promise the house-keepers protection against the violence of the brutal and houseless rabble, I would engage that London should, on the night of the proclamation, be as gloomy as the event, which that proclamation would announce.—I shall, hereafter, take occasion to shew, that this opinion was fully verified. At present I must beg leave to confine my narrative and remarks to what relates solely to my family and myself.

In the same degree that I perceived that the illumination was to be *compulsory*, I became resolute not to submit to the degradation, and, therefore, it was with great mortification, that, on the very evening before the proclamation, I saw my wife actually confined in that situation, which, above all others, requires comfort and tranquillity. I wrote immediately to Lord Pelham, informed him of this untoward circumstanc, but, at the same time, expressed my resolution not to illuminate my house. His lordship, with a condescension, which I shall ever remember with gratitude, assured me, that he had given orders to Sir Richard Ford to protect from violence myself, my family, and my premises; and, if such violence was not opposed with as complete success as I could wish, no fault is, I am fully persuaded, to be attributed to the magistrates or officers, charged with the execution of his lordship's orders.

On Thursday about noon I began to grow apprehensive of the consequences of resistance. To hazard the life of her, who had been my companion and my support through all the storms I had endured, to whose gentleness, prudence, and fortitude, I owed whatever I enjoyed of pleasure, of fortune, or of reputation; to make this sacrifice was no longer to be thought of, and I had made up my mind to yield, when she bravely determined to be removed to the house of a friend, rather than her husband should submit to the mandates of a base and hireling mob. This removal had not taken place many hours before I had reason to congratulate myself upon it. A numerous and boisterous rabble, coming from Cockspur Street, began to assault the house, at about half past nine o'clock. Mr. Graham (one of the Bow Street magistrates) with his officers, used their utmost exertions to prevent violence, but in vain. The attack continued, with more or less fury, for about an hour and a half, during which time a party of horse-guards were called in to the aid of the civil power. Great

part of the windows were broken; the sash frames of the ground floor almost entirely demolished; the pannels of the window-shutters were dashed in; the window frames broken in several places; the door nearly forced open; and much other damage done to several parts of the house.

Six of the villains were apprehended, namely, CHARLES BELOE (son of the Rev. Wm. Beloe), *a clerk in the General Post-Office*; CHARLES WAGSTAFF, *another clerk in the General Post-Office*; JOHN HARWOOD, a sort of amanuensis to the Rev. Wm Beloe; JOHN PARNEL, *an Excise Officer*; SAMUEL WISE, a servant to a Brush-maker at Aldgate; WILLIAM HARVEY, nothing at all. One of the two latter, I forget which, has been admitted to bail; the other five are in jail, and are to have a second hearing on Tuesday next, at twelve o'clock. The offence of the former, viz. Beloe, Wagstaff, and Harwood, was regarded as being of a *capital* nature, and they would, after their examination on Friday, have been committed to be tried for their lives, had not the magistrates of Bow Street consented to give them 'till Tuesday, in order to enable them to obtain the assistance of counsel, previous to their final commitment.—Mr. Heriot, the proprietor of the True Briton, stated in that paper of Friday morning, that, "in Pall Mall, the windows of the "house of two *American* booksellers were "broken, because they would not put up "a farthing candle to shew their disposition to humour the wishes of the *people of England*, but this was only a casual "and *contemptible* occurrence, in the brilliant celebration of so happy an event." If Mr. Heriot could have seen how sheepish "*the people of England*" looked, yesterday, behind the bar of the Bow Street Office; if he had seen those gallant young Post-Office heroes, with dejected heads, and eyes red with crying all night, he certainly would not have thought the occurrence so very "contemptible." It is somewhat singular that Mr. Heriot, in calling my partner and myself the "two *American* booksellers," should have adopted the very expression, which forms a considerable aggravation of the crime, for which the heroes of the Post-Office are now cooling their courage in a jail.

I regret that want of room compels me to break off in the midst of this address. I will, however, resume my narrative as soon as possible; and I pledge my word to my readers, that I will amply expose the sources of that influence by which the late illumination was extorted from the people. Out of *six* villains apprehended at my house, *four* are in the pay of government!

Wm. Cobbett.

Pall Mall, May 1, 1802.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

Lieutenant-General C. Lyster, from the 3d Foot-Guards is appointed to the command of the 45th Foot, vice Adeane, deceased.

The King, in approbation of the meritorious services of the Marine Corps, has directed that that useful body shall in future be called the ROYAL MARINES.

Lord Amherst is appointed Lord of the Bed-Chamber.

PRICE OF STOCKS.

ENGLISH three per cent. consols.

Saturday....	76 7/8 3/8	Wednesday..	76 1/4 3/8
Monday....	76 3/4 7 6 3/4	Thursday..	76 1/4 77
Tuesday....	77 6 3/4 7/8	Friday....	77 1/8 6 1/4 7/8

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C. F.	10 15 2 us.	LEGHORN	51 1/4
D°, at sight	10 11	NAPLES.....	44
ROTTERDAM	10 16 2 us.	GENOA	47 1/4
HAMBURGH	32 9 2 1/2 us.	LISBON	70 1/2
ALTONA....	32 10 2 1/2 us.	OPORTO	71
PARIS 2 us ..	23 10 liv.	DUBLIN	12
BOURDEAUX, d°	23 11	VENICE, 57 1/2 livres piccole	
CADIZ	33 3/8 in paper	effective per £. ster.	
DITTO ...	37 1/4 effective	BILBOA	D°
MADRID ..	33 3/8 in paper	PALERMO.....	
DITTO	38 1/4 effective	AGIO, bank on Hol. p. c.	

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER,

Near Guildford, in Surrey, for the Month of April, 1802.

Days.	M's Age	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barometer. Inches. M.	Barometer. Inches. A.	Thermometer. Degrees. M.	Thermometer. Degrees. A.
22		Fair.	SW	SW	29,86	29,8	53	60
23		Showery.	NW	NW	29,87	29,89	56	56
24		Fine.	SW	SW	30,02	29,99	50	56
25	☽	Cloudy.	SW	W	29,81	29,78	56	58
26		Fine.	SW	SW	29,6	29,55	53	56
27		Rain.	SW	SW	29,45	29,44	52	47
28		Fair.	N	N	29,[illegible]	29,[illegible]	48	52

● *New Moon* ☾ *1st. Quar.* ○ *F. Moon.* ☽ *last Quar.*

LONDON.

LONDON, May 1 to May 8, 1802.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

The following separate Article to the Definitive Treaty, added to the Treaty itself, which will be found in Register, p. 321, renders that Instrument complete.

It is agreed that the omiſſion of ſome titles which may have taken place in the preſent Treaty, ſhall not be prejudicial to the powers or to the perſons concerned.

It is further agreed, that the Engliſh and French Languages, made uſe of in all the copies of the preſent Treaty, ſhall not form an example, which may be alleged or quoted as a precedent, or in any manner prejudice the Contracting Powers whoſe Languages have not been uſed; and that for the future what has been obſerved, and ought to be obſerved, with regard to, and on the part of powers who are in the practice and poſſeſſion of giving and receiving copies of like Treaties in any other Language, ſhall be conformed with; the preſent Treaty having nevertheleſs the ſame force and virtue as if the aforeſaid practice had been therein obſerved.

In witneſs whereof, we the underwritten Plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majeſty, of the French Republic, of his Catholic Majeſty, and of the Batavian Republic, have ſigned the preſent ſeparate article, and have cauſed our reſpective ſeals to be affixed thereto.

Done at Amiens, the Twenty-ſeventh Day of March, One Thouſand Eight Hundred and Two: the Sixth Germinal, Year Ten of the French Republic.

(L. S.) *Cornwallis.*
Joſeph Buonaparté.
J. Nicholas De Azara.
R. J. Schimmelpenninck.

DECREE RESPECTING EMIGRANTS,

Publiſhed at Paris, April 27.

TITLE I. *Diſpoſitions relative to the Perſons of Emigrants.*

Article I. An Amneſty is granted for Emigration, to every individual who is not definitively eraſed.

II. Thoſe individuals who are not in France, ſhall be bound to return before the 23d of September next.

III. Immediately on their return, they ſhall declare before the Commiſſaries appointed for that purpoſe, in the cities of Calais, Bruſſels, Mayence, Straſburg, Geneva, Nice, Bayonne, Perpignan, and Bourdeaux, that they return to the Territory of the Republic by virtue of the Amneſty.

IV. This declaration ſhall be followed by an Oath of Fidelity to the Government eſtabliſhed by the Conſtitution; and that they will not entertain, either directly or indirectly, any connexion or correſpondence with the Enemies of the State.

V. Thoſe who have received from Foreign Powers, Places, Titles, Decorations, Gratuities, or Penſions, ſhall be bound to declare it before the ſame Commiſſaries, and formally to renounce the ſame.

VI. Thoſe who ſhall not return to France before the 23d of September, and have fulfilled the conditions preſcribed by the preceding articles ſhall remain excluded out of the preſent Amneſty, and definitively placed upon the Liſt of Emigrants, unleſs they prove, in due form, that it was impoſſible for them to return to the Territory of the Republic within the time fixed, and that they have before the expiration of that time fulfilled before the Agents of the Republic, in the Countries where they reſide, the other conditions above expreſſed.

VII. Thoſe who are at preſent on the French Territory, ſhall be bound under the ſame penalty and definitive eſtabliſhment on the Liſt of Emigrants, to make within one month from the date of the preſent Act, before the Preſect of the Department where they reſide, ſitting in the Council of Prefecture, the ſame declaration, oath, and renunciation.

VIII. The Commiſſaries and Prefects charged with receiving ſuch declarations, oaths, and renunciations, ſhall without delay tranſmit to the Miniſter of the Interior, in the form of a diſpatch, the Proces-verbal of their proceedings, on ſight of which the Miniſter ſhall make out a Certificate of Amneſty, which ſhall be ſent to the Miniſter of Juſtice, by whom it ſhall be ſigned, and delivered to the individual concerned.

IX. Such individual ſhall, until the delivery of ſuch Certificate of Amneſty, reſide in the Commune in which he made the declaration of his return to the Territory of the Republic.

X. The following perſons are exempted out of the preſent Amneſty. 1ſt, Thoſe individuals who have commanded Armies aſſembled in hoſtility to the Republic. 2d, Thoſe who have had rank in the Enemies' Armies. 3d, Thoſe who ſince the foundation of the Republic have held places in the Houſeholds of the ci-devant French Princes. 4th, Thoſe who are known to have been, or were actually movers or agents of the civil or foreign war. 5th, Thoſe who commanded by land or ſea, as well as the repreſentatives of the people, who have been found guilty of Treaſon againſt the Republic, and the Archbiſhops and Biſhops who, deſpiſing legitimate authority, have refuſed to give in their reſignation.

XI. The individuals denominated in the preceding article, are definitively placed on the Liſt of Emigrants; but the number ſo definitively placed on the Liſt of Emigrants, ſhall not exceed 1000, of whom 500 ſhall be named previous to the 23d of September next.

XII. The Emigrants to whom the Amneſty is extended, as well as thoſe who have been definitively eraſed from the Liſt of Emigrants, according to the Decree of the Conſuls of the 28th Vendemiaire (October 20,) 1801, ſhall for the ſpace of ten years from the date of the Eraſure, or Certificate of Amneſty, be under the ſpecial inſpection of Government.

XIII. The Government, if it judges expedient, ſhall have the power to oblige the individuals placed under the ſaid inſpection, to remove to the diſtance of 20

leagues from the ordinary place of reſidence. They may alſo be removed to a greater diſtance, if circumſtances ſhould require it; but in that caſe, the order of removal muſt firſt have been committed to the Council of State.

XIV. After the expiration of the ten years of inſpection, all the individuals againſt whom the Government ſhall not have been obliged to put the above-mentioned meaſures in execution, ſhall ceaſe to be ſubject to the ſaid inſpection; it may be extended to the whole duration of the lives of thoſe againſt whom theſe meaſures have been put in execution.

XV. The individuals ſubjected to the inſpection of Government ſhall enjoy, in other reſpects, all their rights as Citizens.

TITLE II. *Arrangement relative to Goods.*

XVI. The individuals included in the Amneſty, ſhall not be entitled, under any pretext, or in any caſe, to interfere with the arrangements reſpecting property, which have been entered into between the Republic and individuals before the preſent Amneſty.

XVII. Thoſe of their goods which are ſtill in the hands of the nation (with the exception of woods and foreſts, which have been declared unalienable by law, immovables applied to public ſervice, the rights of property real or pretended to impoſitions on the grand canals, claims which they may have on the Public Treaſury, and the extinction of which took place in the moment of confuſion, when the Republic ſeized on their goods and debts), ſhall be reſtored to them without any of the fruits, which in conformity to a law paſſed, pertain to the Republic, down to the day on which they obtain their Certificate of Amneſty.

The preſent *Senatus-Conſulte* ſhall be tranſmitted by a Meſſage to the Conſuls of the Republic.

(Signed) TRUNCHET, Preſident;
Chapel and *Serrurier*, Secretaries.

By the Conſervative Senate,
Cauchy, Secretary-General.

Let the preſent Senatus-Conſulte be confirmed by the Seal of State, inſerted in the Bulletin of the Laws, inſcribed in the Regiſters of the Judiciary and Adminiſtrative Authorities, and let the Miniſter of Juſtice be charged with ſuperintending its publication.

Paris, April 26, 1802.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE', Firſt Conſul.
H. B. MARET, Secretary of State.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY,

His Majeſty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

My Lord,

In the five letters, lately addreſſed to your lordſhip (Regiſter, p. 353, 398, 427, 443, 489), I have endeavoured to ſhew, that the treaty of Amiens is not only injurious and diſgraceful to this country, but that it is ſo in a much greater degree than *the preliminary treaty*, and that, therefore, thoſe, who gave their approbation to the latter, are, by no rule of conſiſtency, bound to approve of the former. The premiſes, leading to this concluſion, have been denied by your lordſhip and Mr. Addington. This denial has, indeed, been ſupported neither by proof nor by reaſoning; and, therefore, I might ſafely truſt my arguments in the hands of the public, without ſeeking to ſtrengthen them by the opinions of others. Yet, my lord, when ſuch corroborating teſtimony obtrudes itſelf upon me, to neglect to avail myſelf of it would not correſpond with that ſincere and anxious deſire, which I have to prepare the minds of my countrymen for the numerous and weighty evils to be apprehended from the compact, for the conſummation of which you have called on them to rejoice, and to return thanks to God. Without further preface, my lord, I ſhall now lay before you a tranſlation of an article, taken from the *Mercure de France*, a publication which is not only under the immediate patronage and influence of the French Conſul, but the political department of which is actually conducted under the inſpection of Lucien Buonaparté himſelf.

"Reſting on, I know not what, expreſſions of the Engliſh Miniſters in Parliament, ſome perſons contended that the merit of this peace could not be decided by the preliminaries; that we ſhould wait for the Definitive Treaty, and then the ſuperiority of Great-Britain would be ſeen.

"The Definitive Treaty has at length been ſigned, and it is found to be *more advantageous, more glorious to France than the preliminaries.*

"At the time when this firſt convention appeared, it was criticiſed on different grounds. Men conſidered the benefit which England might derive from the cinnamon foreſts of Ceylon, and particularly from the ſuperb port of Trincomalee, the true bulwark of India, commanding the Malabar and Coromandel, and all the Archipelago of that Ocean.

"It was calculated too, not what Trinidad was worth, but what it might be rendered by the ſkilful induſtry of the Engliſh, leſs intereſted, perhaps, about the produce of their own ſoil than eager to monopolize all the commerce of the Oronoco, and the countries adjacent. In addition to theſe eſtimates, ſo flattering for England, were adduced the riches ſhe was to acquire in the Myſore, conquered during the war of the revolution; and people were inclined to believe that the Engliſh had carried to the utmoſt extent of their wiſhes, their naval and commercial greatneſs.

"With this ſituation of England was oppoſed that of France, aggrandized by Belgium, Savoy, Piedmont, and part of Germany; diſpoſing without controul of Holland, Switzerland, and Italy; fortifying herſelf in the Mediterranean, by the ac-

quiſition of Porto Ferrajo—opening in the North a river famous for its ancient commerce, and a port deſtined, by its ſituation, to become the emporium of Europe; recovering Martinique, enriched by Engliſh capital; obtaining the Spaniſh part of St. Domingo; *eſtabliſhing herſelf in Louiſiana*, and regaining her ſettlements in India.

" Between theſe two pictures of two ſtates which may ceaſe to be enemies, but *never to be rivals*, it was not difficult to pronounce which of the two had gained moſt by the war. It was demonſtrated that France had obtained an irreſiſtible preponderance upon the Continent; and that in ſuffering her maritime power to fall off, *ſhe had not loſt the elements of it* *, which conſiſt in her population and her territory.

" Such was the aſpect of things which the preliminaries offered; and as they have formed the baſis of the Treaty of Amiens, it may be ſaid that the latter was tried by anticipation. Let us now examine whether it does not ſecure ſome *new advantages* † to France and her allies; whether it does not contain certain great features ſufficient to render it remarkable in hiſtory.

" The French were juſtly alarmed at what was due to England for advances made for the maintenance of more than 20,000 priſoners. The 2d article of the Treaty of Amiens *diminiſhes the debt of France*. It is agreed that in the account of the reſpective advances ſhall be ſtated not only the expenſes of all the priſoners of the two nations, but alſo thoſe of the foreign troops which, before being taken priſoners, were in the pay and at the diſpoſal of either of the contracting parties. Thus the expenſes laid out upon the 7,000 priſoners given back to Ruſſia *will be ſtated in deduction from that which France owes to England* ‡. The 7th article ſecures to France in Guiana *an aggrandizement which the 6th article of the Preliminaries left at leaſt doubtful*, as that article guaranteed to Portugal *the integrity of her poſſeſſions* §.

" In the conditions relative to Malta, that important fortreſs, which the friends of England had ſo often aſſigned to her, *every thing is favourable to France* both in the proviſional regulations and the definitive arrangements. *As long as the iſland is Neapolitan it will be French*; and to make it ceaſe to be ſo will require the concurrence of all the great powers. If at one day the Malteſe *Langue* ſhould become dominant, the poſition, the wants, the temper, the nature of that Langue would *bring it under the influence of the French Government* ‖.

" Such then are ſeveral poſitive conventions which render the Treaty preferable in point of advantage for France to the preliminaries. But it is not what the Treaty expreſſes that is moſt advantageous; it is particularly what it *does not* expreſs which ought to form the *ſubject of joy to the French and their allies*.

" In all former negotiations England had inſiſted on the renewal of ancient treaties, aſcending upwards as far as that of Weſtphalia. With a ſcrupulous attention did ſhe always enumerate them, date by date, and alſo give them new force. Every body knows that almoſt all thoſe Treaties were onerous to the maritime powers of the Continent, and that they even contained ſtipulations humiliating for the allies of France. There were coaſts on which the Dutch were obliged, in ſign of ſubmiſſion, to lower their flag to that of England. This ſhameful homage had never been conteſted without producing a war. The reigns of Cromwell and Charles II. afford examples of this truth. *This ſpecies of vaſſalage is aboliſhed* *; and what is more important to commerce, the abrogation of ancient Treaties has removed the fatiguing inconveniencies which they occaſioned to France and her allies in their navigation, in the adminiſtration of their colonies, in their whole commercial ſyſtem.

" If it were neceſſary to give an idea of the conſtraint impoſed by theſe Treaties on the ſtates which then received the law from England, it would be ſufficient to ſtate thoſe of 1667 and 1670 *between that power and Spain*. It would then be ſeen how greatly the navigation of the Engliſh was favoured, how greatly the authority of the power with which they traded was limited as to the controul of its own cuſtoms and duties. If we were, then, to compare the advantages enjoyed by the Engliſh in their relations with the continental powers, with the difficulties oppoſed to the latter by the famous Act of Navigation, we ſhould not any longer be ſurpriſed at the degradation into which their marine had fallen even before the war. We ſhould be rather aſtoniſhed that the Engliſh navy had not borne down every thing.

" The Treaty of Amiens removes all irregularity, all oppreſſion, all reſtraint. *The old law is deſtroyed*; *a new public law commences* †. The French and their allies have gained their naval independence: they will have the ſenſe to make uſe of it; *they will not fall into the ſnare of a new Treaty of Commerce* ‡; and they may one day have *their* Act of Navigation!

" It is *this* which diſtinguiſhes the Treaty of Amiens from all the old tranſactions of the ſame kind. It is

* See Mr. Cobbett's Letters to Lord Hawkeſbury on the Preliminaries of Peace.
† See Regiſter, p. 345, &c.
‡ See Regiſter, p. 345, 346, &c.
§ See Regiſter, p. 427, &c. with a map.
‖ See Regiſter, p. 353, 354, &c.

* See Regiſter, p. 502.
† See Regiſter, p. 346.
‡ See Regiſter, p. 399 and 400. Dr. Laurence's Speech, p. 231 and 232. Extracts from Hauterive, p. 234, 235, 236.

this that would render it *so advantageous for France*, even though it did not *put the last seal to that increase of Continental power, which renders her so formidable, and which already obliges England to swell her expenditure by augmenting her militia* *.

"There are likewise other features which characterize the Treaty of Amiens, and which will serve to signalize the present epoch. The new constitution of Malta, happy for France, as I have already remarked, is of itself a political phenomenon, which doubtless would excite much astonishment, if the faculty of astonishment were not in some sort worn out. It is an alliance of aristocracy and democracy, of ancient opinions and of new ideas, of chivalry and philosophy. It is a coalition of two political systems, which had kindled the most cruel war, just as, in the Treaty of Westphalia, we see an accommodation between two religions which had been the provocation or the pretext for long and fatal dissensions. If some years ago there had been a state whose chivalrous spirit could have been supposed capable of excluding all access to the revolutionary principle, Malta would, beyond all doubt, have been pitched upon as that state: and yet it is at Malta, that the revolutionary spirit establishes itself after it is weakened every where else! . . . . To add to the whimsical air of these combinations, *England has contributed, as well as France, to maintain it there.* It appears certain at least, that having received from the inhabitants of Malta several plans of a Republic, the English have given effect to the propositions of these islanders in the Treaty of Amiens. *Thus democratic principles have found protection from the power that went to war to oppose them* ‡!"

Now, my lord, I will not tantalize you with enumerating all the points of comparison and of perfect coincidence between what is here stated by the French and what has before been stated, in the letters and other writings, to which I have referred in the notes; I cannot, however, refrain from making a particular reference to one passage of the observations above quoted, because it at once clears up a point, of great importance, with respect to which your lordship, from the newspaper reports of your late speeches, seem to entertain some doubt.

Those who were weak enough to regard peace as the means of an increase of trade, those who were base enough to approve of any peace that produced this effect, form, as your lordship well knows, the most numerous and most powerful part of your adherents. When, therefore, the Definitive Treaty came, without whispering a word about commercial treaties with the powers, with whom we had made that treaty, and with whom we formerly carried on so extensive and so profitable a trade, the selfish sons of traffic began to look aghast. To avoid, however, the loss of the trusty clan, one of your blundering partizans represented your lordship as having said, that treaties of commerce were of *no use*; but this having rather added to than diminished the alarm, your lordship, by way of explanation, observed, that you had not made use of such words; that you thought, indeed, commercial treaties not of so much importance as had been attached to them, but that, you had never gone so far as to say they were of no use whatever. Fearing that this declaration might be insufficient, you further stated, that "it was natural "that the government of France, after "such a revolution as that country had "experienced, must wish for *time to consider* upon what footing the trade of the "two countries ought to be placed, before "they entered into any commercial arrangements: and, that those who were "the best acquainted with the commercial interest of this country, would think "that it would have been better not to "have *suspended the negotiation*, in order to "have arranged a treaty of commerce. It "undoubtedly was much more beneficial "to this country to leave that as a matter "for *subsequent arrangement*. This was the "ground upon which the present question "now rested, and *not upon any indisposition "communicated by France to enter into such a "treaty*."—This explanation was received, in the city, with great pleasure. "O, oh!" said the peace loving people of Lombard Street, "it is matter for *subsequent arrange*"ment. Yes, yes, it was so, indeed; it "was much better not to *suspend the nego*"tiation." But, my lord, was this explanation of yours quite candid? Not that I blame your lordship for sporting with the greedy anxiety of these people; but, my lord, between ourselves here at the west end of the town, was it not trifling a little too much to affect a belief, that treaties of commerce, between us and the opposite contracting parties, would become matter of subsequent arrangement? I have a great opinion of your lordship's simplicity; but, did you in good sooth believe, that the French wanted "*time to consider* upon what "footing the trade of the two countries

* See Cobbett's Letters on the Preliminaries of Peace.

‡ See Register, p. 357.

" ought to be placed?" They wanted no time to consider of this matter with respect to Russia, Portugal, Turkey, and fourteen other powers *, with whom, within these eight years, they have made treaties of peace, all containing commercial stipulations, and not a few of which treaties were signed upon the drum-head. *Time*, my lord! they want no time to consider of any thing, much less of those things, which may affect the interest or honour of England. They have wanted no time to make such arrangements as shall sap our commercial and maritime greatness. They have, for themselves, entered into trading stipulations with all the world; they have treaties of commerce with emperors, kings, princes, the pope, aristocracies, and democracies; with Catholics, Protestants, Mahometans, and Pagans; with the civilized and the savage; with all nations, peoples, kindreds, and tongues, from the successor of the Cæsars to the wandering chiefs of the Illinois.

But, my lord, if it were possible that you should have really entertained any hope of a commercial treaty being hereafter made between England and the other parties to the treaty of Amiens; if it were possible for your lordship to found such a hope on the mere circumstance of France not having COMMUNICATED " *any indisposition to enter* " *into such a treaty*," that hope, together with the consolation which it poured into the anxious bosoms of the patriots upon 'Change, is now completely baffled by the declaration contained in the article above quoted. " *They*" [the powers of Europe] " *will not fall into the* SNARE *of a new* " *treaty of commerce*" with England! No, my lord, they will not again fall into our *snare*; they will be well taken care of; France will be unto them a nursing father and a nursing mother. We have, I repeat it, left them at her mercy; and it would be presumption, greater even than our " capital, credit, and confidence," would warrant, for us to hope, that they will make any sacrifice for the purpose of preserving our riches and our power. France has now under her absolute controul all the powers of Europe, with whom we formerly traded to advantage. From the mouth of the Baltic to the Gulf of Venice there is not a single port, from which we shall not be excluded, and very few from which we are not excluded already. And, my lord, I beg you not to rely on a continuation of our trade with the American States. That market has been greatly diminished by the peace, and, I shall be most agreeably surprised, if, within these two years, it be not completely cut off. Similar causes produce similar effects: Spain and Holland have purchased peace, and, indeed, security, by breaking off their connexion with England, by shutting their ports against English commerce; and, be you well assured, my lord, that the Americans will follow their example, the necessity of doing which you have created by giving France the command of a considerable portion of their territory and population. I wish not to check your smiles, my lord; there is a time for every thing, and the time to weep will come soon enough.

I am,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most humble
and most obedient Servant,
Wm. Cobbett.

Pall Mall, May 5, 1802.

* See Register, p. 481, which contains extracts from *thirteen* Treaties, made between France and other powers, all containing commercial stipulations.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

The House of Lords met on the 26th of April, but nothing of consequence was done either on that or the two succeeding days. —On Thursday (April 29), *Lord Pelham* laid before the House of Peers, copies of the Definitive Treaty of Peace between His Britannic Majesty and the French Republic, His Catholic Majesty, and the Batavian Republic. They were ordered to lie on the table. After a short pause, *Lord Grenville* rose, and declared, that as no notice had been given of any motion on the subject, he felt it his duty to move that the treaty should be taken into consideration on Tuesday next, and that their lordships should be summoned for that day. The noble lord was followed by *Lord Auckland*, who agreed with him as to the magnitude and importance of the question to be agitated. There was one point, he said, which was of itself of sufficient consequence to merit a serious and separate discussion. This was the non-renewal of ancient treaties. He had particularly in his view the convention of 1787, by which, not only the British commercial interest in Europe, but the safety of our possessions in India,

were moſt ſeriouſly affected. If the noble lord had no particular reaſon for fixing his motion on Tueſday, he could wiſh that it were poſtponed to a later day; but if that were not poſſible, he ſhould fix for Monday the motion he himſelf intended to make. *Lord Grenville* declining to alter the day, ſome converſation took place between *Lords Grenville*, *Pelham*, *Hobart*, and *Auckland*, which terminated in the latter conſenting to poſtpone his motion till Thurſday. In the courſe of the converſation, *Lord Hobart* declared that he had no heſitation in ſaying, that, if the French ſhould advance pretenſions, they would be founded on the arguments of the noble lord who ſpoke firſt in the debate.

Nothing particular occurred in the Houſe either on Friday or Monday.

On Tueſday (May 4), *Lord Grenville* brought forward the motion, of which he had given notice the preceding Thurſday. The ſpeech of his lordſhip was long, animated, and full of argument. It occupied nearly two hours and a half. He began by declaring, that, from the period of communicating the preliminary articles, to that of completing the definitive treaty, he had forborne from troubling the Houſe, being unwilling to do any thing that might even wear the ſemblance of embarraſſing the negotiation. The work was now completed, and he would enter upon its examination. With what ſentiments their lordſhips had peruſed the definitive treaty; how far they thought it departed from, or coincided with, the preliminary articles, he would not preſume to conjecture. To him it appeared to depart from them moſt obviouſly and moſt importantly. It could excite in his breaſt no feelings but thoſe of diſguſt, of regret and humiliation. It preſented to the world, on the very firſt view, the picture of national honour ſacrificed, of national good faith broken. We might in vain boaſt of capital, credit, and commerce, if the ſoul of them were wanting; if our national good faith were gone. Other loſſes might be repaired; that was irretrievable. Theſe reflections it was impoſſible for him not to make, on viewing the treaty, as it regarded our allies; that, therefore, ſhould be the firſt point to which he would call the attention of the Houſe. How had we acted with reſpect to Portugal? By the preliminaries, we were to maintain the integrity of her poſſeſſions. Inſtead of this, we had, by the definitive treaty, confirmed the ceſſion of her territory to Spain, and, what was of far more importance, had given to France new boundaries in Guiana, which would enable her with eaſe to attain in that country any objects of her ambition. Theſe new boundaries gave to France the command of the Amazons, of the Portugueſe Brazilian commerce, and of an Eaſt-India navigation in time of war. By the treaty of Madrid, which this treaty had ſanctioned, the Methuen treaty was entirely done away. Let us now turn to another ally, the Prince of Orange. He too had been moſt ſhamefully abandoned. So old, ſo faithful an ally, we were bound by every tie of juſtice and honour to have ſecured from all loſs. But this had not been regarded. The territorial and perſonal property of the houſe of Orange was immenſe. The whole had been confiſcated, becauſe the Prince of Orange had performed his duty. We had, indeed, in highly objectionable language, ſtipulated for his indemnification, but had omitted to notice when, how, or by whom, this indemnification was to be furniſhed. It was ſcarcely neceſſary to mention the juggle that was inſtantly performed; he meant the article by which France exonerated Holland from ſupplying any part of the ſtipulated indemnification. He would now, he ſaid, call the attention of the Houſe to another part of the treaty. And firſt, of the Cape of Good Hope. By a ſomething called economy, this valuable poſſeſſion had been ſurrendered to the enemy. It was at firſt ſuppoſed that the Cape would be made a free port. That idea ſeemed now to be relinquiſhed, as the Cape was given to the Batavian Republic in full ſovereignty. In periods of war, this ceſſion would be felt ſeverely. France and her allies could have ſix ſhips there, while England could have but two. We ſhould, therefore, be obliged to maintain a fleet of from twenty-four to thirty ſail in the Indian Seas to place us on an equality with France and her allies. Yet the Cape was reſigned on a principle of economy. The noble lord then turned to the article which regarded Malta. Entering at conſiderable length into the hiſtory of the Order, its qualifications, and the ſources of its revenue, he contended that the Order was now degraded, that great part of its eſtates out of the Iſland was confiſcated, and that the remainder would ſoon ſhare the ſame fate. Nothing then was left for the ſupport of the grand-maſter, and the civil, charitable, and military eſtabliſhments of the Order, but the commercial and territorial revenues of the iſland, which did not exceed £30,000. To have ſecured the independence of the

iſland, it ſhould have been placed under the guarantee of Ruſſia. Inſtead of this, it was confided to the care of Naples. This was, in effect, to give it to France; and we had the ſanction of the French government itſelf for ſaying ſo. In a paper publiſhed under the eye of that government, we had been told, that, "as long as the iſland of Malta "was Neapolitan, it would be French." We might then fairly conclude that all our hopes of rendering the iſland independent had completely failed. The loſſes of Engliſh creditors in the French funds, by the confiſcation of two-thirds of French funded property; the ſtipulations relative to the inhabitants of the ceded countries; and thoſe which concerned the payment of expenſes incurred by priſoners of war, were next commented upon by the noble lord. By the preſent treaty, no proviſion, he urged, was made for enforcing the claims of Britiſh creditors; the inhabitants of the ceded countries were abandoned; and, by the article which related to priſoners, we were made to pay for clothing and arming the Ruſſian troops againſt ourſelves. But the circumſtance which appeared to him more fraught with danger than any he had inſiſted upon, was yet to mention. It was the non-renewal of ancient treaties: a principle equally new and dangerous. By this non-renewal, we had, in truth, aboliſhed the old public law. This France had told us in the paper he before quoted; ſhe had there ſaid: "The old law is de-"ſtroyed, a new public law commences." By this non-renewal, the gum trade and right of cutting logwood would be injured or loſt; the ſafety of our Eaſt-Indian poſſeſſions endangered, and the honour of the Britiſh flag impaired. This point was, he contended, of ſuch vaſt importance, that even now ſome explanation ought to take place with France upon it, before Malta, the Cape, and other conqueſts were ſurrendered. His lordſhip then entered into a review of the recent acquiſitions made by France on the continents of Europe and America. To indemnify us for her acquiſitions in America, we ought to have aſked at leaſt for Martinique; but what was to compenſate us for the dominion of Italy gained by her ſince ſigning the preliminaries, and without our attempting to ſtipulate for an equivalent? The noble lord concluded by moving that the Houſe ſhould take the definitive treaty into conſideration on Friday ſe'nnight.

The noble lord was followed by *Lord Pelham*, who, touching very ſlightly on ſome of the articles urged by *Lord Grenville*, declared that he ſhould reſerve his anſwers till the day on which the queſtion would be debated. That day, he thought, ſhould not be delayed, and he would therefore propoſe Tueſday or Wedneſday inſtead of the day moved by the noble lord. With regard to the non-renewal of treaties, he avowed that the definitive treaty would have given him more pleaſure, had it revived the old treaties: his Majeſty's miniſters, however, had made as good conditions as they were able, under the ſituation and circumſtances of the contracting powers; and, inadequate as ſome of the conditions might be held to be, he flattered himſelf that, could the ſenſe of the people be taken, they would rather have the peace, ſuch as it was, than a continuance of the war. The treaty was alſo defended by the *Lord Chancellor*, *Lord Thurlow*, and *Lord Auckland*; the latter of whom pledged himſelf to prove that our Indian rights could not be injured by the omiſſion to renew ancient treaties. The treaty was ſtrongly objected to by the *Earl of Carliſle*. After ſome converſation, the amendment, that the treaty be taken into conſideration on Wedneſday ſe'nnight, was put and carried. On the motion of *Lord Auckland*, the order for ſummoning their lordſhips on Thurſday was diſcharged.

On Wedneſday, after the bills on the table had paſſed a ſtage each, *Earl Spencer* roſe to give notice that he ſhould bring forward on Friday, a motion for certain papers relative to the iſland of Malta. The order of the day was then moved and read, upon which the *Earl of Carliſle* roſe, in conſequence of the notice given by him on the preceding evening. He commenced by diſclaiming in the ſtrongeſt manner all motives of perſonal pique in the motion that he had now to bring forward. Several of the members of adminiſtration, he profeſſed himſelf willing to acknowledge, were men of talents, but his original objection to them had been that they were untried men, and he had feared, what the event of the negotiation had too fatally proved, that the circumſtances of the country were not ſuch as to admit the experiment of forming an adminiſtration from untried men. In the converſation of the preceding day a ſtain had been caſt on the honour of the country, which ought to be immediately wiped out, if poſſible. He alluded to the Prince of Orange, who, after loſing, in the cauſe of this country, his official dignity and his private fortune, had been abandoned

in the concluſion of the definitive treaty. It was his ſteady adherence to his treaties with this country, that had cauſed him to be plundered, and it was, therefore, incumbent upon this country not to loſe a moment in enforcing for him an adequate compenſation. What ſecurity did we poſſeſs for the performance of the 18th article of the definitive treaty in favour of the Prince of Orange? It was well known that the miniſters of Holland and France had, the very moment after ſigning the treaty, ſigned a convention, by which Holland was to be guaranteed from paying any part of the indemnification. His lordſhip then read and commented upon the convention, and concluded by moving an addreſs, requeſting his Majeſty to give orders that a copy of it ſhould be laid before the Houſe.

On *Lord Pelham* replying that no ſuch communication as was alluded to, nor any notification of it, had been received by his Majeſty's miniſters, the *Earl of Carliſle* expreſſed his ſurpriſe that the proper perſon at Paris had not been inſtructed to demand a copy. The noble negotiator of Great-Britain alſo ought to have been inſtructed to obtain a more ſatisfactory article than that which now related to the Prince of Orange. Had the noble marquis been apprized of the ſecret convention, he felt confident he would not have ſuffered the Britiſh honour to be ſtained by a deſertion of the Stadtholder and his adherents. This called up the *Marquis Cornwallis*, who declared his belief that there was no ground to doubt that the 18th article would be fulfilled. A long and deſultory converſation then took place between the *Lord Chancellor*, *Lords Grenville*, *Auckland*, *Holland*, and *Hobart*, the *Earls of Carliſle* and *Roſslyn*, and *Earl Spencer*. The conduct of miniſters was defended by *Lord Pelham* and the *Lord Chancellor*, and objected to by *Lord Auckland* and the other noble lords before mentioned. The motion of *Lord Carliſle* was at length withdrawn.

On Wedneſday (April 21), the Houſe of Commons met, for the firſt time after the holidays. The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, after ſome trifling buſineſs had been diſpatched, moved the order of the day, for the Houſe to reſolve itſelf into a committee on the bill for continuing the reſtriction upon payments in caſh at the Bank. In a long ſpeech, the right hon. gentleman retraced the arguments which he had uſed on a former day. The meaſure, he urged, was one of neceſſity. The only doubt which could ariſe, was, upon the time to which the reſtriction ſhould be extended. It was his intention to move that it ſhould be continued till the 1ſt of March 1803. In the courſe of this time, it might be hoped that the courſe of exchange would be favourable, that the commercial relations of foreign ſtates would find their proper level, and that we ſhould begin to feel all the advantages of our export trade, which had long been, as it were, at a ſtand. Some obſervations were made on the motion by *Mr. Tierney* and *Mr. M. A. Taylor*. It was then put, and carried. *Mr. Corry* then gave notice that he ſhould move for leave to bring in a bill for continuing the reſtriction on the Bank of Ireland.

No buſineſs of importance came before the Houſe on the following days. The bills before it were forwarded in their reſpective ſtages, and ſeveral petitions were preſented. On Thurſday, leave was given to *Mr. Corry* to bring in a bill for continuing the reſtriction upon the Bank of Ireland.

On Monday (April 26), the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved for leave to bring in a bill for regulating the ſale of the land-tax. The objects of this bill he ſtated to be, the prolongation of the term fixed for the ſale of the land-tax, the repeal of a clauſe which conferred on proprietors the right of re-purchaſing their land-tax at a future period, and the adoption of more expeditious meaſures for the ſale of the land-tax. Leave was given to bring in the bill. Leave was alſo given to *Mr. M. A. Taylor* to bring in a bill for amending the regulations of the committees appointed to decide on conteſted elections.

On the queſtion for continuing the reſtriction upon the Bank of Ireland, ſome difference of opinion aroſe. It was ſtated by *Mr. Vandeleur* and *Mr. Thornton*, that by the reſtriction on the Bank of Ireland a ſpirit of banking and of ſpeculation had been created, which was highly injurious to that country; that paper was there allowed to be iſſued for ſilver, and that, in conſequence of this, notes were iſſued from eight ſhillings down to ſixpence; the effect of which had been that ſcarce a ſixpence was to be found; and that many poor people were reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs by the failure of thoſe who had iſſued the paper. Some meaſure of precaution, therefore, ought to be adopted. To this it was replied by *Mr. Corry*, that the courſe of exchange depended only upon the largeneſs or ſmallneſs of the remittances made into a country from other ſtates; and though it was, at preſent, againſt Ireland,

yet it might reaſonably be hoped that the revival of the linen manufacture, and the export of corn from the late abundant harveſt, would ſoon turn its courſe. That the paper circulation of Ireland had been ſo great was to be lamented, but he hoped that a check would be given to it, by ſome conſiderable failures which had happened. Theſe failures, though diſtreſsful to individuals, would probably ſerve as a general leſſon to all parties, and, therefore, he thought it would be better to leave the matter to itſelf. The bill was then read a ſecond time, and committed for the next day.

A debate of ſome length and importance took place the next day on the motion of the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, that the Houſe ſhould go into a committee on the bill for continuing the tonnage, import and export duties. The motion was oppoſed in a long and able ſpeech by *General Gaſcoyne*, member for Liverpool. Declaring, that the ſyſtem under conſideration would be productive of the worſt conſequences to our trade, he urged that the duties were rendered ſtill more oppreſſive to England, by an exemption having been granted to the Iriſh merchant: which exemption would enable the Iriſh to underſell the Engliſh merchant very conſiderably.

By the preſent bill the impoſts upon ſome articles would be greater than the freight, and the export of many would be checked. Tallow and rock ſalt were inſtances of this. The latter, in particular, was a great article of export from the place he had the honour to repreſent, but, by this bill, the exportation would be materially diminiſhed. Already thirty out of every hundred ſhips belonging to that port were lying idle. In this ſituation our ſailors would be obliged to enter into the ſervice of other countries. There was another alſo, and a powerful conſideration to be urged againſt the bill: it was, that there were at this moment four foreign to one Britiſh veſſel employed in the exports and imports of the country. This, which was a conſiderable evil, would be increaſed by the preſent meaſure, which would operate as a double impoſt on the ſhipping of this country, for it would not only be a heavy burden upon their tonnage in exports and imports, but upon the raw materials of which they were made. In concluſion, the hon. member reverted to the exemption granted to Ireland, and hoped that it would be done away, and the impoſt regulated on a footing of equality.

The meaſure was alſo oppoſed by *Sir Robert Peele*, *Lord Sheffield*, *Mr. Burdon*, *Mr. Dent*, and *Dr. Laurence*. It was urged that, however proper a duty of this kind might be during a war in which we had no competition to dread, it was manifeſtly impolitic at a time when we could only contend in the market, with other nations, by means of ſuperior merit and cheapneſs. The tax now propoſed muſt be levied by the manufacturer on the purchaſer, the conſequence of which would be that other nations, burdened with no tax of the kind, would be able to manufacture cheaper. With regard to ſhipping, though every neceſſary article was extremely high, yet the price had fallen thirty per cent. In the eaſtern ports the duty would be moſt heavily felt, as the ſhips belonging to them made ſeveral voyages in a year, and would therefore be ſubject to the payment of the duty ſeveral times over, while ſhips going longer voyages would only pay once. *Dr. Laurence*, in particular, went at ſome length into the objections againſt the meaſure. In addition to what had been before advanced, he pointed out, among others, the duty on naval ſtores as highly injudicious, and likely to be productive of great injury to this country.

The lead in defending the meaſure was taken by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, who, in a ſpeech of ſome length, replied to the objections of *General Gaſcoyne*. Regretting that the principle of the meaſure ſhould be objected to by the repreſentative of a great commercial place, he declared that he could not agree with the hon. member. However government might wiſh that the neceſſary burdens ſhould preſs as lightly as poſſible on the people, thoſe burdens muſt be borne. The convoy duty was impoſed not merely to defray the expence of convoy, but becauſe it was thought that the commercial part of the community having been great gainers by the war, ought to contribute to its ſupport. The duty had been cheerfully acquieſced in for three years, and as circumſtances had not changed, it was to be expected that the continuance of the tax would meet with approbation. The right honourable gentleman entered into a calculation to prove that our tonnage and exports and imports had increaſed during the war, and that they had not been injured by the operation of the tax. From this he drew an inference that the continuance of the tax could not be injurious. As to the danger of being

rivalled by foreign nations, he declared that he did not think it was to be apprehended. He relied on Britiſh capital and credit. With regard to the employment of foreign veſſels, it had ariſen, he ſaid, from the great extenſion of our commerce. That the export trade now experienced a ſtagnation, was true; but this aroſe from merchants rather chooſing to wait till the regular routes were opened, than to ſend their goods by circuitous ones. He concluded by declaring that it was his intention to move ſome modifications in the committee, and expreſſing a hope that the Houſe would not be led to abandon a meaſure of great utility, by objections more ſpecious than ſolid.

He was followed on nearly the ſame grounds by *Mr. Corry*, *Mr. W. Dundas*, *Lord Caſtlereagh*, *Lord Hawkeſbury*, and the *Attorney General*. The Houſe then went into a committee. Several amendments were propoſed by *Mr. Vanſittart*, and received. After ſome converſation, the Chairman quitted the chair, and the report was ordered to be received on the next day.

Little was done the next day (Wedneſday) in the Houſe. Some bills were forwarded, and leave given to bring in others. The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then roſe, and ſtated to the Houſe, that in conſequence of the diſſatisfaction which had been manifeſted at the ſuppoſed partiality ſhewn to Ireland, in the export and import bill, it was the intention of an hon. friend of his, when the Iriſh ways and means came to be conſidered, to move that Ireland ſhould be charged with the ſame duty on exports as Great-Britain. The amendments were received, and the bill ordered to be read a third time to-morrow.

The only circumſtance of importance that took place in the Houſe of Commons on Thurſday (April 29), was the bringing up a copy of the Definitive Treaty by *Lord Hawkeſbury*. In laying it before the Houſe, the noble lord declared, that it was not the intention of government to make any motion upon the ſubject. It was competent for any member ſo to do, and he had reaſon to believe that ſomething of that ſort was intended. He would only ſay, that miniſters, whenever the treaty was diſcuſſed, were ready to come forward and ſtate fully and explicitly the grounds which induced them to adviſe his Majeſty to ſign it. At the ſame time he muſt deprecate any diſcuſſion which did not bring the whole matter at once before the Houſe. Such a diſcuſſion he called for, and any thing ſhort of it he ſhould conſider as not fair or liberal. *Mr. Windham* then roſe, and, briefly noticing what had fallen from the noble lord, declared that he ſhould propoſe Monday next, not as a day for debating the queſtion, but merely to explain the grounds on which ſome future day ſhould be fixed for the diſcuſſion. The queſtion was then put and carried.

On Friday, ſome previous buſineſs having been diſpatched, the Houſe, on the motion of the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, reſolved itſelf into a committee of ways and means. The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then proceeded to ſtate to the committee the contract which had been made for the lottery of the preſent year. The principle upon which it was made he declared to be that of procuring the greateſt poſſible benefit to the revenue, with the leaſt injury to the public morals. The practice of low inſuring had been found of the moſt miſchievous tendency. The preſent lottery was ſo ordered as in a great degree to get rid of that evil. It was propoſed to have three lotteries within the year, each of which ſhould be drawn within eight days. It was alſo propoſed to conſolidate the Iriſh lottery with the Engliſh. The profit on this contract would amount to £555,000; two-thirds of which were appropriated to Great-Britain, and the remainder to Ireland. He concluded by moving, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the ſum of £1,455,000 be raiſed by three lotteries. After ſome obſervations the motion was agreed to, and the number of tickets fixed at one hundred thouſand. A long converſation then took place on the bill for the better regulation of the Iriſh linen manufacture. On the ground that a large quantity of flax ſeed imported into Ireland, and which was unfit for uſe, had been branded by the collectors as good, it was propoſed to take the duty out of the hands of the collectors, and place it in thoſe of a perſon appointed by the linen board. This was oppoſed by ſeveral members. A committee was at laſt, on the ſuggeſtion of the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, appointed to conſider ſo much of the Iriſh acts, reſpecting the linen manufacture, as related to the importation of flax ſeed into Ireland.

On Monday (May 3), *Mr. Windham* brought forward his motion for fixing a day to take into conſideration the defini-

tive treaty. He prefaced this long and eloquent ſpeech by obſerving, that it was not now his intention to ſolicit the final deciſion of the Houſe on the merits of the treaty: It was merely his intention to move a day for that purpoſe. Miniſters had not thought proper to make any motion on the ſubject, on the ground that the preliminary articles having been approved, there was no reaſon for diſcuſſing the definitive treaty. To this reaſoning he certainly could not agree. They had likewiſe expreſſed a hope, that, ſhould there be a diſcuſſion, it might be a full and fair, not a partial, one. If by this was meant that the ſubject ſhould be diſcuſſed in all its different relations, he concurred entirely with them; but if it was meant that the whole was to be debated on one day, he muſt ſay that it was not doing juſtice to a queſtion of ſo great magnitude. In conſidering the ſubject before him, he ſhould take it under four points of view. Firſt, circumſtances exiſting, but unknown to this country at the ſigning of the preliminaries. Secondly, thoſe which took place in the interval between the ſigning of the preliminaries and the definitive treaty. Thirdly, the variations in the definitive from the preliminary treaty; and, fourthly, thoſe points in the definitive treaty which did not exiſt in the preliminaries. The firſt claſs might be divided into three heads: the ceſſion of the iſland of Elba, the limits of Guiana, and the ceſſion of Louiſiana. With reſpect to the value of Elba, as an excellent ſtation and impregnable fortreſs, he would forbear to enlarge upon it till the neceſſary papers were before the Houſe. He would only ſpeak to the manner in which it was obtained, which was by the moſt diſgraceful tricking and chicanery. At the time of our ſtipulating to reſtore it, we believed that it was to belong to the King of Etruria, while the French, at the ſame time, had obtained the ceſſion of it to themſelves. The next ſtep in the climax of fraud was the new boundaries of Guiana. We had ſtipulated for the integrity of Portugal, which by this article was groſsly violated. We, it was true, obtained a ſmall alteration of the limits; but this was only one fraud exchanged for another; the danger remained the ſame. The third and moſt important head was the ceſſion of Louiſiana. By this ceſſion, America, on the North, was laid at the feet of France.—On the South, France had no limits but her will, and the whole treaſures of the new world muſt flow into her hands. There was not one of theſe articles which did not call for the reviſion of the preliminaries, and cancel the obligation of abiding by them.

In the ſecond diviſion the eſtabliſhment of the Italian Republic, and the ſailing of the French armament to the Weſt-Indies, were the only circumſtances to be noticed, but they were, indeed, of a moſt important nature. With regard to the firſt point, he would ſay, that, if ſuch a ſituation of things had happened, without the interference of either party, the preliminaries might fairly be conſidered as done away. But what ſhould be ſaid when that act was the act of one of the contracting parties? What muſt Auſtria feel when ſhe ſaw thoſe territories which ſhe might have looked upon as a barrier againſt France, now converted into the means of force to be uſed againſt her? As to the ſailing of the French armament, though bearing leſs upon the preſent queſtion, it was a matter of ſerious importance, and might become one of ſerious enquiry. No one could deny that, by the mode in which we had acted, we were giving before the concluſion of peace, a helping hand to what we had ſacrificed ſo many lives, and ſpent ſo many millions, to deſtroy. By this armament our ſituation in the Weſt-Indies was materially altered, and the French power was eſtabliſhed much ſooner than it would otherwiſe have been.—On the third head, the article reſpecting priſoners was firſt to be noticed. A large debt was due from France for the maintenance of her priſoners. This debt we had not the courage to demand, and ſome mode was to be found of getting rid of it. The expedient, therefore, was to ſet off the expenſes of the maintenance of priſoners taken from our allies: that is, we were to pay for the clothing and ſupporting of thoſe Ruſſian priſoners, whoſe good treatment was the lure uſed to draw their ſovereign from our alliance. Malta was the next point touched upon by the hon. gentleman, who urged nearly the ſame arguments which have before been ſtated as uſed by *Lord Grenville* in the other Houſe. By the ſtipulations, he added, of the treaty, we were peremptorily to evacuate the iſland in three months; another clauſe enjoined that it ſhould be delivered up, but made no mention of the Order. As to the neutrality of the iſland, which was ſaid to be *proclaimed*, it was doubtful what ſpecies of neutrality was meant. If the word was to be taken

in its common acceptation, reckoning Holland and Spain her allies, France might have eighteen ships there to our six. The Cape of Good Hope had, the hon. gentleman said, been ceded to Holland in "full sovereignty," and it was not to be supposed that these were mere idle words. Nothing, in effect, could hinder Holland from making it over to France the instant she had received it.—Of the fourth and last division, the object of greatest moment was, the total neglect to renew all former treaties. By this step the treaties of 1783 and 1787, which related to the East-Indies, were given up, and all our rights placed merely upon their original foundation. What the claims of the French were, and how they had pursued them before those treaties, was well known. It was not to be believed that the French would be less backward now, than they had been, in asserting their claims. Perhaps the first news we might hear from India would be, that those claims were to be brought to issue in the field of battle. This was an object of such magnitude, that the probable loss of the gum trade, and right to cut logwood, could hardly excite our attention. Among the points next to be considered was the shameful desertion of the House of Orange. We had, indeed, stipulated an indemnification for the Stadtholder, but without troubling ourselves when, or from whence, it was to come. The sequel of that stipulation was well known. It was not thus that France had treated her allies; she had extended her protection to the very meanest of those who had joined her cause.—Were there any voucher wanting for the truth of his statements, it might be found, the hon. gentleman said, in a French paper just received. There all he had urged was avowed in plain terms. Under these circumstances he thought that time ought to be allowed for the proper contemplation of the subject, and should therefore move that the definitive treaty be taken into consideration on the 18th instant.

On the motion being put, the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* rose in answer to *Mr. Windham*. It was not, he said, necessary for him, at this moment, to enter into a detailed refutation of the arguments advanced by the hon. member, but he would, however, slightly touch upon some of them. Of the island of Elba he should only say, that the concessions concerning it were made by a sovereign power, fully competent to the act, and that this could not be considered as a circumstance which ought to induce the rupture of the negotiation. Much stress had also been laid on the cessions made in Portuguese Guiana; but to this he should only reply, that Portugal had declared herself fortunate in obtaining terms so favourable. That the possession of Louisiana by France was a matter of regret no one could deny, but he could not agree that this possession laid America at the feet of France, as France, without it, might have made herself formidable to either North or South America. With regard to the Italian Republic, no disposition had appeared in the powers of Europe to show disapprobation: on the contrary, they had sanctioned those very proceedings that so much alarmed his right hon. friends. Great stress had been laid on the armament which had sailed to the West-Indies; but could that armament be to us a matter of regret? Was it not of the utmost consequence, even to ourselves, that the black usurpation should be destroyed? On the other points of debate the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* touched in the same manner, and concluded by moving an amendment, that the treaty should be taken into consideration on the 11th instead of the 18th of May. He was supported by *Lord Hawkesbury* and *Mr. Pitt*, and opposed by *Mr. T. Grenville*. The amendment was carried. *Mr. W. Elliot* then gave notice, that he should move on Wednesday for some documents necessary to the elucidation of the definitive treaty.

The next day (Tuesday, May 4), the *Secretary at War* moved for leave to bring in a bill to enable his Majesty to accept the offers of service of the Yeomanry and Volunteer Corps. This gave rise to a conversation between the right hon. mover, *Mr. S. Stanhope*, *Sir W. Young*, and the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*. The question was then put and carried, and leave given to bring in the bill.

On Wednesday Mr. Elliot rose to move for different papers connected with the definitive treaty. The first paper for which he declared his intention of moving was the treaty of Badajos; that between Portugal and Spain by which the town of Olivenza was ceded to the latter power; the second was copies of any conventions or armistices concluded between Portugal and Spain in the year 1801, and communicated to the British Government. These, he urged, it was to be feared contained many commercial stipulations injurious to this country, and one of them was the basis of a treaty by which a great part of Portuguese Guiana was ceded

to France. The hon. gentleman then entered into the importance of the conſequences which might reſult from this ceſſion. By means of the ceded country France controuled the navigation of the Amazons, and the whole wealth of South America lay at her mercy. When the noble lord was preſſed for an explanation on the preſent point, he at leaſt gave one from which it appeared that the *entire* dominions of Portugal meant all of which ſhe had not been deſpoiled. The third paper he ſhould move for was, a copy of any treaty or treaties that might have been entered into between France and Spain during our late negotiation. By a treaty made between theſe two powers France had got poſſeſſion of Louiſiana, by which means ſhe was brought up to the very confines of Canada, and might at any moment ſeparate Kentucky and the Weſtern States, from the United States. By this means France would always keep America dependent upon her, and might draw her into any confederacy againſt our naval greatneſs and the dignity of our flag—if indeed the expreſſion could be uſed after the dignity of our flag had been diſgraced and degraded. The hon. gentleman concluded by moving an addreſs to his Majeſty, requeſting him to be pleaſed to order a copy of the treaty of Badajos to be laid before the Houſe. The hon. gentleman was replied to with ſome degree of aſperity by *Lord Hawkeſbury* who declared that if the hon. gentleman was not diſorderly, he had, at leaſt, adopted a ſtrange mode of proceeding, ſuch as had never before been uſed by an oppoſition, in the height of faction. Gentlemen ſeemed inclined to take the wideſt poſſible range in their preliminary motions. With regard to Portugal, he was ſurpriſed that the Definitive Treaty ſhould be regarded as having departed from the preliminaries. Queſtions had been repeatedly, and rather vexatiouſly put to him, to which he had always replied that the Arowari was to be the boundary between the two Guianas, and that the Treaty of Badajos was in force. No bad faith had been ſhown to our ally. On the contrary, we had not only releaſed her from her engagements, but furniſhed her with a ſum of money. To the firſt motion, the noble lord ſaid, he had no objection; nor to the ſecond, if confined to the Treaty of Madrid; and as to the third, no communication had been made to the Britiſh government. The hon. gentleman had talked of the dignity of our flag being degraded, but he would ſay that nothing could degrade it ſo much as the language of that hon. gentleman. *Dr. Laurence*, after animadverting upon the language of the noble lord, was proceeding to notice the non-renewal of former treaties, but was ſtopped by the *Speaker*, as being out of order. He was at laſt, however, ſuffered to go on, and accuſed the noble lord of having miſrepreſented the ſpeech of his hon. friend relative to the Britiſh flag. It was, he ſaid, the cavils of miniſters only that had degraded its dignity; of thoſe miniſters who had ſurrendered our laſt remaining ſymbol of ſovereignty over the Britiſh ſeas, for which even in the profligate reign of Charles the 2d the nation had engaged in a war. *Lord Temple* and *Mr. T. Grenville* followed on the ſame ſide of the queſtion. *Lord Hawkeſbury* explained that he had not meant to attribute factious motives to the gentleman on the other ſide. After ſome obſervations by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, the firſt and ſecond motions were agreed to, and the third was negatived.

On the motion of *Lord Hawkeſbury* the conſideration of the Definitive Treaty was poſtponed from Tueſday to Wedneſday.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Paris, April 28.—The adminiſtration of the cuſtoms at Liſbon demanded for the introduction of *French cloths,* a duty almoſt double to that paid on Engliſh cloths. C. LAFARGUE, agent of the marine for the exchange of French priſoners at Liſbon, has obtained an equality. The miniſter of foreign relations has given notice of this circumſtance to the merchants, by publiſhing LAFARGUE's letter on that ſubject.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

By referring to our report of the Proceedings in Parliament, it will be perceived, that the members of the legiſlature have, at laſt, awakened from that lethargy, in which they, for ſome time, ſeemed to be ſunk. We long ago obſerved, that the conditions of the Definitive Treaty were ſo widely different from thoſe of the preliminaries, that no perſon, who approved of the latter, was, for that reaſon, bound to approve of the former, and we are happy to perceive, that the ſentiments of many very worthy men concur, in this point, with our own. The ſeveral motions for papers have

given riſe to partial diſcuſſions, and have tended to throw great light on the nature and conſequences of the ſeveral parts of the treaty, previous to the conſideration of the general queſtion. Had all the numerous and various topics of this important tranſaction been crowded into one ſingle diſcuſſion, the Parliament would have been hurried into an approval of that, on which we moſt ſincerely hope and believe they will finally ſet a laſting mark of their reprobation.

While we exult in contemplating the vaſt weight of talents, of experience, of wiſdom, and of character, which is now openly arrayed againſt this ruinous and diſgraceful treaty, we cannot help feeling ſome degree of ſhame at the miſerable reſiſtance oppoſed by his Majeſty's miniſters: in them, however puſillanimous their conduct, however diſaſtrous and diſhonourable its conſequences, we ſtill ſee the ſervants of our King, and, as ſuch, we cannot but bluſh at the expoſure of their imbecility, which is daily and hourly bringing upon us the ridicule and contempt of the world.

The mind of the public keeps pace, in the change which has lately been produced, with the mind of the parliament. The debates are ſought after and read with uncommon intereſt; thoſe who, at firſt, rejoiced at the peace, begin to tremble for its effects, while thoſe, who diſapproved of it, are confirmed in their diſapprobation. The conduct of Mr. Pitt is the ſubject of general converſation, frequently it is a ſubject of cenſure, and univerſally of ſurpriſe. Many perſons imagined it poſſible that he would endeavour to palliate the terms of the treaty, ſome that he would yield it a partial defence, but none that he would defend it *in toto*. What are the hopes of Mr. Pitt, in what part of this ominous tranſaction his enlightened and penetrating mind can diſcover conſolation, it is impoſſible for us to ſay; but, he is now fairly and irrevocably embarked; the wretched adventurers have inveigled him on board their crazy veſſel, and he muſt weather the ſtorm with them, or ſink in the attempt. His reputation is great, his talents are greater, but neither reputation nor talents will long reſiſt the cries and reproaches of a ruined and diſhonoured people.

While we are diſputing about the conſequences of the treaty of Amiens, the French are engaged in the more profitable employment of giving effect to its ſtipulations. They have, as was ſtated in the Regiſter, p. 494, already cut off our portion of the *gum trade*; and, by referring to our Foreign Intelligence, it will be ſeen, that they have demanded and obtained the admiſſion of French cloths into Portugal, upon the ſame terms as the cloths of England. This is, indeed, no more than we had reaſon to expect; but it ſhows how active, how vigilant and prompt they are in whatever has a tendency to promote their grand object, *the deſtruction of our commerce and our maritime power*.

We have no news from St. Domingo. A ſtrong reinforcement for the army there is about to ſail from France, as alſo an armament for Louiſiana. From the United States of America we learn, that a great quantity of proviſions had been ordered for St. Domingo. The French flag was, after an interval of many years, once more ſeen flying in the Delaware, and the tricoloured cockade was once more, thanks to the baſeneſs of England, ſeen in the ſtreets of Philadelphia!

It is ſtated in ſome of the American papers, that Buonaparté is about to propoſe the raiſing of a *loan* in the United States, for the ſervice of France. In this propoſition he would hardly ſucceed. The Americans have had but too many and too memorable proofs of French diſhoneſty; but, it is impoſſible to ſay poſitively what effect the preſent brilliant proſpects of France may have on the minds of the American merchants.

The decree reſpecting the emigrants, which will be found under the head of Public Papers, appears to us well calculated to increaſe the ſtrength of the preſent government of France. That it is any thing rather than an act of *mercy* is certain; but it will, nevertheleſs, diminiſh the number of the Conſul's enemies. It contains a moſt invidious and ruthleſs diſtinction between the different deſcriptions of emigrants; but this, too, will tend to weaken, and finally to deſtroy, the only power on earth of which Buonaparté is, or need be, afraid. Some few thouſands of loyal Frenchmen will ſtill remain unreconciled to the Republic, and theſe will ſerve her for a moſt excellent purpoſe. Shunned, deſerted, abandoned, nay, perſecuted, by the princes, under whoſe banners they had ranged themſelves, the Conſul will leave them to wander and weep through the world, a woeful example of the effects of fidelity to their lawful ſovereign.

TO THE PUBLIC.

I have before ſtated, that the perſons apprehended for the aſſault upon my houſe, on the night of the laſt illuminations, were CHARLES BELOE (ſon of the Rev. Wm. Beloe), *a clerk in the General Poſt-Office*; CHARLES WAGSTAFF, *another clerk in the General Poſt-Office*; JOHN HARWOOD, a ſort of *amanuenſis to the Rev. Wm. Beloe and to the Britiſh Critic*; JOHN PARNEL, *an Exciſe Officer*; SAMUEL WISE and WILLIAM HARVEY, the former a ſervant to a bruſh-maker at Aldgate, and the latter an under-waiter at the Gray's Inn Coffee Houſe. The five firſt were, on Tueſday laſt, brought up to Bow Street for re-examination, the proceedings at which have been groſsly miſrepreſented by the newſpapers, where it has been ſtated, by the True Briton in particular, that "the matter was *fully inveſtigated*, "counſel attending on both ſides to argue "the merits of the caſe; but Mr. Bond, "Sir William Parſons, and ſeveral other "magiſtrates who were preſent at the exa-"mination, *being of opinion that the offence* "*amounted to nothing more than a miſde-*"*meanor*, the defendants were admitted to "bail, to anſwer that complaint at the next "Middleſex Seſſions." This is a direct falſehood, intended to impoſe upon the public, and alſo to influence the deciſion of the court and jury on the enſuing trial. The matter *was not inveſtigated at all*; no examination whatever took place; the *capital* part of the charge was reſcinded by my counſel, who acted by my direction. The magiſtrates gave *no opinion* whatever on the ſubject. I had new and very powerful evidence to produce, but I was not willing to take advantage of it: my reſcinding the capital charge was an act of clemency, and as ſuch it was felt, and *publicly acknowledged*, by Mr. Mackintoſh, the counſel for the priſoners. I well know, that every public print in London will lean towards theſe people; I well know the influence which the General Poſt-Office has over the newſpapers; I am, in ſhort, fully apprized of the numerous and various arts that will be employed, on this occaſion, but I will defeat them all. There is not a court in Europe to which this Regiſter does not already go. It circulates widely amongſt the beſt of the people of this country, of America, and of the Weſt and Eaſt Indies. But, if that foul play, which the newſpapers have begun, is continued, there is no ſhape or form that print can aſſume, from a ballad to an imperial placard, from a child's book to a folio, into which a *true* account of this tranſaction ſhall not be moulded. All that I want is *fair play*.

The concern which the *public* have in this matter is the only thing that could juſtify my ſaying ſo much about it. The aſſault at my houſe, particularly when the *ſituation* of the principal aſſailants is conſidered, fully proves, that the illumination was a matter of *force* and not of *choice*. I mentioned in the Regiſter, p. 347, that it was the people *from the General Poſt-Office*, who forced the illumination, as far as it went, on the 29th of March, and, I think, the public will now perceive, that I was well acquainted with the influence employed for effecting that diſgraceful purpoſe. The DEPUTY COMPTROLLER *of the Foreign Department of the Poſt-Office* became bail for the priſoner WAGSTAFF. MR. ALEXANDER, *the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means*, gave bail for the priſoner BELOE, an act of condeſcenſion which is truly exemplary. There was *no joy* in London on the night of the illuminations. Ninety-nine hundredths of the people put up lights from no other motive than that of ſaving their windows. The illumination was the effect of *fear*, not of *pleaſure*. The lighting was accompanied with curſes on thoſe who had compelled it. It was perfectly natural for *Mr. Otto* to rejoice: his illumination was the emblem of his country's triumph over ours: his houſe was the brighteſt, mine the moſt gloomy, in London. This was as it ſhould be: he felt the greateſt pleaſure at the moment, and I was amongſt thoſe who felt the greateſt ſorrow. All that I wanted was to be ſuffered to indulge that ſorrow in quiet; not to be forced to put on ſmiles while anguiſh filled my heart; not to be compelled to give a mark of approbation to a meaſure, which I had publicly reprobated, and in which I ſaw the inevitable ruin and ſubjugation of my country.

I cannot diſmiſs this ſubject without again adverting to the paragraph in the miniſterial paper, called the True Briton, in which I and my partner are repreſented as "two *American* bookſellers." This is, perhaps, one of the moſt baſe artifices that ever was employed in any country or in any time. Shall the men, who have recourſe to means like this, talk of *faction*? I never was factious; I never appealed to the mob; never to the ignorance and diſ-

content, but to the ſenſe and loyalty of my readers. I now appeal to thoſe higher and better qualities, nor am I without ſome hope, that my appeal will be finally ſucceſsful. The "delirium of joy" has paſſed away; reflection has ſucceeded, and reflection will be followed by alarm; the *conſequences* of the peace will do the reſt.

To the many letters and meſſages which I have received, reſpecting the health of Mrs. Cobbett, and to which it is abſolutely out of my power to make ſeparate and ſuitable returns, I beg leave to give this general anſwer, that ſhe is as well as I could reaſonably expect.

Wm. Cobbett.

Pall Mall, May 8, 1802.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

Admiralty Office, April 29, 1802.

This day, in purſuance of the King's pleaſure, the following Flag-Officers of his Majeſty's Fleet were promoted, viz.

James Pigot, Eſq. and Right Hon. William Lord Radſtock, Vice-Admirals of the Red, to be Admirals of the Blue.

Alexander Græme, Eſq. and George Keppel, Eſq. Vice-Admirals of the White, to be Vice-Admirals of the Red.

Charles Chamberlayne, Eſq. and Peter Rainier, Eſq. Vice-Admirals of the Blue, to be Vice-Admirals of the White.

Sir George Home, Bart. and Sir Charles Cotton, Bart. Rear-Admirals of the Red, to be Vice-Admirals of the Blue.

John Willett Payne, Eſq. and Sir Robert Calder, Bart. Rear-Admirals of the White, to be Rear-Admirals of the Red.

BIRTH, MARRIAGE, AND DEATHS.

Birth.—On the 30th ult. Right Honourable Lady Porcheſter, of a ſon, at Pixton, Somerſetſhire.

Marriage.—On Monday the 26th ult. at Edinburgh, the Honourable George Vere Hobart, ſecond ſon of the Earl of Buckinghamſhire, to Miſs Janet Maclean, eldeſt daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Maclean, of Coll.

Deaths.—On Good Friday laſt, in Belfaſt, the Counteſs Dowager of Roden.—On Sunday ſe'nnight, at her ſeat at Wentworth Caſtle, Mrs. Hatfield Kaye, ſiſter to the laſt Earl Strafford.—On Tueſday, the 20th of April laſt, at her houſe, the Priory, at Hitchin, Hertfordſhire, Lady Penelope Farnaby Radcliffe, widow and relict of the late Sir Charles Farnaby Radcliffe.—On Monday laſt, at Bath, in the 79th year of his age, the Rev. Mr. Nelſon, Rector of Burnham Thorpe, in Norfolk, and father of the gallant Lord Nelſon.

PRICE OF STOCKS.

ENGLISH three per cent. conſols.

Saturday	76 3/4 7/8	Wedneſday	76 3/8 1/2 1/2 3/8
Monday	76 3/8 5/8 1/2	Thurſday	76 3/8 1/2 1/4 3/8
Tueſday	76 3/8 1/2 1/8 1/4	Friday	76 3/8 3/8 1/8

AMERICAN STOCKS.—Eight pr. c. 113 1/4.

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Conſolidé, 57 f. 20 c.

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s.	s.		s.	s.
Eng. Wheat per q.	57	to 73	Hops per cwt.	83	to 161
Foreign	48	- 70	Hay per load	37	- 91
Rye	35	- 39	Beef per ſtone	5s. od.	
Barley	30	- 34		to 5s. 9d.	
Malt	36	- 46	Mutton 6s. 8d.	to 7s. 6d.	
Oats	12	- 19	Veal . 6s. od.	to 7s. od.	
Peaſe	28	- 33	Pork . 6s. od.	to 7s. od.	
Beans	30	- 38	Tallow	4s. od.	
Flour per ſack	50	-	Average of Sugar		
Seconds	44	- 50	per cwt.	38s. 6d.	
Coals per chal.	29	- 38			

Bread *Nine Pence Halfpenny* the Quartern Loaf.
Porter Four Pence Halfpenny per Pot.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C.F.	10 15 2 uſ.	LEGHORN	52
D°. at ſight	10 12	NAPLES	44
ROTTERDAM	10 16 2 uſ.	GENOA	47 1/4
HAMBURGH	32 7 2 1/2 uſ.	LISBON	69 1/2
ALTONA	32 8 2 1/2 uſ.	OPORTO	69 1/4
PARIS 2 uſ.	23 13 liv.	DUBLIN	11 1/2
BOURDEAUX, d°	23 14	VENICE, 57 livres piccole	
CADIZ	34 in paper	effective per £. ſter.	
DITTO	37 1/2 effective	BILBOA	38 D°
MADRID	34 in paper	PALERMO	
DITTO	38 1/4 effective	AGIO, bank on Hol. p. c.	

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER,

Near Guilford, in Surrey, for the Months of April and May, 1802.

Days.	M's Age.	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barometer. Inches. M.	Barometer. Inches. A.	Thermometer. Degrees. M.	Thermometer. Degrees. A.
29		Windy.	NE	NE	29,85	29,87	45	50
30		Fair.	NE	NE	30,05	30,03	48	56
1		Windy.	ENE	E	29,98	29,97	50	59
2	●	Fine.	NE	NE	29,97	29,9	48,5	60
3		Rain.	NE	NE	29,95	29.95	52,5	56
4		Fine.	NE	NE	30,1	30,11	45	58,5
5		Fair.	NE	NE	30,18	30,18	47	53

● *New Moon.* ☾ *1ſt Quar.* ○ *F. Moon.* ☽ *laſt Quar.*

LONDON,

LONDON, May 8 to May 15, 1802.

TO THE EDITOR.

Gum Trade.

Sir,

Melancholy as the proſpect of Great Britain now appears, and ſupinely as her rulers ſeem diſpoſed to abandon all her neareſt and deareſt intereſts to the rapacious gripe of France, it behoves all, who love the exiſtence of their country, and have gloried in her proſperity, to contribute the little mite of their abilities for the preſervation of what yet remains to her. If ever, after a long and bloody war, it has been neceſſary, that the limits of commercial and territorial rights between the contending nations ſhould be clearly and unequivocally defined, it certainly muſt have been after ſuch a war, as we have now ſuſtained; in which the fundamental government of our rival has been wholly ſubverted, and all its frame, qualities, and relations modelled upon a new character. Much has been ſaid, and more will be conſidered, in both Houſes of Parliament, upon the unprecedented omiſſion of the revival of ancient treaties in that, which we have now concluded; and many valuable rights have been enumerated, which are ſuppoſed to have been held by no other title than theſe extinguiſhing treaties. Let us be careful how we proceed at this momentous criſis, after the ratification of ſuch a peace, if peace it may be called, which is pregnant with new hoſtilities. It was publicly and officially declared at the ſignature of the peace in 1783, that the abrogation of ſubſiſting treaties would throw commerce into infinite confuſion; how much more forcible muſt be its effects, when the government, upon whoſe ancient faith the baſis of our commercial intercourſe was eſtabliſhed, is annulled, and its place ſupplied by a new government, and new race of legiſlators! It is a ſubject worthy of the conſideration of thoſe, who are better able to decide upon it than I am, whether on the termination of war, which interrupted all treaties, they do not *of themſelves revive*, unleſs expreſsly altered or annulled by new ſtipulations. I believe this will not be found a novel idea; and a ſtrong argument, that ſuch was the opinion of thoſe, who ſigned the treaty of 1783, may be drawn from the uſe of the words "abrogation of *ſubſiſting treaties*," inſtead of *non-revival of ancient treaties*. No argument can be collected on the other ſide from the *practice* of ſtipulating for their renewal, which is ſolely to be attributed to the jealous care, with which our ancient negotiators avoided the poſſible admiſſion of a dangerous cavil. They ſtipulated generally for the renewal of all treaties, but were not ſatisfied with this ſecurity, without likewiſe inſerting the names of particular important treaties, which, though not enumerated, would by the general clauſe have been equally confirmed. I will not dwell on this queſtion, which will find abler advocates in Parliament; the point, to which I am deſirous of drawing the public attention, is our right to the gum trade, which Lord G. and Mr. W. have ſtated to be wholly done away by the extinction of theſe treaties; and (unfounded as this opinion to me appears) miniſters either careleſs, or ignorant of the ſubject, have ſilently aſſented to its truth. But, though I humbly hope to demonſtrate, that this right has not been ceded to France, and that it is wholly unconnected with the non-renewal of ancient treaties, how uncertain is the predicament of this country, when men of ſuch abilities, and ſo zealous for its welfare, can for a moment believe our rights to be extinguiſhed; when the negligence or impotence of miniſters has reduced us to the perilous alternative of yielding them to the rapacity of our enemies, or maintaining them by cavil, without any tribunal to judge them, but the imperious court of France, or any appeal from her deciſions, but to the enfeebled ſword of Great-Britain!

To determine whether, or not, we ſtill poſſeſs a right to participate in the gum trade, we muſt conſider the origin of that right, and of the right of France to the territory, upon which it is exerciſed. If the abſolute ſovereignty of Senegal was veſted in France, and the right of trading in its dependencies had been granted by her to Great-Britain, by the extinction of that grant, the right of trade would un-

doubtedly expire. But I contend, that the complete and unlimited ſovereignty of Senegal does not belong to France, and that the trade in queſtion was carried on not by her permiſſion or ſufferance, but by the unceded right of Great-Britain. By the treaty of 1763, Senegal, with all its dependencies, which extend northward round the Bays of Portendic and Arguin to Cape Blanco, was ceded to Great-Britain in full right, without any reſervation or reſtriction. A ſhare in the gum trade was enſured to France by the reſtitution of Goree; and Great-Britain remained for twenty years in full poſſeſſion of the ſettlements of Senegal, till their ceſſion was demanded by France at the concluſion of the American war. The Engliſh could procure ſlaves from their ſettlements on the Gambia, and the chief value of Senegal was the participation in the gum trade, which it ſecured to them. It was ceded therefore to France in 1783, with a reſervation of liberty for Britiſh merchants to carry on this trade on the coaſt between Portendic and the River St. John, a portion of the dependencies of Senegal, on condition that theſe merchants ſhould form there no permanent ſettlement. The French therefore acquired in Senegal not an abſolute ſovereignty, but a qualified territorial right, without any power of excluding the Britiſh traders from a part of this diſtrict. In the late war Great-Britain recovered Senegal, and by the treaty juſt concluded ſhe ſtipulates generally to reſtore all the conqueſts, which ſhe has made in the courſe of it. What then does ſhe reſtore to France in Africa? An abſolute ſovereignty over Senegal, ſubject to no limitations or reſtrictions? No, for this France did not poſſeſs; this was not wreſted from her. She held Senegal ſubject to certain Britiſh rights, and the ſame eſtate, which ſhe before poſſeſſed there, is now reſtored to her. But the Britiſh right to trade on the coaſt from Portendic to the St. John, which our miniſters refuſed to cede in 1783, has not been ceded by the laſt treaty. Great-Britain holds it by virtue of her conqueſts in 1758; in 1783 ſhe ceded the territorial rights, reſerving this; and by the preſent confirmation of that ceſſion ſhe ſtill retains that trade which ſhe had reſerved, whole and unimpaired; and any attempt of the French to interrupt her merchants in the enjoyment of this their unequivocal right will be a direct renewal of hoſtilities. That this valuable right remains ſtill to Great-Britain, with all due deference to the opinion of the noble lord, who has ſo ably expatiated on the defects of this treaty, I am firmly convinced; that our preſent miniſters will caſt this gem of our commercial crown at the feet of France, I am much diſpoſed to fear.

I am yours, &c.

W—— H———.

May 6, 1802.

TO W—— H———.

Sir,

To the ſentiments expreſſed in the introductory part of your letter, it is hardly neceſſary for me to ſignify my hearty aſſent. The ſituation of our enemy, our own ſituation, the disjointed ſtate of the world in general, did, indeed, in the formation of a treaty, by which, it was obvious, that the enjoyment of our future commercial and territorial rights muſt be materially affected, call for an unuſual degree of caution and firmneſs. The inſtrument, however, to which your obſervations refer, and the defects of which are, at this moment, the ſubject of parliamentary diſcuſſion, bears not the ſlighteſt trace of either of theſe qualities, but exhibits, on the contrary, the combined effects of ignorance, careleſſneſs, and puſillanimity.

Agreeing as we do as to the general tenour and tendency of this treaty, I am nevertheleſs afraid that we entertain oppoſite opinions with regard to certain particular points of it. You ſeem to have adopted the ſuppoſition, that all the treaties exiſting, previous to the war, between the hoſtile powers, *revive of themſelves* at the termination of ſuch war, unleſs expreſsly altered or annulled by new ſtipulations: I, on the contrary, am fully perſuaded, that all the treaties, exiſting before the war, between the oppoſite belligerent powers, do, from the commencement of the war, ceaſe and determine for ever, unleſs expreſsly renewed in the treaty of peace, or in ſome ſubſequent compact. To a writer, Sir, of your acuteneſs, I ſhould, in any caſe, be loath to oppoſe my feeble and inexperienced pen; and my confidence is, I aſſure you, by no means ſtrengthened by the reflection, that I am aſſerting the rights of France in oppoſition to the intereſts and honour of England.

That *the beſt* argument, againſt your poſition, is not to be collected from the practice of ſtipulating for the renewal of former

treaties, is readily acknowledged; but, that *no* argument can therefrom be collected for that purpose, I must take the liberty to deny. Great part of the public law of Europe, like the common law of particular states, derives its origin from *custom*, and proceeds altogether upon precedent. A long-continued practice becomes a tacit covenant, which is, to all intents and purposes, binding on the parties to the contract. Of this nature, I presume, is the practice of Great-Britain in constantly renewing all the former treaties and stipulations, on which she intended to found any future claim or pretension, and which she did not acknowledge to be thenceforth annulled and of non-effect. This practice is considered, and fairly considered, as an evidence of her own construction of the law in this respect; and, in fact, she has, in more than one instance, acted upon this construction towards other powers with whom she has refused to renew former treaties.

How your argument derives strength from the circumstance, that those who signed the treaty of 1783, used the words "*abrogation of* EXISTING *treaties*, instead of "*non-revival of* ANCIENT *treaties*," I must confess myself at a loss to discover. If, according to your idea, all the treaties, which existed before the war, revived of themselves at the close of it, where was the necessity of renewing them? The words *existing treaties* certainly meant, treaties *existing at the breaking out of the war*, and amongst those were to be found all the *ancient treaties*, from the treaty of Westphalia downwards. Therefore, the distinction which you have drawn is perfectly nugatory: it discovers no difference in the things spoken of, and contributes nothing towards the support of your argument.

But, Sir, I cannot be content to rest my position solely on the practice of stipulating for the renewal of former treaties. I must beg leave to refer to the maxims laid down by the civilians of Europe, all of whom are unanimous in declaring, that "treaties, properly so called, cease to be "obligatory, 1. when the sovereign power "with whom they were concluded ceases "to exist; 2. when the state passes under "the dominion of another power; 3. some-"times, when a state changes its constitu-"tion; 4. and *always* when a *war*, on "whatever account, *breaks out between the* "*contracting parties*, except it may be such "provisions contained in them as have "been made in the case of war," * such, for instance, as are to be found in the tenth article of our present treaty with the American States. On the same side with yourself SIR FREDERICK MORTON EDEN has quoted VATTEL, who says that, "the state "of things at the instant of making the "treaty is held to be legitimate, and any "change to be made in it requires an ex-"press specification in the treaty; conse-"quently all things not mentioned in the "treaty, are to remain *as they were at the* "*conclusion of it.*"† VATTEL does not here speak in reference to actual possession, or enjoyment, but to rights and pretensions; and, therefore, his doctrine fully confirms the antecedent maxim of former treaties being abrogated by war. "All things not "mentioned in the treaty, remain as they "were at the *conclusion* of it." The war abrogated all former treaties; they were in that state at the conclusion of the peace, and, as they are not mentioned in the treaty, they remain as they were at the conclusion, that is to say, null and void.

As we are speaking of what France has a *right* to do, and not of what she *will* do, in consequence of the treaty of Amiens, I shall not urge, in support of my argument, the construction which she and Holland have already put upon the omission, on our part, to renew former treaties. Neither shall I, in speaking of the *gum trade*, on which point also I differ from you in opinion, cite the decree by which she has, even during the negotiation, cut off our share of that trade; but shall confine myself solely to the question of *right*.

That France did not by the treaty of 1783, obtain the unlimited sovereignty of Senegal, and that the gum trade was not carried on by her permission, but by the *unceded* right of Great-Britain, I think there is, at least, great reason to doubt. By article IX. of the treaty of 1783, "the "King of Great Britain cedes, in *full right*," the territory in question to France. Article X. treats of another subject; and article XI. after making provision with respect to boundaries on and near the Gambia, says, that, "as to the gum trade, the English "shall have the *liberty* of carrying it on, "from the mouth of the River St. John,

* MARTENS, C. I. B. II. Sec. 8. Where several authorities are cited.

† VATTEL, B. IV. Sec. 21.

" to the Bay and Fort of Portendic exclu-
" ſively."

Now, Sir, upon a cloſer view of the preſiſes, does it not appear, that you have been rather haſty in your concluſion? France firſt obtains the "*full* right" to the territory, and ſhe afterwards gives us the *liberty* to carry on the gum trade. *Full right* is certainly ſynonimous with *unlimited ſovereignty*, as *liberty*, in this inſtance, is with *permiſſion*, or *ſufferance*. Our right to carry on the trade does not appear to me to be *reſerved* by us, but *granted* by France. The ceſſion of the ſovereignty and the granting of the permiſſion are, indeed, found in one and the ſame compact, but this circumſtance alone does not give to the latter the character of a legal *reſervation*. Reſervations are otherwiſe worded, and are always immediately connected with the ceſſion from which they are an exception, inſtances of which occur in almoſt every treaty.

I am not, however, anxious to lay much ſtreſs upon this point; becauſe, allowing that the right to the gum trade was "*unceded*" in the treaty of 1783; allowing that we *reſerved* this right by that treaty; ſtill we cannot, I preſume, maintain, that this reſervation is not *now* extinguiſhed, ſeeing that the treaty of 1763 is totally obliterated. If, as you contend, we reſerved the right of the gum trade in the treaty of 1783, we certainly do not forfeit it by ſtipulating to reſtore to France what we have conquered from her during the war; becauſe we could not conquer from her that which we had reſerved to ourſelves; but we forfeit it not leſs effectually by omitting to renew the treaty of 1763, which, according to your own argument, was the only title by which we held it. From the treaty of 1763 it is that you derive our right; by that treaty we obtained from France the unlimited ſovereignty of Senegal and its dependencies, a portion of which ſovereignty, as you contend, we reſerved in a ſubſequent treaty; and, if this be ſo, our right, ſo reſerved, was founded upon the treaty of 1763, every ſtipulation of which treaty, together with all the rights and immunities ariſing therefrom, are now completely abrogated by the omiſſions of the treaty of Amiens.

I am,

Sir,

Yours, &c.

Wm. Cobbett.

Pall Mall, May 11, 1802.

TO SIR FREDERICK M. EDEN, BART.

Sir,

The ſecond edition of your *Letters on the Peace* I have peruſed with attention. Your retrenchments, as far as they have gone, are very judicious; and I am truly ſorry to remark, that the parts which you have added do not ſeem to be entitled to the ſame commendation. To defend the Definitive Treaty is a taſk of much greater difficulty than that of defending the Preliminaries. The bare enumeration of the vices of this compact, unaccompanied with comment, would have occupied a much larger ſpace than you have employed in what you appear to regard as a refutation of all the objections urged againſt the treaty, whether in parliament or elſewhere. So laconic a mode of treating the ſubject might have been excuſed during the prevalence of the " delirium of joy;" but, now that reflection has reſumed its ſway, now that the apprehenſions of the nation are awakened, ſomething more, Sir, is required to remove them than mere dogmatical aſſertion, ſomething more than a repetition of hacknied and inapplicable maxims.

As you have advanced nothing worthy of the name of argument in ſupport of your aſſertions, I by no means feel myſelf called upon to reply to them; yet I cannot ſuffer them to paſs altogether unnoticed.

You ſet out, Sir, with a quotation from VATTEL, intended to prove, that the treaties exiſting, before the war, between the nations oppoſed to each other in ſuch war, do not ceaſe, though not renewed at the peace. In my letter to W— H——, p. 549, I think you will find a ſatisfactory anſwer to this part of your remarks; if you ſhould not, however, you will find it in your own words, in p. 191 of your pamphlet, where, in ſpeaking of the honour of the flag, you obſerve, that " our negotiators acted wiſely " in not inſiſting on the revival of this an-" cient punctilio," the *abolition* of which is, with you, a ſubject of joy. Now, Sir, if this punctilio, as you call it, be aboliſhed by the non-renewal of any former treaties or ſtipulations with the Dutch, does it not follow that every other right founded on former treaties is alſo aboliſhed by ſuch non-renewal? There are perſons who maintain, that the honour of the flag is one of thoſe rights which remain unimpaired by the omiſſion to renew former treaties; becauſe it is a right of preſcription, which

has, indeed, been recognized by, but which owes not its origin to, ſtipulations of any ſort between the parties. On this point there is certainly room for doubt; but, if a right thus fortified be, as you acknowledge it is, aboliſhed by the omiſſion in the treaty, that omiſſion muſt neceſſarily work a forfeiture of all thoſe rights which had their origin and continuance in ſtipulation alone.

With reſpect to India, your notions of the effects of this treaty are not more free from confuſion. You ſeem to regard the ſtipulations of the convention of 1787 as containing *conceſſions* to France, whereas they contain, from France to us, a conceſſion of the right to reſtrain her commerce and juriſdiction in a part of the world, where ſhe always had, or pretended to have, an original right of commerce and juriſdiction equal to our own. Perceiving, however, that the law is no very ſafe ground to ſtand on, you obſerve, that France cannot eaſily interfere in our trade, while ſhe is "watched by the civil and "*military* powers of Britiſh India;" that our rights of ſovereignty in Aſia "are *in-*"*diſputable*; that France, indeed, has *never* "*recognized them*, but that they are not leſs "ſecure on that account, and, that *while* "*we have the means of defending the territory*, "it is held on as firm a tenure as that "which ſecures to the French Republic "either Savoy or Belgium." This is very true, Sir, but what has this to do with *peace?* While we have the means of defending our "empire in the Eaſt," I truſt in God that no miniſter will ever be found baſe enough to give it up; though, after what we have ſeen, we ought not to be too confident. I truſt we ſhall not want the power to defend this empire, and to preſerve all its benefits excluſively to ourſelves; but *power* does not confer *right*, nor will the ſucceſs of arms atone for the negligence of negotiators. You are naturally led to put the queſtion on the iſſue of the ſword, while I contend that we ought to have had the intervening ſecurity of a treaty. I am, indeed, ready to allow, that no very great confidence can be placed in any promiſe on the part of France; the miniſters think differently; but, whatever degree of ſecurity any treaty with Buonaparté can give, whatever obſtacle ſuch an inſtrument may, in any caſe, be preſumed to oppoſe to his wiſhes, we have, with reſpect to the commerce and ſovereignty of India, moſt aſſuredly relinquiſhed by the non-renewal of former treaties.

On the abrogation of the right to cut logwood and mahogany in the Bay of Honduras, you obſerve, that Great-Britain has ſtipulated to *reſtore* only ſuch places as ſhe has conquered during the war, and that, as ſhe occupied Honduras before the war, the giving that up cannot be included in the ſtipulation. If you are jeſting on this point, your jeſt is very dull; and if you are ſerious, I know of no epithet nor of any aſſemblage of epithets wherewith to give an adequate deſcription of your abſurdity. The right of which we are ſpeaking never had any other foundation than that of ſpecial agreement between the Kings of England and Spain, the latter of whom was always the ſole ſovereign of the ſoil in the province of Honduras. We traded to that province, we built huts and cut wood there, by his permiſſion, ſecured to us by the treaties exiſting before the war. From the commencement of the war the permiſſion ceaſed, and, do you really imagine, Sir, that our continuing to cut wood without permiſſion, during the war, is a proof of our having a right to continue to cut wood during the peace? Becauſe a tenant has kept poſſeſſion of your houſe ſix months after the expiration of his leaſe, ſhall he thereon found a right to poſſeſs it for ever after? Upon a pretenſion like this, however, it is that you ſupport our right to trade to Honduras, and boldly declare, that Great-Britain will not *allow* Spain to avail herſelf of the right of ejectment, which I contend ſhe has obtained by the non-renewal of former treaties. Take care, Sir, how you engage for the firmneſs of Great-Britain in this reſpect. The *Mercure de France*, No. 46—5 Floreal, an 10, has ſaid, that "the cutting of logwood and maho-"gany, in the province of Honduras, was "another right granted by Spain to the "Engliſh, who, perhaps, ſet leſs value "upon the wood, than upon the contraband "trade, which they carried on under cover "of the right of cutting it." Mark the ſequel: "*the Bay of Honduras is, by the* "*treaty of Amiens, freed from this double tri-*"*bute.*" So ſays Buonaparté, Sir Frederick, and Buonaparté is univerſally acknowledged to be the moſt able publiciſt in Europe. You have, however, aſſerted, that our right to trade to Honduras remains unimpaired; and it is, therefore, the duty of our miniſters to defend us in the exerciſe of that right, a duty which I am very much deceived if they will thank you for having impoſed upon them. This remark applies with equal force to every other right, the exiſtence of which is, in conſequence of the

omiſſions of the treaty, become a matter of diſpute. The language of the country to the miniſters is this: "either you have "given up theſe rights, or you have not; "if you have, then do you merit all the "reproach that has been beſtowed on you; "if you have not, let us now ſee whether "you will defend us in the enjoyment of "theſe rights."—Reſt aſſured, Sir, that orders are already gone from Spain to drive out our cutters of logwood, and you need not be told that France has made and promulgated a decree prohibiting our further exerciſe of the gum trade. According to your doctrine, the enforcing of theſe prohibitions will be an act of hoſtility, and, it follows of courſe, that we may be, in a few months, if we are not at the preſent moment, actually engaged in another war for the recovery of a ſmall portion of that, of which, previous to the treaty, we had the ſecure poſſeſſion. "Not ſo," ſay the advocates of the peace: "we will not con-"tend for trifles." Dr. Beeke, Mr. Chalmers, and yourſelf, will moſt clearly demonſtrate, that the net proceeds of no one right are ſufficient to balance the expenſe of a war, however ſhort its duration. Upon this principle the treaty of Amiens has been concluded; upon this principle right after right will be yielded, till the old lion, deprived, one by one, of his teeth and his claws, will fall beneath the club of his crafty aſſailant.

From Honduras I ſhall now follow you to Louiſiana. And here your notions, which have been gradually towering towards the regions of folly, ſeem to have attained their ſummit. You affect to believe, that, becauſe this immenſe country was formerly of little uſe to France, it will be of little uſe to her now. Is this a fair mode of reaſoning, Sir? Does the change which has taken place in the diſtribution of Weſt India colonies merit no conſideration? Are the actual ſettlement and moſt ſucceſsful cultivation of the lands on the eaſtern bank of the Miſſiſſippi, together with the trade and navigation ariſing therefrom, circumſtances that make no difference between the preſent and the former poſſeſſion of the command of that river? Is the diſcovery (for it is a diſcovery, and a recent one too) that cotton can be produced in abundance in Louiſiana, and at a very trifling expenſe; is this of no importance? Becauſe the city of New Orleans, when before poſſeſſed by France, conſiſted of a few ſhabby huts, is it now of no value when delivered up to her with a numerous population and a port crowded with ſhips? As well might you contend, that the ports of Holland are of no importance, becauſe the ſpot where they now ſtand was formerly covered by the ſea.

You ſay that diſputes will ariſe between France and the United States, and that "jealouſies will be created that will induce "the Americans *to court the friendſhip of* "*Great-Britain.*" You ſhould not, Sir, have borrowed this notion from the Regiſter, p. 201, without an attempt, at leaſt, to refute the arguments there advanced to ſhow that the notion, if entertained, would prove fallacious. Thoſe who have conſidered this ſubject are convinced, that the ceſſion of Louiſiana to France will tend totally to *deſtroy* our connection with the United States; and, to change their opinion will require reaſons, which if you have at your command, you do not chooſe to employ them, a mode of proceeding which is rather ungenerous, conſidering the deſperate ſituation of the cauſe that you have eſpouſed.

"The Miſſiſſippi," you tell us, "is not "advantageouſly ſituated for ſupplying the "French Weſt Indies with lumber and "proviſions," becauſe "a voyage from "New Orleans to St. Domingo, in the "teeth of the trade wind, could not be "effected in leſs time than a voyage from "Breſt." Allowing, for a moment, the truth of this latter aſſertion, how does it take from the utility of Louiſiana as a ſource of lumber and proviſions? If there are none of theſe articles at Breſt, and if they are found in abundance at New Orleans, the poſſeſſion of the latter is certainly an acquiſition of great value to France, though it be, in point of ſailing, of equal diſtance from the place where the articles are wanted. But this is not ſo. Seven days ſail brings a veſſel (all the way *before* the wind, and not in the *teeth* of it) from New Orleans to Savannah, ſuppoſing even that to be neceſſary; and the trip from Savannah to St. Domingo is frequently performed in a week. What then becomes of your aſſertion? And where is the conſolation that it was charitably intended to convey to the boſoms of your readers? Laſt year, Sir, there was conveyed down the Miſſiſſippi, lumber and proviſions to the amount of more than a million ſterling. What became of it? According to your idea it muſt have been uſed at the mouth of the river, or thrown into the ſea; for, if it could go any where it could go to the Weſt Indies. And, wherever it went, it muſt have gone as cheap as from Maſſa-

chuſetts, or New Jerſey, elſe it would have been ſupplanted in the market by the produce of thoſe of other States. In fact, Sir, this is a matter on which you were totally uninformed, or which you were reſolved moſt groſſly to miſrepreſent.

The cotton lands, too, falling under the gripe of France, will, you think, be of no conſequence to us, becauſe, though, by the peace we loſe Tobago and other colonies whence the chief ſupply of cotton has been derived, and though the French and Dutch may refuſe to furniſh us with that neceſſary article, "*any quantity of* this article "may be obtained *from Surat and Bombay.*" So may any quantity of potatoes, as far as I know; but they would come to Covent Garden much dearer than the potatoes raiſed at Graveſend or Batterſea, as the cotton of India will come to Mancheſter dearer than that of New Orleans. It is not the obtaining of the material, but the obtaining of it at a *cheap rate*, that conſtitutes the advantage of poſſeſſing the lands on which it grows. Thoſe who obtain their cotton cheapeſt will be able to ſell their cotton goods cheapeſt, and thoſe who ſell cheapeſt will have the preference in the market.

I ſhould, by way of concluſion, make ſome remarks on what you ſay reſpecting the honours of the flag, the ceſſion to France in Guiana, and the arrangement of Malta; but, really, Sir, your manner of treating theſe important ſubjects is ſo flippant, ſo diſguſtingly puerile, ſo much beneath your talents as a writer, and ſo totally unworthy of your feelings as an Engliſh gentleman, that I am loath to yield to the impulſe of that indignation, which alone could furniſh an appropriate reply.

I am,
Sir,
Your moſt humble
and obedient Servant,
Wm. Cobbett.

Pall Mall, May 12, 1802.

TONNAGE DUTY.

A general and numerous meeting of SHIP-OWNERS was held on Thurſday the 6th inſtant, at the London Tavern, to receive the report of the committee, and to determine on ſuch further meaſures which it might be advifable to adopt reſpecting the tonnage duty, and the preſent ſtate of the ſhipping intereſt of Great-Britain.

Mr. Hill was unanimouſly called to the chair.

The meeting commenced by confirming the reſolutions of the laſt general meeting and of the committee.

The Chairman then ſhortly reported the reſult of the interview of the committee with the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that they had endeavoured to point out and convince him of the evil conſequences which would ariſe from his extending the principles of taxation to ſhipping, which had always been cautiouſly avoided by his predeceſſors, and ſtated to him the preſent low rate of Britiſh ſhipping, in conſequence of the peace, and the manifeſt advantages which foreign ſhipping would derive from the propoſed tax. That it had been the practice of all former parliaments to encourage, by every legiſlative act, the increaſe of Britiſh ſhipping, and at this time ſuch encouragement was more particularly required, from the ability of foreigners to build and navigate their ſhips at much leſs expenſe than the Britiſh ſhip-owners.—The chairman ſaid, that their repreſentations were heard by the miniſter with great attention, but that they were unable to convince him of the injurious tendency and impolicy of it, nor could they prevail upon him to recede from his intention of impoſing it.

The Chairman then ſaid, that it would be proper to conſider of what was farther neceſſary to be done on this occaſion, when *Mr. J. Robinſon* propoſed the following reſolution, which was unanimouſly agreed to:

RESOLVED, "That it is the unanimous opinion "of the ſhip-owners preſent at this meeting, That "from the preſent ſtate of Europe, there is every "reaſon to apprehend the ſhipping of this country "will decline, and that any tax on that ſpecies of "property will be attended with the utmoſt danger "to the ſtate, by diminiſhing the great nurſery of "our ſeamen, and weakening the ſource of national "defence."

Upon which *Mr. Hill* ſaid, that in ſtating the reſult of the interview alluded to, he did not feel himſelf at liberty to relate publicly all the converſation which had paſſed, he conſidered it as a private communication, and therefore had adverted to it with great delicacy. For his own part, and he was ſure that he ſpoke the ſentiments of the meeting, he ſhould be the laſt man in the world to oppoſe any juſt and equitable tax, but when one was propoſed which tended moſt ſeriouſly not only to the oppreſſion of individuals, but to ſap and finally to deſtroy the ſtrength of the empire, he ſhould conſider himſelf unjuſtifiable if he were not to uſe every effort to avert the calamities it would produce by being paſſed into law, or if ſo, that it ſhould continue.

It was perfectly true that the affairs of the nation, after the enormous expenſes that had been incurred in the conflict in which we had been engaged, could not go on without large contributions being made by the inhabitants, and which would, in ſome caſes, inevitably fall heavily on particular claſſes of the community. But it was equally true, that it was the duty of every miniſter to raiſe the ſupplies from ſources the leaſt objectionable, and which would the leaſt tend to affect the maritime power of the country. He ſaid he had peruſed the debates of the Houſe on this important ſubject, when the reſolution was paſſed, and read, with every attention it merited, the reaſons aſſigned by its ſupporters; but expreſſed aſtoniſhment that thoſe gentlemen who were ſo ready to enter into conteſt with the miniſters, and diſpute about pounds, ſhillings, pence, and farthings, did not think it worth their while to bring forward their talents on an occaſion ſo important. He craved the patience of the meeting whilſt he made ſome obſervations on the reaſons given for bringing forward this

inauſpicious meaſure. It was firſt ſtated, that the ſhip-owners had carried on a gainful trade during the late war, and therefore ought to contribute during the peace to the expenſes the public had incurred. If, ſaid Mr. Hill, the ſhip-owners did carry on an advantageous buſineſs durmg the war, did they not, during that period, contribute their quota by the income-tax, &c. and is there any greater reaſon why ſhip-owners ſhould be marked out as objects of taxation on account of their profits during the war, more than the farmers, compared to whom the profits of the ſhip-owners were nothing? And if there was any weight in that argument, the legiſlature might, with the ſame propriety, tax ploughs, harrows, and other articles of agriculture.—Much ſtreſs had been laid upon a ſtatement of the exports and imports of this country, and the value of merchandize exported confounded with the increaſe of ſhipping: that ſuch was by no means a fair criterion it was eaſy to demonſtrate. He would, for example, take the comparative eſtimate of four years immediately preceding the war; it appeared, that in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791, taking the average of thoſe years, the number of tonnage of Britiſh ſhips cleared at the Cuſtom-Houſe, was 1,312,570, and of foreign ſhips 140,686; and the number of Britiſh ſhips cleared out in the year 1792 is 1,396,003, and of foreign ſhips 169,151, making an increaſe of Britiſh ſhipping of 83,425, or nearly one-fifteenth, and an increaſe of foreign ſhipping of 28,470, or nearly one-fifth. The value of goods exported on the average of the three former years, is £.20,955,137, and in the latter year £.24,905,200, being an increaſe of near one-fifth. If, therefore, the value of exports had increaſed one-fifth, and in the ſame period the number of Britiſh ſhips no more than one-fifteenth, he muſt indeed be a bold man who would argue that the increaſe of one is a criterion to judge of the increaſe of the other. It further appeared, that inſtead of Britiſh ſhipping having increaſed within that time from the increaſe of exports and imports, the veſſels of foreigners had experienced almoſt all the encouragement which had ariſen from that ſource. The numbers of foreign ſhips had increaſed one-fifth, whilſt Britiſh ſhips, as before ſtated, had only increaſed one-fifteenth.—He had taken up this calculation at a period antecedent to the war; it was perfectly needleſs, he conceived, for him to ſtate that there was an infinitely greater proportion of foreign ſhipping engaged in the exportation of Britiſh merchandize ſubſequent to that period. It was a well-known fact that Britiſh ſhipping had ſince the peace fallen in value from 30 to 50 per cent.; and that there was every reaſon to expect a greater diminution of the carrying trade. Could it be for a moment doubted, that when Surinam, Eſſequibo, Demarara, and all the other poſſeſſions of the Dutch were reſtored, and the French poſſeſſions given up, but that there would be a far greater number of Britiſh ſhipping unemployed, as our naval power during the war had made this country the grand emporium of Europe.—In eſtimating the ſtate of the Continent, we ought to take into our account the ſituation of the neighbouring ſtates, and more particularly of thoſe who had been our conſtant and natural rivals, and may, perhaps, within no long time, as they had heretofore been, be our inveterate enemies. Moſt juſtly had it been ſaid, that as to capital, national honour, and good faith, this country ſtood unrivalled, and poſſeſſed ſpirit capable of ſurmounting every difficulty. To what did we owe thoſe national characteriſtics of which no man was prouder than himſelf?—to the excellence of our conſtitution—the due adminiſtration of our laws—to that principle of juſtice, that ſecurity to perſons and property which pervaded every part of the empire. But capital, like water, would always find its level; if the frenzy of revolution ſhould ſubſide, and reſolve itſelf into a new ſyſtem of government, by giving ſecurity to perſons and property, what aſſurance have we that Britiſh capital will not float there? To our navigation, to thoſe ſeamen who were ready trained to meet the enemy and to break his force at the firſt onſet, to the wiſe ſyſtem of former policy, that purſued one uniform conduct of encouraging inſtead of depreſſing Britiſh ſhipping—it was to this policy we principally owed all our ſplendid victories, our national wealth and character.—Can the achievements of Britiſh ſeamen be ſo ſoon forgotten?—They muſt long be remembered—at Camperdown—at Breſt—at Cape St. Vincent—at Cadiz—at Gibraltar—and even the diſtant banks of the Nile. The very pyramids of Egypt had reverberated with the ſound of Britiſh thunder.—It had been ſaid that the French, in a late important expedition, were obliged to employ men of war to carry troops for want of merchant ſhips. By what means were they reduced to that ſituation? It cannot be forgotten that it was owing to the valour of Britiſh ſeamen, which compelled the united fleets of France, Spain, and Holland to hide their diminiſhed heads in their harbours, which at the ſame time deſtroyed their commerce, and blocked up their ports and their merchant ſhips from the Elbe to the Gulf of Lyons, where they had rotted. And ſhall theſe men, whoſe ſervices may be ſo ſoon wanted again, be, from the want of employment in Britiſh ſhipping, driven to ſeek it in foreign ports? Dr. Adam Smith, whom he ſaid he might with propriety ſtyle the philoſopher of commerce, juſtly eſtimated the value of our navigation laws. He ſays, that "all our greatneſs is owing to "the navigation acts being kept ſtrictly in force." It was a moſt ſingular circumſtance that thoſe navigation laws ſhould be framed under the deſpotiſm of a tyrant and uſurper, and that a contrary ſyſtem of policy ſhould be adopted in the reign of a patriot and paternal king, and by an enlightened and moderate miniſter. Mr. Hill, obſerving ſome perſons taking notes, earneſtly requeſted that what he had ſaid might not be conſtrued into a want of reſpect to the government; it was one of the greateſt bleſſings under it, that every individual who was oppreſſed had his complaints attended to. Miniſters were but men, and though of ſuperior talents, could not know all things by intuition. He conceived it to be the duty of every good ſubject to give them the beſt information. They were often deceived by viſionary projectors, and it was the duty of practical men to endeavour to ſet them right. The ſhip-owners had the conſolation to think, that whilſt they ſtruggled for their own privileges, they were engaged on a ſubject which it was the intereſt of the whole kingdom to ſupport. The tax was ſaid to be only *experimental*, but he could not conceive how ſuch an idea could be adopted by wiſe and conſiderate men. The experiment would be moſt impolitic; if we ſhould ever be unable to beat the fleets of our enemies, as we had hitherto done, at the firſt commencement of a war, it would not only be injurious to this country, but to Europe. Really the meaſure reminded him forcibly of the old fable, where the lion was prevailed upon to ſhorten his claws and loſe his teeth, in order that his means of offence and defence might be more equal with thoſe of his keepers. Upon the whole, he deeply la-

mented that the efforts of the committee had been ineffectual, and that they had failed to induce the Chancellor of the Exchequer to alter his opinion. He condemned the tax as impolitic and unjuſt, and denied that any one argument had been urged which could be ſaid to prove its expediency.

Mr. R. Curling ſaid he did not think it would be very difficult to convince the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the profits of ſhip-owners, inſtead of increaſing, were very conſiderably diminiſhed. A friend of his, oppoſite to him, had a ſhip of the value of £.6,000, now in the Weſt India trade, and he had no heſitation in ſaying that ſhe would not clear the leaſt profit. At the laſt peace he had himſelf ſix barques in the Jamaica trade, and though he had derived profit from them during the war, yet immediately peace was made he ſuffered great loſs.

Mr. Hill ſtated that the preſent ſtate of the ſhipping intereſt had been admitted, but at the ſame time it was ſaid that it was only *momentary*, and that in a very ſhort time the trade of the country would get into its channel, and of courſe increaſe.

Mr. Kennion aſked whether it had been ſtated at the interview, that if the tax took place, in all probability Britiſh capital would be veſted in foreign bottoms?

Mr. Akenhead ſaid it had been ſo repreſented, and as it was ſtated that the tax was only experimental, it had been obſerved that ſuch experiment might very probably turn out fatal to Great Britain; for France, Spain, and Holland being in want of merchant ſhips, they would purchaſe them here, and if the ſeamen could not find employment in the carrying trade of this country, they would of courſe go elſewhere for it, the effect of which was too apparent. It was then ſaid, that many Britiſh merchants were now colluſively engaged in foreign bottoms, becauſe of the power to navigate ſuch ſhips cheaper than the Britiſh owners.

Mr. Hill ſaid, the advocates for the tax accounted for the future proſperity of Britiſh ſhipping, from the more favourable ſituation the country was ſaid to be left in by the preſent than by any former peace. But when the extent of coaſt was conſidered which was under the dominion of France, her influence over the other powers of Europe, amongſt whom we had ſcarcely a friendly port, except perhaps in Portugal, which was too weak to be an efficient ally, this aſſertion ſeemed unfortunate; the firſt battle which might take place in any future war with France would ſhew the momentous conſequences of increaſing the number of foreign bottoms. He had always objected to the principle of the tax, and had been againſt any modification of it. If the principle was not totally denied, government might, on ſome occaſion, conſider it as admitted, and ground future meaſures upon ſuch admiſſion: and it had been miſtakenly declared, that the convoy act had paſſed without the principle of it being objected to and condemned; but the reaſon why no decided oppoſition was made to it was, that a noble lord, now high in office, had expreſsly declared, that it was not to be conſidered as a tax or money Bill, but a temporary meaſure to enable the Admiralty to protect more effectually the ſhipping of this country, by eſtabliſhing more frequent convoys; and the then ſecretary of the treaſury declared it was *a war tax, and would ceaſe with it*. He confeſſed he never liked the principle, and conceived it might with as much propriety be ſaid, that if Scotland was invaded, they ſhould be called upon to pay for the charges of the army ſent to defend them. There was no protection offered by the convoy act but what every part of the United Kingdom participated in. The convoy act was intituled, "An Act for the *Encouragement* of Britiſh Shipping;" the very title of it is an anſwer to thoſe who wiſhed to make it a precedent for the preſent tax on the tonnage of ſhipping.

Mr. Robinſon then moved a reſolution, which was ſeconded and agreed to, "That the committee ſhould be inſtructed to take ſuch meaſures as might appear adviſable to be purſued in reſpect of the intended tax on the tonnage of ſhipping, if the ſame paſſed into a law." Various reſolutions, which had been received from ſeveral of the out-ports, were then read, and they were all expreſſive of the dangerous tendency of the intended duty.

Mr. Akenhead ſaid, he wiſhed it might not be ſuppoſed that the oppoſition to the tax, in the Houſe of Commons, was weak; for, on the contrary, it was very ſtrong, and the objections extremely well urged.

Mr. Tullock aſked, if any obſervations were made at the interview, relating to the reſtricting the importation of Britiſh goods and merchandiſe into France.

The Chairman ſaid, that that ſubject had been mentioned in the converſation, and alſo the ſtate of the American, French, and other foreign ſhips, and it was ſuggeſted that the legiſlature ſhould, under the exiſting circumſtances of the times, rather encourage than depreſs Britiſh ſhipping, which they would by perſiſting in this tax. He begged leave again to obſerve, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had heard all their obſervations and arguments with great candour and attention.

After this, a converſation of conſiderable length took place on the preſent ſtate of the carrying trade of Great Britain, adverting to the gigantic ſtrides which France was openly and boldly making towards rivalling us in that reſpect on our native element, and of the preference ſhe was avowedly holding out to all other foreign ſhips, to the total excluſion of Britiſh ſhips. It was then recommended to the ſhip-owners in London, and at the out-ports, to co-operate more ſtrongly, and to appoint a committee to ſuperintend all ſuch meaſures as might be brought forward reſpecting the ſhipping intereſt of Great Britain; and a reſolution to that effect being prepared by Mr. Robinſon, it was propoſed and unanimouſly agreed to.

Mr. Tullock ſaid, he knew that at that moment foreign ſhips were permitted to unload their cargoes under orders of council, much to the detriment of Britiſh ſhips.

It was then ſtated, that the Dutch property act remained in force for upward of two years longer.

Mr. Tullock ſaid, the Dutch property act was a total ſubverſion of the navigation laws.

Mr. Hill ſaid, he coincided moſt heartily in the laſt motion; no one could doubt the importance of the navigation acts, nor be inſenſible of the effects they had produced.

Several other reſolutions were afterwards propoſed, and the meeting then adjourned.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

On Thurſday (May 6) nothing of importance occurred in the Houſe of Lords.

The next day (May 7) *Lord Minto* gave notice that, on Monday, he ſhould move for ſome papers which were neceſſary for the diſcuſſion of the definitive treaty. The order of the day was then read, which being

done, *Lord Spencer* roſe to call the attention of their lordſhips to the ſubject of the Iſland of Malta. After expatiating at conſiderable length on the importance of that iſland, and the evil conſequences which might reſult from its falling into the hands of the French, he concluded by moving for an account of the territorial revenues and commercial duties of Malta, from its ſurrender to England to the preſent time. Some obſervations were made by *Lord Hobart* on the ſpeech of the noble mover. The motion was ſupported by *Lords Carliſle*, *Grenville*, and *Holland*; the latter of whom declared that it was with pain he heard it proved, by the two other noble lords, that Malta was, in a great meaſure, ſurrendered to France: that we had alſo not a ſingle port left us in the Mediterranean was to him a ſubject of great regret. The queſtion was then put and carried.

On Monday (May 10) *Lord Holland* brought forward a motion for copies of the correſpondence between his Majeſty's miniſters and the court of Liſbon, relative to the treaty of 1797, between France and Portugal, and alſo for copies of correſpondence which took place between the ſame in 1800 and 1801. The motion was oppoſed by *Lords Pelham* and *Grenville*, and by the *Marquis of Sligo*; and, on the queſtion being put, was negatived without a diviſion. *Lord Minto* then brought forward his motion for the production of papers relative to the formation of the Italian Republic, and the ceſſion of the Iſland of Elba. It was prefaced by a ſpeech of ſome length, in which his lordſhip ſtated, from perſonal knowledge, what was the effect produced on the minds of our friends on the Continent, by the peace we had procured. So diſgraceful, he ſaid, were the terms conſidered, that when the preliminaries arrived at Vienna they were believed by every one to be the fabrication of France. His lordſhip next adverted to the eſtabliſhment of the Italian Republic, and the conſequences that muſt reſult from it to the ſyſtem of Europe; and then, touching upon the ceſſion of Elba, concluded by moving an addreſs to his Majeſty for ſuch official documents as related to theſe tranſactions. The motion was oppoſed by *Lord Pelham*, on the ground that no ſuch documents were in poſſeſſion of government. The formation of the Italian Republic had, he allowed, excited a great degree of alarm in miniſters, but it had been thought imprudent and impolitic to break off the negotiation on that account. The motions were then negatived without a diviſion. The conſideration of the definitive treaty was poſtponed till Thurſday.

Nothing of importance came before the Houſe on Tueſday (May 11), or on Wedneſday (May 12).

The firſt matter, and indeed the only one of importance, that came before the Houſe of Commons on Thurſday (May 6) was the motion of *Lord Temple*, for certain papers relative to the Iſland of Malta. In a ſpeech of conſiderable length this lordſhip ſtated, as reaſons for the production of theſe papers, the change which had been made in the formation and conſtitution of the order; the loſs of the revenues anciently belonging to the knights; the imperfect guarantee which was obtained for the neutrality of the iſland; and the intrigues which were, and would be carried on by France to obtain poſſeſſion of an object of ſuch importance as Malta. His lordſhip then proceeded to conſider the uſurpation of the Italian Republic, and the ceſſion of Elba: on both which ſubjects he dwelt with great force of argument. The conduct of this country, with regard to objects of ſuch importance, had not, he contended, been what it owed to its power, its intereſts, and its honour. In contraſt to our preſent conduct he oppoſed that of the nation at a period of difficulty, diſtreſs, and diſaffection. In ſupport of his obſervations, his lordſhip read the following paſſage from the report of the miniſters to King William the Third, in the year 1698, with Mr. Burke's ſtatement of the conduct purſued by that ſovereign under ſuch painful circumſtances.

" So far as relates to England, it would " be want of duty not to give your Majeſty " this clear account, that there is a dead- " neſs and want of ſpirit in the nation " univerſally, ſo as not to be at all diſpoſed " to enter into a new war. That they " ſeem to be tired out with taxes to a de- " gree beyond what was diſcerned, till it " appeared at the laſt elections. This is the " truth of the fact on which your Majeſty " will determine what reſolution ought to " be taken."

His Majeſty did determine, and did take and purſue his reſolution. " In all the tot- " tering imbecility of a new government, " and with Parliament totally unmanage- " able, he did perſevere. He perſevered " to expel the fears of his people by his " fortitude, to ſteady their fickleneſs by his " conſtancy, to expand their narrow pru- " dence by his enlarged wiſdom, to ſink

" their factious temper in his public ſpirit. " In ſpite of his people he reſolved to make " them great and glorious, to make Eng- " land inclined to ſhrink into her narrow " ſelf, the arbitreſs of Europe, the tutelary " angel of the human race. In ſpite of " the miniſters who ſtaggered under the " weight that his mind impoſed upon theirs, " unſupported as they felt themſelves by " the popular ſpirit, he infuſed into them " his own ſoul, he renewed in them their " ancient heart, he rallied them in the " ſame cauſe." His lordſhip concluded by moving for an account of the revenues and duties of Malta; a copy of the laws and ordinances of that iſland, which are referred to in the 10th article of the preſent treaty; and for a copy of the treaty of Luneville. The firſt motion was agreed to; but the ſecond and third gave riſe to much debate. It was objected by miniſters, and by *Mr. Pitt* and *Mr. T. Jones* in ſupport of them, that theſe motions were unfair, and that they were meant to prejudice the public mind. The treaty of Luneville was ſufficiently known for any public purpoſe, and there was no reaſon to ſuppoſe it officially in the hands of government. The motion was ſupported by *Mr. Windham*, *Sir W. Young*, and *Mr. T. Grenville*, as being perfectly conſiſtent with fairneſs and propriety. It was, however, negatived. On the third head, the conſtitution of Malta; it was ſtated by miniſters that, though known hiſtorically, it was not in poſſeſſion of government as an official document. By the ſupporters of the motion it was urged, that the government, having pledged itſelf to ſupport that conſtitution, ought, at leaſt, to know where it might be referred to: if they did know this, they might produce it on the table in ſome form, even were it as a printed book. To this no ſatisfactory anſwer was given. The queſtion was then put and negatived.

The next day (Friday, May 7) *Mr. Nicholls* brought forward his promiſed motion relative to the late Chancellor of the Exchequer. Tracing the meaſures of the late miniſters, from the commencement of the war, to the time of his leaving office, the hon. gentleman contended that they were all equally cenſurable. The war had been undertaken to protect Holland, and deliver the Low Countries; thoſe objects were not attained. A peace, the neceſſary conſequence of ſuch a war, was now concluded, which, though it ſhould have his ſupport, placed France in a ſituation which could not be viewed without alarm. At home, the liberties of the ſubject had been deſtroyed, and the ſtrength of the country reduced. Every mode of corruption had alſo been employed. The hon. gentleman concluded by moving an addreſs of thanks to his Majeſty for having removed the Right Hon. W. Pitt from his councils. He was followed by *Lord Belgrave*, who entered into a very warm panegyric of the late miniſter, and in concluſion moved that the Houſe ſhould paſs a vote expreſſive of their approbation of thoſe meaſures which the hon. gentleman held forth as the objects of cenſure. This motion was ſeconded by *Mr. S. Thornton*, and gave riſe to a long debate. It was firſt reſiſted on the point of order, but this being overruled, the debate was reſumed. *Sir H. Mildmay* then moved, as an amendment, that the thanks of the Houſe ſhould be given to the Right Hon. W. Pitt for his pre-eminent ſervices. Theſe motions were attacked, in a long and animated ſpeech, by *Mr. Erſkine*, who deſcanted upon the conduct of the late miniſters in terms of ſtrong indignation. The ſame ſide of the queſtion was alſo taken by *Mr. Grey* and *Mr. Fox*. The defence of the late miniſters was undertaken by *Mr. Wilberforce*, *Sir Robert Peele*, *Mr. Cartwright*, *Lord Hawkeſbury*, *Sir H. Mildmay*, and other members. In contradiction to what had fallen from the other ſide of the Houſe, it was contended that the country owed the preſervation of its laws and religion, and the king that of his crown, to the meaſures of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer; that his conduct had diſplayed the higheſt integrity and political wiſdom, and that he had been in every ſenſe the benefactor of his country. The debate was continued till a late hour, when the original motion, was put and negatived by 221 againſt 52. The two amendments were then withdrawn, and formed into ſeparate motions which were carried by the ſame majority. Two amendments to theſe were moved: the one by *Mr. Fox*, the other by *Mr. Grey*. It was propoſed by *Mr. Fox* to include the names of Mr. Dundas, Mr. Windham, Lord Spencer, and Lord Roſlin. With this *Mr. Wilberforce* concurred. It was, however, negatived. The motion of *Mr. Grey* was to add to that of *Sir H. Mildmay* the words " by which means the pre- " ſent adminiſtration were enabled to con- " clude a ſafe, honourable, and glorious " peace!" This alſo was negatived. The Houſe did not riſe till half paſt ſix in the morning.

The Houſe was principally occupied on

Monday (May 10) with the ordinary buſineſs of the day. Several ſums were voted in a committee of ſupply, which gave riſe to many obſervations from *Mr. Robſon*. The motion of *Dr. Laurence* was poſtponed till the next day.

On Tueſday (May 11) *Lord Hawkeſbury* moved that the definitive treaty ſhould be taken into conſideration on Thurſday inſtead of Wedneſday, for which day the order originally ſtood. It was contended on this motion, by ſeveral members, that, as many of the papers to be moved for, could not be laid on the table in time to aſſiſt the diſcuſſion of the treaty, ſome further delay ſhould be allowed. Monday was, therefore, propoſed to be named inſtead of Thurſday. This propoſition was ſupported by *Mr. Sheridan*, *Mr. Dent*, and other members; but was reſiſted by miniſters, who declared that it was of public conſequence that the diſcuſſion ſhould take place as early as poſſible. The day moved by *Lord Hawkeſbury* was adopted, after a diviſion on the amendment. *General Gaſcoygne* then roſe to move for ſeveral papers relative to our Weſt India poſſeſſions. The hon. gentleman went at conſiderable length into the ſubject. By the non-renewal of treaties, he urged that we were precluded from that trade on the coaſts of Honduras and of Senegal, which was indiſpenſably neceſſary for our manufactures. In conſequence of that non-renewal, prohibitions upon our trade to thoſe parts had already taken place. He then adverted to that article of the treaty by which Britiſh ſubjects were empowered to withdraw themſelves from the iſlands and poſſeſſions reſtored to the enemy. This article he demonſtrated to be ineffectual. Ten millions and a half of Britiſh capital was inveſted in theſe poſſeſſions, which, by this treaty, we were without the means of withdrawing from them. By this capital the value of the French and Dutch poſſeſſions had been trebled, and it muſt ſtill remain there, as, contrary to all uſage, no ſtipulation had been made for bringing it away, though innumerable memorials had been preſented to miniſters on the ſubject, long previous to the ſigning of the definitive treaty. He, therefore, ſhould move for a copy of an explanation which might have taken place between the two governments on this ſubject. This motion was oppoſed by *Lord Hawkeſbury*, *Mr. Vanſittart*, and others. By *Lord Hawkeſbury*, it was contended that every thing had been done by his Majeſty's miniſters that was poſſible, but that it was neceſſary in negotiation to conſider the whole, and on that ground it might ſometimes be neceſſary to concede a part; that, however it might be proper to conſider Britiſh ſubjects, thoſe who inveſted property in conquered colonies were not entitled to ſo high a degree of conſideration as ſhould be ſhown to others, ſince they veſted their property under all riſks. He, therefore, oppoſed the motion, which was negatived. A ſecond and third motion, for an account of dying woods, gums, and mahogany imported into Great Britain, was carried. The laſt, which was for an account of prohibitions impoſed on Britiſh commerce ſince ſigning the preliminaries, was negatived.

The next day (Wedneſday, May 12) the motion of *Dr. Laurence*, which at the requeſt of Lord Hawkeſbury had been poſtponed to this day, was brought forward. It was opened by the learned doctor in a ſpeech of great length and argument. In this ſpeech, admitting to the fulleſt extent our right of ſovereignty in India as againſt foreign powers, though waving the queſtion of its acquirement, he traced and illuſtrated the claims of foreign powers, and the manner in which they had been advanced. France, it was already demonſtrated, had never ceaſed to aſſert rights injurious even to our exiſtence there. The claims of France had indeed been ſet at reſt by treaties, but thoſe treaties were abrogated. Every thing was therefore left looſe on its original ground, and France might at any moment put the queſtion to the deciſion of the ſword. The ſame was to be obſerved with reſpect to our free navigation of the Eaſtern Seas; a point which has long been diſputed by the Dutch, and which was at laſt ſettled by a treaty now, like all others, done away. On this point, it was to be obſerved, that by the treaty of alliance between France and Holland, if we contended with one power we muſt contend with both. The queſtion of combat, therefore, could not be with Holland, but with France and Holland, and it was vain to expect that any queſtion of the kind would be ſettled by Indian armies, or on the ſhores of India by the two countries. No, the quarrel would come to an iſſue nearer home. To prevent theſe effects, the various treaties, which bound down the French influence in India, ought to have been renewed. After going with great perſpicuity into every part of this ſubject, the hon. gentleman concluded, by moving for various papers intimately connected with, and illuſtrative of the ſubject which

he had brought before the Houſe. The motion was oppoſed by *Mr. T. Jones*, *Mr. H. Dundas* and *Lord Hawkeſbury*. By the two latter gentlemen it was contended that the ſovereignty of India was allowed to belong to Great Britain; that any thing granted to the French, in thoſe treaties, was merely a matter of favour; and that, therefore, France could ſet up no claims againſt us; or if ſhe did, which was not to be expected, we might juſtly repel them by force of arms. With reſpect to the obſtruction, by the Dutch, of our navigation to China, through the ſtraits of Malacca, it was treated as a mere bagatelle, as a matter not worthy of argument, though, at the ſame time, it was allowed, that from one to two hundred ſail of Britiſh veſſels yearly paſſed through theſe ſtraits. Some of the papers moved for, it was ſaid, by *Lord Hawkeſbury*, were not proper to be given; ſome would at other times have been indifferent; but all ought now to be refuſed, becauſe there was no ground for an inquiry into the queſtion brought forward by the hon. mover. To this it was anſwered by *Lord Temple*, *Mr. T. Grenville*, and *Dr. Laurence*, that no attempt had been made by the hon. mover, or his friends, to deny the ſovereignty of this country, but merely a wiſh expreſſed that meaſures might be taken to prevent that ſovereignty from being debated by our rivals at the point of the ſword, after we had given up the ſecurity which we at preſent held by our poſſeſſion of the Cape and Cochin. With reſpect to there being a ground of inquiry, it was ſaid, that it would be more decent for miniſters to leave that to the Houſe, than to paſs judgment themſelves. What ill effect could reſult from the production of theſe papers? They diſcloſed no ſtate ſecrets, but merely went to give the Houſe the neceſſary information. The queſtions were then put, and negatived without a diviſion.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Paris, May 6.—A report having been circulated that the importation of Engliſh merchandiſe, particularly the Engliſh manufacture of China and Delf ware, would be permitted by government, the miniſter of the interior has formally contradicted this report, by ſtating that the law of October 1797, which prohibits the importation of Engliſh manufactures, is ſtill in force. And orders have been given to the officers of the cuſtoms, not only to prevent the importation of ſuch merchandiſe, but to diſcover whether any has been imported, in order that the law which orders it to be ſeized may be carried into execution.

The merchants of Pondicherry, and the Iſles of France and of Réunion, at Paris, have preſented to government a memorial againſt all excluſive privilege, and claiming, in the name of thoſe three factories, the indefinite freedom of commerce.

We are aſſured that government is occupied in the examination of the great queſtion ſo long diſputed, Whether privileged companies are uſeful or prejudicial to the mother-country?

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

The Duke of Cambridge is preparing for his journey to Hanover. Previous notice has been ſent to the Lords of the Regency, to make ſuitable preparations for his Royal Highneſs's reception, it being expected that in future he will make that Electorate his chief reſidence.

On Monday, after a conteſt of five days, Sir Henry Peyton was elected member for the county of Cambridge. The numbers were,

For Sir H. Peyton - - - -	1592
Lord Ch. Somerſet Manners	1500
Majority -	92

A ſubſcription is opened at Lloyd's Coffee-houſe for raiſing a ſum of money for the purpoſe of "erecting a ſtatue of "the Rt. Hon. Wm. Pitt, late Firſt Lord "of the Treaſury, and Chancellor of the "Exchequer, for the diſtinguiſhed and va- "luable ſervices which he has rendered to "his country, during the courſe of his able "and upright adminiſtration." About a thouſand pounds have been ſubſcribed in the courſe of eight days. It appears alſo, from an advertiſement in the newſpapers, that Mr. Pitt's birthday is to be commemorated, on the 28th inſtant, at the London Tavern, in the ſame manner as that of Mr. Fox has been for many years paſt.

On Thurſday laſt the mayor and ſheriffs of London preſented to his Majeſty an addreſs on the concluſion of peace.

At a meeting of the county of Berks, held at Reading, on the 6th inſtant, an addreſs was voted to his Majeſty on the concluſion of the definitive treaty.

His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales's anſwer to the Letter of the Sheriffs of London, reſpecting their non-attendance at the Manſion-Houſe on Eaſter Monday.

(Copy.)

"*Carlton-Houſe, April* 21, 1802.

"Gentlemen,

"I am commanded by the Prince of Wales to ſay, it is matter of unfeigned concern to his Royal Highneſs to find his not having had the pleaſure of meeting you in the City on Monday laſt, was owing to any miſconception between you and the Lord Mayor; for his Royal Highneſs muſt lament, that a ſhadow of diſſatisfaction to any one, ſhould ariſe out of a day which will always ſtand moſt gratefully diſtinguiſhed in his recollection. I am directed to add, that his Royal Highneſs's regret cannot but be the more lively, when the circumſtance refers to perſons ſo prominent in official ſtation, and in private character, as you are.

"His Royal Highneſs is convinced that whilſt you accept the expreſſion of his concern, as applying to you individually, and whilſt you give credit for perfect ſenſibility to your obliging declarations of attachment, you will feel the propriety of his abſtaining from any alluſion to the queſtion of claims, on which he cannot hold himſelf at all entitled to judge.

"I am, Gentlemen, your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

"*Thomas Tyrwhitt.*"

Copy of a Letter from Evan Nepean, Eſq. Secretary to the Admiralty, to the Commanders in Chief at the Ports of Portſmouth, Plymouth, Sheerneſs, and Chatham, dated the 26th of April 1802.

"Sir,

"I am commanded by the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty to ſignify their direction to you to acquaint the Captains and Commanders of his Majeſty's ſhips and veſſels which may be ordered to be paid off at Portſmouth, that, in order to give employment to as many Maſter's-Mates and Midſhipmen as poſſible, their Lordſhips have increaſed the number of Petty Officers to be borne on board the ſhips and veſſels intended to be employed in time of peace; and that ſuch of the Maſter's-Mates and Midſhipmen who have paſſed for Lieutenants, or who may have already ſerved their time to qualify themſelves to paſs, and are deſirous of employment without being able to obtain it, ſhould make known their wiſhes to me, the latter ſtating the times of their ſervice, and tranſmitting the certificates of the Captains or Commanders with whom they have laſt ſerved, of their behaviour during ſuch ſervice.

"I am, Sir, &c.

"*Evan Nepean.*"

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The parliamentary diſcuſſion of the Definitive Treaty has occupied another week of the public attention, which ſeems to have been conſtantly turned towards this important object. On Thurſday night, Lord Grenville, at the cloſe of a ſpeech of three hours and three quarters, moved an addreſs to his Majeſty in the following words:

"That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to aſſure his Majeſty that we have taken into our moſt ſerious conſideration the Definitive Treaty of Peace, which his Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to communicate to this Houſe.

"That we acknowledge with all humility and ſubmiſſion his Majeſty's undoubted prerogative of making peace and war: and that we ſhall conſider it to be our firſt duty, as far as may depend on us, to maintain inviolate the public faith, as it is pledged by this Treaty, and to aſſiſt his Majeſty in performing with uprightneſs and punctuality, the engagements into which his Majeſty has been adviſed to enter.

"But that we cannot conceal the painful apprehenſions, with which we conſider the reſult of thoſe engagements; nor can we forbear to offer to his Majeſty our humble and dutiful advice, for the adoption of ſuch meaſures, as can alone, in our opinion, under the bleſſing of Providence, avert from us the dangers with which we are now ſurrounded.

"That it is impoſſible for us to have ſeen without the utmoſt anxiety and alarm, all the unexampled circumſtances which have attended the final concluſion of the preſent peace: the extenſive and important ſacrifices, which, without any correſponding conceſſion, this Treaty has added to thoſe already made, on our part, by the preliminary articles: the unlooked-for and immenſe acceſſions of territory, influence, and power, which it has tacitly confirmed to France: the numerous ſubjects of claſhing intereſt and unavoidable diſpute, which it has left entirely unadjuſted; and above all, thoſe continued and ſyſtematic projects of aggrandizement, of which, in the very moment of peace, we have ſeen unhappily ſuch undeniable and convincing evidence.

"That by relinquiſhing ſo many ſources of proſperity in peace and ſo many bulwarks of defence in war, and by renouncing at the ſame time the advantage and ſecurity always hitherto derived from the accuſtomed renewal of former treaties, the Britiſh Government has impoſed on itſelf a greater neceſſity than has ever before exiſted, for meaſures of increaſed precaution, and for determinations of unſhaken conſtancy.

"That we therefore rely on his Majeſty's paternal wiſdom for a watchful and unremitted attention to the ſituation and future conduct of the power with whom we have negotiated. And we think it neceſſary more eſpecially to aſſure his Majeſty of our

ſteady and firm ſupport in that determination which we truſt his Majeſty will henceforward ſteadily purſue, of reſiſting every freſh encroachment (of whatever nature), which ſhall be attempted on the maritime, commercial, or colonial rights and intereſts of the Britiſh Empire.

"This our ſolemn declaration muſt, as we believe, materially conduce to prevent the neceſſity which it is calculated to meet. And we truſt that his Majeſty will alſo approve of our deſire to ſupport it by all practicable economy, in every branch of the public expenditure, and by a ſcale of naval and military defence adequate to the extent of our danger, and to the importance of the intereſts which we have to maintain.

"The anxiety which we feel in this reſpect is the neceſſary conſequence of our ſincere wiſh for the permanence of the public tranquillity which his Majeſty has now re-eſtabliſhed. And it is for the ſame important purpoſe that we alſo moſt earneſtly recommend to his Majeſty's wiſdom, the preſſing neceſſity of arranging, by immediate and amicable diſcuſſion, thoſe points of eſſential intereſt, which had been adjuſted by former treaties, but for which no proviſion has been made in this negotiation.

"Theſe councils we ſubmit to his Majeſty with confidence, in the preſent awful criſis of public affairs, prepared to meet with firmneſs all the difficulties and dangers of our preſent ſituation, but deſirous above all things to promote the ſtability and ſecurity of real peace: the object which it has been his Majeſty's benevolent deſire, by ſuch extenſive ſacrifices, to enſure to his loyal and affectionate people."

An amendment was propoſed by the Duke of Norfolk, and a counter-amendment by Lord Pelham. The Houſe divided at ſeven o'clock in the morning, after a debate of fourteen hours. For Lord Grenville's motion there appeared 16; againſt it, including proxies, 122. A motion, in every reſpect ſimilar to that of Lord Grenville, was, on the ſame evening, made, in the Houſe of Commons, by Mr. Windham. The Houſe of Commons adjourned the debate at four o'clock yeſterday morning. It was reſumed laſt night, and ended this morning at half paſt four o'clock. For Mr. Windham's motion there were 20, againſt it 276.

In the courſe of theſe debates ſome very curious and intereſting matter has tranſpired. Several aſſertions and avowals have been made, which it will be of great moment to put upon record, to illuſtrate, and to circulate widely. Lord Grenville's ſpeech we had the good fortune to hear, and we hope that the public will be furniſhed with an opportunity of reading it; not in the garbled ſtate in which it muſt neceſſarily find its way into a newſpaper, but at full length, and as near as poſſible in the ſame order and the ſame words in which it was delivered. After examining in detail the ſeveral parts of the complicated and extenſive ſubject, his lordſhip took a view of it as a whole, and in all the different lights in which it could poſſibly preſent itſelf. His arrangement was new and uncommonly perſpicuous; his language was elegant, his manner dignified, and his arguments were irreſiſtible. If the whole nation could have been aſſembled to hear that ſpeech, previous to the proclamation of peace, neither the example of the miniſters, nor the dread of the myrmidons from the Poſt-Office, would have extorted an illumination, even from the ignorant and cowardly people of London and Weſtminſter.

The depreſſion, which, as our readers will perceive, the funds have experienced, during the laſt week, has been aſcribed to ſeveral cauſes; but we think the chief is, the newly repeated reſolution of France not to enter into any commercial treaty with this country, and not to ſuffer Britiſh goods, on any account, to enter her own dominions or the dominions of any of the powers, which ſhe holds within her talons. Her inflexibility, in this reſpect, grows daily ſtronger and ſtronger; and thoſe who now doubt of her intentions to deſtroy the commerce and navigation of England muſt labour under an infatuation equal to that, which, on our part, produced the treaty of Amiens.

In another part of the Regiſter will be found an account of the proceedings of the meeting of ſhip-owners, to which we beg leave to direct the particular attention of our readers. They will find from thoſe proceedings, that our prediction with reſpect to the decline of our navigation is already but too fully verified. At every former peace, this navigation increaſed, a circumſtance which led unreflecting men to ſuppoſe that the preſent peace would be productive of ſimilar effects. Thoſe men will be moſt cruelly diſappointed; and when, as the ſhip-owners predict, our ſhips and our ſeamen have paſſed into the ſervice of our enemies, then will the ſenſeleſs clamourers for peace feel what it is to purchaſe that "bleſſing" on terms ſuch as thoſe, of which they have now the folly, not to ſay the baſeneſs, to approve.

From France, from that country to whoſe imperious will we are in future to look for our deſtiny, news of great importance was laſt night received. Not of the death of Buonaparté; no, nor of any of thoſe convulſions, which ſome weak people imagined would ſpring up out of peace, and would enervate the arm of the Firſt Conſul; but

of a change of a very different complexion indeed; of a change whence we may probably derive the conſolation of not being the vaſſals of any thing leſs than a *king* or an *emperor*. On the 8th inſtant the Senate paſſed an arrêt, conſtituting Buonaparté Conſul for *twenty* years. Upon the preſentation of this arrêt, the pious youth modeſtly obſerved, that he had fondly hoped, that the term of his political exiſtence would end with his ten years conſulſhip; but that, ſince the nation wiſhed for a longer continuation of his ſervices, he yielded to its ſolicitations. Taking advantage of this complying mood, the two other Conſuls iſſued an arrêt on the 10th inſtant, by which the French people *(le peuple ſouverain)* are ordered to meet, in primary aſſemblies, and ſignify their will, in the ſpace of ſix weeks, whether Buonaparté ſhall be Conſul for *life*, or not. This intelligence is contained in the Moniteur of the 11th inſtant, at which time the funds were up to 60¾, a riſe of 4 per cent. in one day.

We have not time to comment on this proceeding; but we beg leave to remind our readers of our prediction, expreſſed in the Regiſter, p. 124.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

War Office, May 11, 1802.

His Majeſty has been pleaſed to appoint Lieutenant-Generals J. Leland, J. Hamilton, John Stratton, James Rooke, Charles Croſbie, John Earl of Suffolk, Honourable Chapple Norton, George Hotham, David Dundas, Sir Robert Abercromby, K. B. Gerard Lake, Sir Thomas Muſgrave, Bart. James Coates, Ralph Dundas, Richard Whyte, Sir Alured Clarke, K. B. to be Generals in the Army.

Major-Generals A. Farrington, J. Stuart, Charles Horneck, John Whyte, Andrew John Drummond, Henry Bowyer, John William Egerton, Peter Hunter, Joſeph Walton, Ellis Walker, William Johnſtone, William Maxwell, George Earl of Pembroke, John Earl of Chatham, Alexander Campbell, William Morſhead, Francis Dundas, Alexander Roſs, Abraham D'Aubant, Honourable Francis Needham, Henry Pigot, to be Lieutenant-Generals in the Army.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

Birth.—On the 8th inſt. at his Lordſhip's ſeat, Oſterley Park, the Counteſs of Weſtmoreland, of a ſon.

Marriage.—On Saturday, at St. George's, Hanover Square, Gilbert Mathiſon, Eſq. to Miſs Farquhar, eldeſt daughter of Sir Walter Farquhar, Bart.

PRICES OF THE PUBLIC FUNDS.

	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.
Bank Stock	—	—	190	—	—	—
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	75½	73⅞	73⅜	73⅜	73⅝	73¼
3 per Cent. Conſols	76⅛	74⅞	74⅝	74⅝	74⅝	47⅛
4 per Cent. Conſols	90¼	90	88¾	89½	89⅞	89⅞
5 per Cent. Ann. .	102½	102¼	101½	102¼	102¼	102¼
Imp. 3 per Ct. Ann.	—	—	71⅛	72⅛	72⅝	72⅞
5 per Cent. 1797 .	104⅛	104¼	103⅝	104	104⅞	103¾
Bank Long Ann. .	21⅛	21	20⅞	20⅞	21⅜	20⅞
Bank Short Ann. .	5	—	—	5	—	5
India Stock	—	—	—	—	—	—
Omnium	2¼	1½	1¼	1½	1½	1
Exch. Bills, New .	—	ss pr	ss pr	ss pr	—	—
Iriſh 5 per Cent. .	—	—	—	—	—	—

AMERICAN STOCKS.—Eight pr. c. 113.
FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Conſolidé, 60 f. 75 c.

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s. s.		s. s.
Eng. Wheat per q.	56 to 72	Hops per cwt. .	82 to 161
Foreign	48 - 70	Hay per load .	37 - 91
Rye	34 - 39	Beef, per ſtone . .	5s. to 5s. 6d.
Barley	30 - 34		
Malt	36 - 46	Mutton	6s. 8d. to 7s. 6d.
Oats	12 - 19	Veal	6s. to 7s.
Peaſe	27 - 33	Pork . . .	6s. to 6s. 9d.
Beans	30 - 38	Tallow . .	4s.
Flour per ſack .	50 -	Average of Sugar	
Seconds	44 - 50	per cwt. . .	33s. 5¾d.
Coals per chal. .	29 - 38		

Bread *Nine Pence Farthing* the Quartern Loaf.
Porter Four Pence Halfpenny per Pot.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C.F.	10 15 2 uſ.	LEGHORN	51
D°. at ſight . .	10 12	NAPLES	44
ROTTERDAM	10 16 2 uſ.	GENOA	47¼
HAMBURGH	31 72½ uſ.	LISBON	68½
ALTONA . .	32 8 2½ uſ.	OPORTO	68¼
PARIS 2 uſ.	22 13 liv.	DUBLIN	11½
BOURDEAUX, d°.	23 f4	VENICE, 57 livres piccole	
CADIZ . .	34 in paper	effective per £. ſter.	
DITTO . .	36½ effective	BILBOA	37 D°
MADRID .	34 in paper	PALERMO	
DITTO . .	37¼ effective	AGIO, bank on Hol. p. c.	

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER,

Near Guilford, in Surrey, for the Month of May 1802.

Days.	M's Age.	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barometer. Inches. M.	Barometer. Inches. A.	Thermometer. Degrees. M.	Thermometer. Degrees. A.
6		Fair.	NE	NE	30,1	30,07	50	55,5
7		Fair.	E	E	29,99	29,97	50	57
8		Fine.	E	S	29,75	29,75	52,8	65
9	☾	Fine.	WSW	WSW	29,81	29,82	52,5	60
10		Fine.	NNE	NNE	29,87	29,9	53	61
11		Fine.	W	W	30	29,93	53	62,5
12		Fine.	NW	NW	29,89	29,85	58	59

● *New Moon.* ☾ *1ſt Quar.* ○ *F. Moon.* ☽ *laſt Quar.*
May 14, a few flakes of ſnow in London.

LONDON

LONDON, May 15 to May 22, 1802.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Order issued by the Intendant of New Orleans on the 1st of March, 1802.

"Notice is hereby given, that from the day of the publication of the general peace in this town, or before, if the King should order it, the commerce which at present exists with neutral powers, and was granted the 11th of June, 1798, shall entirely cease. American vessels shall still be admitted, and may deposit and carry away their property as they have done hitherto, according to the treaty of October the 27th, 1795."

Notice issued by the French Chargé-d'Affaires in the United States of America.

"The Commissary-General and Chargé-d'Affaires of the French Republic, gives information to all persons whom it may concern, that in consequence of the revolt of the negroes in St. Domingo, all manner of intercourse is, by order of the Commander in Chief of the French Republic in the island, prohibited to foreigners, with any other part of the island but the two ports of Cape François and Port Républicain. Cruisers will arrest all foreign vessels attempting to enter any other port, and to communicate with the revolted negroes, to carry either ammunition or provisions to them: such vessels shall be confiscated, and their commanders severely punished, as violating the rights of the French Republic, and the law of nations. Fair and regular traders will meet with encouragement and protection at the above-mentioned places from the General in Chief and subordinate authorities. The intercourse between the United States and those two ports is left open to the American trade. It will be advisable for merchants who make shipments to the colony, and who wish to meet with no interruption by incurring suspicion of improper conduct, to take certificates from the commissaries, or commissarial agents of the French Republic in the United States, who are instructed to deliver them to the applicants.

"Given at George Town, Columbia District, the 27th Ventôse, 10th year of the French Republic (18th March, 1802.)

"L. A. PICHON."

Address to the Legislative Body of France, on the 6th of May, 1802, when the Treaty of Amiens was communicated to them.

"Citizens Legislators,

"The government addresses to you the treaty which has put a final period to the dissensions of Europe, and completed the great work of peace.

"The Republic combated for its independence—its independence is recognized: the acknowledgment of every power consecrates those rights which she had held from nature, and those limits which she derived from her victories.

"Another Republic has been established in her bosom, founded on the same principles, and drawing from the same source the ancient spirit of the Gauls. Attached to France by the remembrance of a common origin, by common institutions, and above all, by the tie of benefits conferred, the *Italian Republic* takes rank amongst the powers of Europe, and amongst our allies, supported by courage and distinguished by virtue.

"The *Batavian Republic* is restored to a unity of interest: freed from that double influence which perplexed its councils, and distracted its politics, it has regained its independence, and finds in the nation which had conquered it, the most faithful guarantee of its existence and its rights. The wisdom of its administration will preserve its splendour, and the active economy of its citizens will restore prosperity.

"The *Helvetic Republic*, recognized without, is continually agitated within by factions, who dispute for power. Government, faithful to its principles, will not exercise over an independent nation any other influence than that of its councils: its councils have, however, hitherto been unheeded, but it still hopes that the voice of wisdom and moderation will be listened to, and that the neighbouring powers of Helvetia will not be compelled to interfere to put a stop to troubles which menace their own tranquillity.

"It was due from the Republic to her engagements, and the fidelity of Spain, to make every effort to preserve the integrity of the territory of that kingdom. This duty she fulfilled throughout the negotiation, with all the energy which circumstances would allow. The King of Spain acknowledges the fidelity of his allies, and his generosity has made that sacrifice to peace which they endeavoured to spare him. He has acquired by this, new claims to the attachment of France, and a sacred title to the gratitude of Europe. Already the return of commerce consoles his states for the calamities of war, and soon a vivifying spirit will infuse into his vast possessions a new activity and a new industry.

"Rome, Naples, and Etruria, are restored to tranquillity, and the arts of peace.—Lucca has found rest and independence under a constitution which has destroyed all animosities, and united all hearts. Liguria has founded, on the consent of all parties, the principles of its organization; and Genoa again sees riches and commerce enter her ports. The Republic of the Seven Islands is still, as well as Helvetia, the prey of anarchy; but the Emperor of Russia, in concert with France, has ordered some troops which he had in Naples, to be transported thither, which will restore to those happy countries the only blessing which they want, viz. tranquillity, the destruction of faction, and the enforcement of the laws. Thus, from one extremity to the other, Europe sees peace restored upon the continent and upon the ocean, and its happiness founded upon the union of the great powers, and upon the faith of treaties.

"In America, the known principles of government have afforded to Martinico, Tobago, and St. Lucia the moſt perfect ſecurity—they no longer dread thoſe imprudent laws, which would ſpread devaſtation and death throughout the colonies.—Their only wiſh is to be united to the mother-country, and they will bring back to it, with their attachment and confidence, a degree of proſperity at leaſt equal to that which they have before enjoyed. At St. Domingo great calamities have happened; great evils are to be repaired; but the inſurrection grows leſs formidable every day: Touſſaint, without fortreſſes, without treaſure, without army, is no more than a chief of banditti, wandering from mountain to mountain, whom our light troops are conſtantly purſuing, and will ſoon deſtroy.

"The peace is known in the Iſle of France and in India; the firſt cares of government have already brought back their love of the Republic, their confidence in its laws, and afforded every hope of proſperity.

"Many years will paſs over us without victories, without triumphs, without thoſe ſplendid negotiations which fix the deſtiny of ſtates; but another ſpecies of ſucceſs ought to mark the exiſtence of nations, and above all, that of the Republic. Induſtry is every where re-animated, and commerce and the arts every where unite to efface the calamities of war. Labour of every kind calls for the attention of government. It will perform this new taſk with ſucceſs, as it ſhall poſſeſs the confidence of the French people. The years which are to come, will be, it is true, leſs celebrated; but the happineſs of France will increaſe, inſtead of her obtaining that glory which ſhe would now deſpiſe.

(Signed) "BUONAPARTE',
"Firſt Conſul.
"H. B. MARET,
"Sec. of State."

Deliberation, containing the Re-election of the Firſt Conſul of the French Republic. Extracted from the Regiſters of the Deliberations of the Conſervative Senate, the 18th Floréal (May 8.)

The Senate, aſſembled to the number preſcribed by the 60th article of the Conſtitutional Act;

Having ſeen the meſſage of the Conſuls of the Republic, tranſmitted by three Orators of the Government, relative to the peace between France and England;

After having heard its ſpecial commiſſion, charged by its decree of the 16th of this month, to preſent its views reſpecting that expreſſion of national gratitude, which the Senate is of opinion it ought to teſtify to the Firſt Conſul of the Republic;

Conſidering, that in the preſent ſituation of the Republic, it is the duty of the Conſervative Senate to employ all the means that the conſtitution has placed in its power, to give to the government that ſtability which alone increaſes its reſources, inſpires confidence abroad, and eſtabliſhes credit at home; encourages allies, and diſcourages ſecret enemies; baniſhes the evils of war, permits the fruits of peace to be enjoyed, and leaves wiſdom time to execute all ſhe can conceive for the happineſs of a free people;

Conſidering, beſides, that the Supreme Magiſtrate, who, after having ſo often conducted the Republican legions to victory, having delivered Italy, triumphed in Europe, Africa, and Aſia, and filled the world with his renown, has preſerved France from the horrors of anarchy which threatened her, has broken the revolutionary ſcythe, diſperſed factions, extinguiſhed civil diſcords and religious troubles, added order and ſecurity to the bleſſings of liberty, haſtened the progreſs of the human mind, conſoled mankind, and given peace both to the land and ſeas, has the greateſt right to the gratitude of his fellow-citizens, as well as to the admiration of poſterity;

That the wiſh of the Tribunal, which the Senate has received in this day's ſitting, may, in this caſe, be conſidered as that of the French nation;

That the Senate cannot expreſs, in a more ſolemn way, to the Firſt Conſul, the gratitude of the nation, than by giving a marked proof of the confidence which the French people repoſes in him;

Conſidering alſo, that the Second and Third Conſuls have worthily ſeconded the glorious labours of the Firſt Conſul of the Republic;

From theſe conſiderations, and after the ſuffrages had been collected by ballot,

The Senate decrees as follows:

Art. I. The Conſervative Senate, in the name of the French people, expreſſes its gratitude to the Conſuls of the Republic.

II. The Conſervative Senate re-elects Citizen Napoleon Buonaparté, Firſt Conſul of the French Republic, for the ten years which ſhall immediately follow the expiration of the ten years for which he has been named by the 39th article of the conſtitution.

III. The preſent *Senatus Conſulte* ſhall be tranſmitted by a meſſage to the Legiſlative Body, to the Tribunate, and to the Conſuls of the Republic.

(Signed) TRONCHET, Preſident.
CHASSET and SERRURIER, Secretaries.

Paris, 19th Floréal (May 9.)

Buonaparté, Firſt Conſul of the Republic, to the Conſervative Senate.

Senators,

The honourable proof of eſteem marked in your deliberation of the 18th (May 8th), will be always engraved on my heart.

It was the ſuffrage of the people which inveſted me with the Chief Magiſtracy. I ſhould not conſider myſelf ſure of poſſeſſing their confidence, if the act which was to retain me in that ſituation was not alſo ſanctioned by the ſuffrages of the people.

In the three years which have laſt paſſed, fortune has ſmiled on the Republic; but fortune is inconſtant, and how many men has ſhe loaded with her favours, who have afterwards lived too long!

The intereſt of my glory and that of my happineſs would appear to mark as the termination of my public life the moment that the peace of the world was proclaimed. But the glory and happineſs of an individual citizen muſt be ſilent, when the intereſt of the ſtate and the opinion of the public call upon him.

In your judgment, I ought to make a freſh ſacrifice for the good of the people; I ſhall do, if the wiſh of the people commands, what your ſuffrage authorizes me to do.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE'.

By order of the Firſt Conſul,

H. B. MARET.

Decree of the 20th Floréal (May 10.)

The Conſuls of the Republic, upon the reports of the miniſters; having heard the Council of State; having ſeen the act of the Conſervative Senate, of the 18th (8th May); and the meſſage of the Firſt Conſul to the Conſervative Senate, dated the 19th (May 9th); conſidering that the reſolution of the Firſt Conſul is a diſtinguiſhed homage paid to the ſovereignty of the people; that the people, when conſulted on their deareſt intereſts, ſhould know no other limits but thoſe intereſts, decree what follows:

Art. I. The French people ſhall be conſulted on this queſtion; "Shall Napoleon Buonaparté be Conſul for life?"

II. There ſhall be open in each commune, regiſters, in which the citizens ſhall be invited to mark their wiſh upon this queſtion.

III. Thoſe regiſters ſhall be open at the Secretary's Office in all the adminiſtrations, at the Clerks of all the Tribunals, and with all the Mayors and Notaries.

IV. The delay for voting in each department ſhall be three weeks, counting from the day that this decree ſhall arrive at the prefecture, and ſeven days from the day it ſhall be delivered to each commune.

V. The miniſters are charged with the execution of the preſent decree, which is to be inſerted in the bulletin of the laws.

(Signed) CAMBACERES, 2d Conſul.

By order of the 2d Conſul,

H. B. MARET.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

On Thurſday (May 13) the final conſideration of the definitive treaty was brought forward in both Houſes. In the Houſe of Lords the ſubject was opened by *Lord Grenville*. To give even a faint ſketch of his highly eloquent and argumentative ſpeech is utterly impoſſible. No circumſtance was left untouched upon; no argument unenforced. His lordſhip declared that it was not his intention to propoſe any thing like cenſure upon the framers of the treaty, or which tended to violate that treaty, now the faith of the nation was pledged for the obſervance of it, but merely to point out the dangers to which the country was expoſed. In performing this taſk his lordſhip entered into a minute inveſtigation of the manner of the negotiation, and the terms on which it had been concluded. The old and wiſe forms of negotiation had, he contended, been departed from in the treaty now before the Houſe. Much had been left in the preliminaries to be ſettled in the definitive treaty. In the interval between the two treaties, circumſtances had taken place, which ought to have induced miniſters to make the definitive treaty leſs unfavourable than the preliminaries. But this had not been attended to. Little was to be argued from the tone and temper of France in the negotiation, on which ſo much ſtreſs had been laid by miniſters. The experience of the laſt ſix months, and the preſent hoſtile meaſures taken againſt our commerce by France, ſufficiently proved the real diſpoſition of that country. His lordſhip then entered at large into the claims of the Prince of Orange, the ſituation of Portugal, the inſecurity of our eaſtern poſſeſſions from the non-renewal of treaties, the ineffective neutrality of Malta, and the little regard paid to the intereſts of thoſe Britiſh ſubjects poſſeſſing property in the reſtored colonies. Reverting again to the non-renewal of treaties, his lordſhip pointed out the inconveniences which would reſult to the country from this omiſſion. Thoſe wiſe ſtipulations in the treaty of Utrecht, by which the aggrandizement of France in the Weſt-Indies and America was prevented, were now completely done away. The effect would alſo be equally injurious to our commerce, as we ſhould immediately be deprived of the gum trade and the power of cutting logwood. That our ſovereignty in India was full and complete was beyond a doubt; but it was of little conſequence that we felt the juſtice of our rights; the thing to be conſidered was, whether they would not be conteſted by the enemy. An amicable negotiation ought, therefore, to be immediately entered into with France on that ſubject. Having, in concluſion, deſcanted upon the conſequences of our having ſurrendered ſo many important ſtations and colonies, and the danger to be apprehended from the increaſed power of France, his lordſhip cloſed his ſpeech by moving the addreſs to his Majeſty, of which a correct copy may be found in page 572 of the Regiſter. The addreſs was ſupported by the *Duke of Richmond*, *Earl Spencer*, and the *Earls of Carnarvon* and *Darnley*. The *Earl of Roſlin*, though adverſe to the definitive treaty, declared himſelf unprepared to go to the full extent of the original motion. On the addreſs being read, the *Duke of Norfolk* roſe to expreſs his diſapprobation of it, as tending to raiſe a doubt in France of our pacific intentions. In his opinion we ought not to think of entering into a war for ſome particular ſtations, or for ſuch ſmall ſpots as the iſland of Elba and others. He therefore moved as an amendment, that all after the ſecond paragraph of the ad-

dreſs ſhould be left out. The addreſs was oppoſed by *Lord Pelham*, who was ſupported by *Lord Auckland*, *Lord Ellenborough*, the *Earl of Weſtmoreland*, the *Lord Chancellor*, *Lord Hobart*, *Lord Mulgrave*, and *Earl Camden*. In reply to the arguments urged by the oppoſite ſide of the Houſe, it was anſwered by miniſters that it was a mere aſſumption to ſay that whatever was reſtored to other countries was in effect given up to France; that the value of thoſe poſſeſſions we had relinquiſhed had been conſiderably overrated; that as to Malta, the guaranteeing powers had a ſtrong intereſt in its independence; that our rights to the gum trade and logwood cutting were unimpaired; that our ſovereignty in India was inconteſtable; and that with reſpect to the acceſſions made by France ſince the preliminary articles, they were not deemed by miniſters a ſufficient ground for breaking off the negotiation. It was urged alſo by *Lord Mulgrave* that with reſpect to the iſland of Elba it might at any time be reduced by a competent force. The ſpeech of *Lord Ellenborough* was of very conſiderable length, agreeing in the points of defence with miniſters, on whom he made a very animated panegyric: he added that it was wiſe in them not to inſiſt upon the idle compliment of the flag, and that as to the treaties which had been ſo much dwelt upon, they were, in reality, nothing better than mere waſte paper.—An addreſs to his Majeſty, to the ſame effect as that brought forward in the lower Houſe by *Lord Hawkeſbury*, was then moved by *Lord Pelham*. It was carried by 122 votes againſt 16. A reſolution was then moved by *Lord Holland*, the purport of which was, that the omiſſion of various opportunities of negotiation had led to ſuch a ſtate of affairs as to render the preſent peace neceſſary for the ſafety and preſervation of the Empire, and to juſtify the important and painful ſacrifices made to obtain it. The motion was negatived without a diviſion.—The lords who voted in the minority on *Lord Grenville's* motion were Duke of Richmond, Marquis of Buckingham; Earls, Carliſle, Warwick, Fitzwilliam, Darlington, Radnor, Spencer, Forteſcue, Mansfield, Carnarvon, Carysfort; Lords, Kenyon, Grenville, Cawdor, Minto.

Nothing of importance came before the Houſe of Lords on Monday (17th), Tueſday (18th), or Wedneſday (19th). Some bills were forwarded in their different ſtages, and petitions received.

The diſcuſſion of the definitive treaty was brought forward in the Houſe of Commons (Thurſday, May 13) by *Mr. Windham*. He commenced a long, animated, and highly intereſting ſpeech by a defence of the conduct which had been purſued by himſelf and his hon. friends with reſpect to the preſent treaty. Articles had been diſcuſſed ſeparately to be judged jointly. He would, therefore, now go haſtily over the different points which were to be the ſubject of debate. Commencing with the iſland of Malta, he deſcanted with great force upon the weakneſs of the ſecurity which we poſſeſſed for the neutrality of that iſland, and the ſtrange ſubverſion of the principles on which the order of Malta was originally formed. Such was the ſubverſion of principle, that the German knights had refuſed to aſſociate with an order which they conſidered as degraded. The Cape was the next object; and here there was a marked difference between the preliminary and the definitive treaty. By the former the option of its being a free port was left to England; it was by the latter conferred upon France. The Batavian republic might put the Cape into the hands of France to-morrow, if ſhe pleaſed, in which caſe we ſhould have no port of refreſhment in the voyage to India: the conſequence of which would be that any troops we might ſend for the defence of our eaſtern poſſeſſions, would be diſabled from acting for at leaſt ſix weeks after their arrival, while France might make hoſtile preparations at the Cape and Cochin with the greateſt eaſe, and act againſt our Indian territories before we were appriſed of their intentions. It would perhaps be ſaid that we might touch at the Brazils; but in the event of a war would not the ports of that country be ſhut againſt us? By the ſtipulations of the treaty we had placed France in a ſituation to command the Brazils. In the north we had given to France the poſſeſſion of Louiſiana. We had in fact given her the poſſeſſion of a fourth part of the globe. The hon. gentleman then entered at length into the effect of the non-renewal of treaties, as affecting the ſecurity of our eaſtern poſſeſſions. It was not, he urged, ſufficient to ſay that we had the abſolute ſovereignty in India. The queſtion was, whether the French would not diſpute that right in a field of battle. That we could, as had been ſaid by an hon. gentleman (Mr. Dundas), defend our ſovereignty by force of arms was certain; but would it be prudent to do ſo, when we had given ſo many means of annoyance to France by our ceſ-

ſion of the Cape and Cochin? The queſtion, however, would be ſettled in Europe, not in India. The hon. gentleman then entered into a view of the power and the intentions of France, and the ſituation of the other ſtates on the Continent. With reſpect to this country, its inſular ſituation was a general ſubject of conſolation. It was ſaid, "Europe is gone; peace be with her; but thank God we are iſlanders, we can take to our boat and go where we pleaſe." But was this the caſe? Where could we go that we ſhould not meet with France? France had indefinite means of carrying on her projects. The two Continents were placed in the hands of France. He really believed that a great part of the approbation given to this peace had been beſtowed from the fanciful idea, that France, occupied with her conqueſts, would leave commerce and manufactures to us. But France had now plainly told us that ſuch was not her intention. The attacks lately made againſt our territories were now to be turned into attacks upon our commerce. The war of the cuſtom-houſe ſucceeded to that of the ſword; and this latter might be the moſt fatal of the two. The hon. gentleman then went into a detailed and luminous account of the origin of the war, the various opinions held concerning it, and the manner in which it had been ſupported. Much had been boaſted, he ſaid, of the exertions made by this country during the war; but he for one thought that it had not made all thoſe exertions which were demanded by the magnitude of the object at ſtake. Much too had been ſaid of the ruinous tendency of the late war, though commerce had increaſed almoſt beyond calculation; and much of the public diſtreſs, though the public opulence had never before been ſo extraordinary. After having recapitulated and placed in freſh points of view the various arguments he had urged in the courſe of his ſpeech, the hon. gentleman concluded by moving an addreſs to his Majeſty in the ſame words as the addreſs moved by *Lord Grenville*, in the Houſe of Lords, and which will be found in the Regiſter, p. 572.

The motion was ſupported by *Lord Folkeſtone*. *Lord Hawkeſbury* then roſe, and in a ſpeech of great length oppoſed the motion. He began by a ſketch of the ſtate of Europe at the time that his Majeſty's miniſters were firſt appointed. Our ally the Emperor had at that time loſt a battle, and ſhortly after made a treaty which left us to combat ſingle-handed, not only with France, but with a powerful confederacy formed by her influence. Peace was called for by all ranks of people. No treaty of ours could then ſettle the affairs of the Continent, and we had therefore only to provide for our own ſafety, intereſt, and honour, by ſecuring our allies, by maintaining the complete integrity of the Britiſh empire, and by obtaining ſuch equivalents from our conqueſts as might balance the power of France. He would not enter into a diſcuſſion of the preliminaries, he would only ſay, that the objects wiſhed for had been attained. The noble lord declared that though he regretted ſeveral things which had happened ſince that period, he did not think we ſhould have been juſtified in breaking off the negotiation. With regard to Italy, the powers of Europe had teſtified their acquieſcence in the arrangements which had taken place in that quarter. As to the preſent value of Louiſiana, it was at preſent almoſt nothing, and ſo far from laying America at the feet of France, was more likely to unite her cloſer to us, by exciting her jealouſy of that power. In the definitive treaty two faults, thoſe of omiſſion and commiſſion, had been diſcovered. The firſt related to the non-renewal of treaties. To have renewed former treaties would, he contended, have been impolitic, as we ſhould have been bound by them, while other nations would have been under no engagement, as we muſt have renewed contradictory ſtipulations, and have, in fact, given our ſanction to the encroachments of France. Commercial treaties could not have been renewed without renewing ſtipulations extremely diſadvantageous to ourſelves. Nor had our trade been leſs flouriſhing without than with them. Prohibitions of our manufactures could not be carried into effect, as the advantage would be on the ſide of this country, who would ſuffer more by our excluſion of her wines and brandy, than we ſhould by her excluſion of our manufactures. The noble lord then replied to the arguments which had been urged with regard to the cutting of logwood and the gum trade, our right to which, he contended, remained unaffected. The right of the flag remained alſo in force notwithſtanding our having declined to aſſert it with regard to a particular and weak power. The noble lord then entered into a diſcuſſion of thoſe points in which the definitive treaty was argued to have deviated from the preliminary articles. Theſe he ſhould conſider under five heads. The firſt related to priſoners of war. The ſtipulations in this caſe

were such as were laid down by the best writers on the law of nations, and by the wisest men. The next was Portugal; and here the noble lord contended, that we had not only done all that was required from us by good faith, but even more. With regard to Newfoundland, which had been mentioned, every thing was left there as before the war, and the stipulations concerning the Cape of Good Hope were, in the opinions of the best informed people, better than those contained in the preliminaries. Malta, it had originally been the wish of ministers to place under the protection of Russia, but that power had declined the offer. Naples, though not so efficient a protector as might have been wished, had a strong interest in securing Malta, as had likewise Austria. The formation of a Maltese *langue* was a step which was in justice due to the inhabitants of the island for their distinguished spirit and bravery in the warfare they had carried on against the French. The peace we had made was, he would assert, better than the continuance of the war, without the prospect of any adequate advantage. There was one subject which gentlemen seemed to have studiously laid out of their consideration: it was the great increase of our power by the conquest of the Mysore, and the additional value which had been acquired by our West-India colonies, to which we had added the large and fertile island of Trinidad. France had, it was true, acquired a large extent of territory, but without strength or resources, while Great-Britain had a capital that stood in need even of more territory to employ it upon. As to the policy of France, we had as much to dread from her under the Bourbons as under the present power. Her ambitious views would always be the same. Though a friend to the preliminaries, he could not approve of the exultation which had been shewn in the country upon their signing: it was an exultation which he should have been sorry to have seen at the conclusion of any peace. He closed his speech by moving,

"That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the Thanks of the House for having been graciously pleased to communicate to them the Definitive Treaty of Peace; to represent to his Majesty, that we have already declared our full approbation of the Preliminary Articles of Peace, which, by his Majesty's command, were laid before this House; and we are satisfied that his Majesty has, on the whole, wisely consulted the interests of his people in having concluded a Definitive Treaty, founded on the basis of these Preliminaries. That although we deeply lament the calamitous events which have taken place on the Continent of Europe in the course of the war, we cannot reflect but with the utmost satisfaction, that the wild and destructive designs with which this country was threatened at its commencement, have been effectually frustrated. That his Majesty's dominions have not only been preserved entire, but valuable and important acquisitions have been annexed to them; that our commercial and maritime superiority has been maintained and improved, and that we continue in the confirmed possession of those means of exertion which the experience of the late contest has proved more than ever to be equal, even amidst the new and unexampled difficulties of other nations of Europe, to maintain the independence, and assert the honour of this country; that impressed with these sentiments, we are on our parts earnestly solicitous to cultivate and improve the blessings of peace, and to concur in such measures as his Majesty in his wisdom shall judge to be best calculated to prevent occasions of misunderstanding with Foreign Powers; that we rely on his Majesty's known disposition to adhere with the most scrupulous fidelity to his engagements; but that we entertain at the same time a perfect confidence that his Majesty will not fail to employ that vigilance and attention which the present situation of Europe demands; and above all, that his Majesty will uniformly determine and prepare to defend against every encroachment, the great sources of the wealth, commerce, and naval power of the Empire. That we are fully persuaded his Majesty's faithful subjects will at all times be ready to support the honour of his Majesty's Crown, and the rights, laws, and liberties of their Country, with the same zeal, energy, and fortitude which they have invariably manifested during the war, now happily brought to a conclusion."

Mr. Dundas, after explaining some part of what had fallen from him on a former night, declared that, though he could never have consented to set his hand to the giving up possessions of such vast importance as the Cape of Good Hope and Malta, he agreed on the whole with the amendment, because the original address opened with an invective against the peace, from which no good could be expected. Lord Hawkesbury was answered at great length and with great force of argument by *Mr. T. Grenville*, who denied that the public approbation of the peace had been such as was stated by the noble lord. The people he said were ready to stand forward in defence of their honour and security, and had been equally so at the termination of the war. It was now moved by *General Gascoyne* that the debate should be adjourned. This was objected to by *Mr. Pitt* and the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, who declared, however, that if it was the wish of any considerable number of the members, they would not object to it. On the question being put, the adjournment was carried by 187 votes against 135.

The debate of the next day (Friday, May 14) was long and animated. Nearly the ſame ground, however, was taken as on the preceding day. On the addreſs and amendment having been read from the chair, *Sir W. Young* roſe, and in a ſhort ſpeech ſtated his objections to the definitive treaty. The dependence of Malta, the ceſſion of Louiſiana and part of St. Domingo, and the non-renewal of former treaties, were dwelt upon by him with conſiderable force and effect. He was followed by *Lord Caſtlereagh*, who in a long ſpeech defended every part of the treaty. The change that took place in Italy during the negotiation was not, he argued, ſuch as ought to have induced the miniſters to come to a rupture with France. It in reality did not endanger our ſecurity. The ceſſion of Louiſiana was certainly an object of more importance, but the chance of its affecting our intereſt at ſome future period was not a ſufficient reaſon to prevent a peace from being concluded. The extenſion of the French limits in Guiana had been much inſiſted on, but he muſt confeſs it appeared to him that this queſtion was not of ſuch importance as it had been repreſented. The Arowary was too far from the Amazons to command its entrance. The noble lord entered at ſome length into the arrangements relative to Malta, which he contended were fully ſufficient to enſure its independence. The object of the war had, he ſaid, been general ſecurity, and this we had attained. That the French influence on the Continent was great, no one would deny, but it was not a matter of alarm, and it was his firm opinion that nothing would tend more to reduce it than reſtoring her colonies to France. Still leſs alarm did he feel from French prohibitions on our commerce. The noble lord then went into a calculation to prove that it would be utterly impoſſible for France to injure our manufactures or commerce; and after defending the policy of miniſters in permitting the ſailing of the French armament to St. Domingo, concluded by declaring his approbation of the amendment. He was followed on nearly the ſame topics by *General Maitland* and the *Maſter of the Rolls—Earl Temple* and *Dr. Laurence* went over all the points which had before been urged by Mr. Windham, and enforced them with great ability. The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then roſe, and declaring that in the exhauſted ſtate of the Houſe, he would not intrude upon it for any conſiderable time, proceeded to defend the various articles of the treaty. His arguments were neceſſarily a repetition of what had been before advanced by Lord *Hawkeſbury* and others, with ſome few additions. From the improvement which had taken place in copper-bottoming our veſſels, little danger was to be apprehended from the ceſſion of Louiſiana and Florida to France, as "our trade might now paſs through "the windward paſſage inſtead of the "Gulf of Mexico. As to the extent of territorial power acquired by France, it was aſſuredly a matter of regret; but we had not the power of controlling it; "we "were not to preſume to ſay the bounty "of Providence was to be diſpenſed in the "way that was moſt conſonant to our "wiſhes." Under all the circumſtances he would aſk if this treaty was not ſuch as ought to be approved? "He had never "thought of this treaty, nor of the prelimi-"nary articles, with any ſentiment of exult-"ation; he had ſatisfied himſelf, and he re-"mained ſatisfied, that it was upon the whole "the beſt meaſure that could be taken—he "had never endeavoured to paint it in falſe "colours—he had never attempted to apply "to it any epithets of praiſe." He was convinced, however, that it had not tarniſhed the honour of the country. Without meaning it as an article of accuſation, he believed that the ſpeeches and conduct of gentlemen in that Houſe had affected the inhabitants of the metropolis, and that this had appeared both at St. James's and the Stock Exchange; but he was ſtill convinced that the maſs of the people hailed the peace as a bleſſing. He concluded by hoping, that with a ſyſtem of firmneſs and conciliation, thoſe bleſſings might be long preſerved. *Mr. Sheridan* roſe at two o'clock, and commenced a ſpeech which was characterized throughout by the moſt exquiſite wit and humour. He commenced by mentioning in ſtrong terms of approbation the conduct of the hon. member (Mr. Windham) who had originally moved the addreſs, and of thoſe friends who acted with him. They had acted with honour, conſiſtency, and Engliſh ſpirit in the ſteps they had taken, and he thanked them for expoſing as they had done the terms of that peace. Againſt that peace, however, it was not his intention to call for any vote of cenſure, as he was fully perſuaded it was the only peace to be expected from ſuch a war. The war had been carried on for the purpoſe of obtaining indemnity and ſecurity, and he thought that the two iſlands we had obtained ought to have ſome name deſcriptive of the objects for which we had contended. The one might be called *Indemnity*,

and the other *Security* Iſland. It was not long ago that Buonaparté was repreſented as the child and champion of Jacobiniſm, and the power of France was held forth as terrible and dangerous in the higheſt degree. Now all was changed: Buonaparté was become the extirpator of Jacobiniſm, and the power of France was no ſubject of fear. Buonaparté had returned to penitence and piety. From ſuch penitence and piety he heartily prayed that this kingdom might be preſerved. But ſhould there ſtill be any danger from the power of Buonaparté, a noble lord had a remedy at hand. Buonaparté, ſays he, is a rough man with a ſword in his hand, but put him behind a counter and he will be the moſt tractable of beings! Give him his Weſt-India colonies, and there is nothing to fear. Such a promiſing plan would, he hoped, the hon. gentleman ſaid, be ſupported by a liberal ſubſcription. A right hon. gentleman oppoſite (Mr. Pitt) would willingly wave the honour of his ſtatue for the benefit of his country, and apply the ſubſcription to the ſetting up of Buonaparté. Not that the ſacrifice would be a very great one, as many difficulties had occurred about the raiſing of that ſtatue. The bank had no gold for the purpoſe. Some people, indeed, were of opinion that *papier machée* would be a very appropriate material. The hon. gentleman then commented in a vein of happy humour upon the connection which ſeemed to ſubſiſt between the preſent and the late miniſtry. The preſent Chancellor of the Exchequer was like a driver upon the coach-box, who was perpetually turning to a paſſenger upon the roof, to know how he was to handle the reins, and which way he was to turn. The miniſtry now in office reminded him of a ſtory in Ariſtophanes, in which Hercules was repreſented as going to the infernal regions to releaſe Theſeus, who had remained ſo long there, that he had grown to his ſeat. After much exertion Hercules contrived to drag Theſeus from this ſituation, but not without leaving behind him a portion of the ſitting part. So the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, after many hard tugs, had been forced from his ſeat, but like Theſeus he had left behind him a part of what it was unneceſſary to name. After proceeding in this ſtrain for a conſiderable time, the hon. gentleman concluded by moving an amendment of the ſame purport as that brought forward by Lord Holland in the Houſe of Lords. On the queſtion being put for the original addreſs as moved by *Mr. Windham*, it was negatived by 278 votes againſt 22, including tellers.

That propoſed by *Mr. Sheridan* was negatived without a diviſion. *Lord Hawkeſbury's* was then put and carried.—The names of the minority on *Mr. Windham's* motion are as follows: Lord Folkeſtone, Lord Morpeth, Lord Bruce, Lord Kenſington, Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Bart. Sir Wm. Young, Bart. Hon. T. Grenville, Hon. C. Dundas, Meſſrs. Windham, C. Wynne, Elliot, Baker, S. Poyntz, Ellis, G. Ellis, Foljambe, Camberline, B. Cooke, Dr. Laurence, and General Lennox. Tellers, Lord Temple and General Gaſcoyne.

Very little was done in the Houſe on Monday (May 17). After the ordinary buſineſs was diſpatched the order of the day was read, and the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee on the ſubject of the Sinking Fund. Some converſation took place in the committee between the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, *Mr. Pitt*, *Mr. Boyd*, and *Mr. Tierney*, on the ſubject of the comparative merits of the plan now before the Houſe, with the original plan of the Sinking Fund.

The tranſactions of the two following days were equally unimportant.

TO THE EDITOR.

Gum Trade.

Sir,

I have read your anſwer to my letter of the 6th of May (Regiſter, p. 548) with that attention which it deſerves; and, having weighed it, find no cauſe to alter the opinion therein expreſſed. Referring to what I wrote (*haſtily* I confeſs, but I truſt not inaccurately) you will find, that on the queſtion concerning the ſuppoſed abrogation of all treaties prior to that, which miniſters have now concluded, I pronounced no judgment. Thinking it, as I ſtill do, a point very dubious, and capable of being ſupported on either ſide with much plauſibility, I declined entering into the diſcuſſion, and hoped to hear it argued by more experienced advocates. The reaſon of my alluding to this ſubject was, that, whereas our right to the gum trade appeared to me to have reſted before the war upon two points, namely, our former ſovereignty in Senegal, from which in this reſpect we had never departed, and the confirmation of our right in 1783, by the acknowledgment of France, I choſe to wave whatever aſſiſtance my ar-

guments might have derived from this confirmation, and to reſt entirely upon our unceded right. But willing as I was to ſuppoſe the abrogation of this acknowledgment, I thought it neceſſary to premiſe, that it did not reſt upon clear and indiſputable grounds. That, which I added in alluſion to the declaration of 1783, was mentioned as a circumſtance perhaps of curious obſervation, certainly not of very important weight. But, nugatory as you have been pleaſed to ſtyle it, permit me to aſſert, that it was not inaccurate. By what grammatical ſyſtem you have been led to imagine, that *exiſting treaties* muſt ſignify *treaties, which do not exiſt*, but *have exiſted*, I muſt in my turn "confeſs, that I am at a loſs to "diſcover." You muſt allow, that ſuch interpretation, though uſeful to the ſubtle arguer, would tend to confuſe our notions of the paſt and preſent. With reſpect to the queſtion, upon which this remark was made, I am not diſpoſed at preſent to enter into it; but waving it, as I did before, ſhall examine your objections to my opinion on the gum trade, which I do not deſpair of anſwering to your ſatisfaction. That much has been given up by the late treaty, that more has been thrown in doubt by the uncertainty of its terms, is a fact, I fear, indiſputable; but to point out what yet remains to Great-Britain, what her miniſters ought to vindicate, and with a little firmneſs may yet preſerve, is a taſk, even if fruitleſs, not unintereſting. I ſpeak, as you juſtly obſerve, "of what France has a right to do, "not of what ſhe will do;" for the meaſure of her uſurpations will not be determined by the juſtice or injuſtice of her pretenſions, but by the vigour or puſillanimity of her opponents. Theſe are the only limits of her encroachments, and the conſtant objects of her politic diſcernment; and, if our miniſters had reſolution enough to enforce our claims, the decree excluding foreigners from the trade of Senegal, in which the Britiſh name is not, I believe, expreſſed, would be interpreted by her as alluding to thoſe only, whom ſhe had a right to exclude. If we tamely ſubmit to all her uſurpations, the vigilant ambition of the Corſican Conſul will circumſcribe us in every direction, will watch all our motions, and thwart our operations in every corner of the globe.

"Vigilat Conſul, vexillaque veſtra coercet;
Hic novus ——, ignobilis, et modò ——
Municipalis eques, galeatum ponit ubique
Præſidium attonitis, et in omni gente laborat."

To my obſervations, on the preſent right of Great-Britain to carry on the gum trade on the coaſt between Portendic and the St. John, you have taken two exceptions; 1ſt, that it was not reſerved by Great-Britain at the time of the ceſſion of Senegal, but afterwards granted to her by France; 2dly, that, if it was ſo reſerved, the right, upon which that reſervation was founded is annulled by the abrogation of the treaty of 1763.

On the firſt of theſe exceptions, which, if true, would be concluſive, you are "not "inclined to lay much ſtreſs;" probably becauſe you feel ſome fallacy in the arguments, which ſupport it. You contend, that this was not a reſervation, but a ſubſequent grant, becauſe it is contained in an article, which (though in the ſame treaty) is in order ſubſequent to that, by which Senegal was ceded to France; and you add, that another article intervenes upon a different ſubject, which ſtatement to me appears inaccurate. In adjuſting the rights of Britain and France upon the weſtern coaſt of Africa, there were two important points, the ſlave trade, and the gum trade. The ninth article of the treaty of Verſailles delivers Senegal, which ſupplied both theſe branches of commerce, into the hands of France; the tenth ſecures to Great-Britain her ſlave trade by the guarantee of Fort James, and the eleventh ſecures her gum trade by ſtipulating for free acceſs for that purpoſe to a part of the dependencies of Senegal. In this I diſcover no interruption of the ſubject, but on the contrary a clear and continued connexion. I know, Sir, the extent of your information on theſe ſubjects to be conſiderable, and I am certain, you cannot be ignorant, that Vattel, whom you have quoted, has * ably demonſtrated, that the whole of every treaty, though ſubdivided into ſeveral articles, is to be conſidered as one article; that there is a reciprocalneſs in its parts and engagements, which precludes their ſeparation. One ſtipulation is made by the party, to whom it is detrimental, in contemplation of another, which is advantageous to him, without which the former might never have received his aſſent; and on this account the whole is to be conſidered as one article, though ſubdivided for the ſake of greater diſtinctneſs. It appears then according to the opinion of

* See Vattel, B. II. Sect. 202. and B. IV. Sect. 49. and Grotius therein quoted.

the moſt approved civilians, that, even if the connexion, which I have ſtated, between the above-mentioned articles had not exiſted, they muſt have been inſeparably joined by the unity of the treaty; and of courſe that the ſtipulation in the eleventh article muſt act as a reſervation on the ceſſion in the ninth. Upon theſe grounds, and the premiſes in my former Letter, I contend, as before, that France held Senegal ſubject to certain Britiſh rights, and that the ſame eſtate, which ſhe poſſeſſed there, is now reſtored to her.

Whether thoſe rights can be annulled by the ſuppoſed abrogation of the treaty of 1763, remains to be examined. You have ſuggeſted, that whatever rights we had muſt have originated in the treaty of Paris, and that, by omitting to renew that treaty, we have forfeited our title; but I believe, you was not aware to what lengths that opinion would lead you. You probably did not reflect, that, maintaining this propoſition, you muſt aſſert, that Canada, that Cape Breton, and Nova Scotia are ſurrendered by the peace to France, that Jamaica is now the property of Spain. All theſe, and others, which it would be vain to enumerate, conquered, like Senegal, by the arms of Britain, were ceded to her afterwards by treaties, which we have now omitted to renew. But where is the man ſo wild in his opinions, ſo extravagant in his arguments as to inſiſt, that by this omiſſion we have ſurrendered all our ancient acquiſitions, and reduced ourſelves within the narrow limits of the Britiſh coaſts? Our ſovereignty in Senegal was acquired by conqueſt in 1758, and that ſovereignty was acknowledged by France in the treaty of 1763; and, if conqueſt is not a title, I may be bold to ſay, that there is no title to ſovereignty in Europe, none perhaps in the habitable world. By "the law of "nature, which is the neceſſary law of na-"tions," all acquiſitions in a juſt war are good in the eyes of God and man; and who is he, that will venture to proclaim, that the war, in which we conquered Senegal, ariſing from the intricate confuſion of unadjuſted claims, was unneceſſary or unjuſt? Great and glorious I know it was to the arms of Britain, nor have I ever found, that honour and honeſty diſclaimed her pretenſions. That our rights over Senegal were derived ſolely from the treaty of 1763, was not admitted in my Letter, which expreſsly ſtated, that Great-Britain held them by virtue of her conqueſt in 1758.

But, though I think the title by conqueſt paramount to that obtained by a ſubſequent treaty, I will further contend, that a ceſſion by treaty gives a valid title for ever; which can be forfeited only by an infringement of ſome ſtipulation in the treaty, which conferred it; a caſe of forfeiture however, which will not occur; for what belligerent powers ever avowed their own treſpaſſes, and who ſhall decide upon the juſtice of their cauſe? I ſhall be told, that, if the right is founded on treaty, it cannot exiſt without the treaty; but the fact is, that the right is given by the delivery, and the treaty is the evidence of that delivery, which may be loſt without ejecting the poſſeſſor. If it were otherwiſe, this abſurdity would follow, that a ceſſion without treaty by the ſimple act of delivery would be a better and ſurer title than one confirmed by ſeal and ſignature. For inſtance, if in full peace Great-Britain had voluntarily ſurrendered the Falkland Iſlands to Spain, ſhe never could have renewed her claims to them; if ſhe had in addition to this expreſſed that ſurrender in a written convention, the future omiſſion of Spain to renew this, would according to your argument have amounted to a forfeiture, and the rights of Great-Britain would have revived. Believing therefore, ſtill, that the trade in Senegal accrued to us in 1758, was confirmed to us in 1763, was not ceded by the peace of Verſailles, and will remain to us after the reſtoration of our late conqueſt, I thought it neceſſary to write thus much in vindication of my former arguments; and I truſt, you will agree with me, that againſt the encroaching and tyrannous ambition of France we ſhould "cavil on the ninth part of a hair." Much has been yielded to her imperious will; but neither the ceſſion of important ſtations, nor the mighty continental preponderance of France, has rendered this treaty ſo diſhonourable and inſecure, as the uncertain predicament in which it has left us; "Quod "in ambiguo verbum jaculata reliquit." In this dangerous hour let Britain act with honeſty, but with firmneſs; let her maintain inviolate her public faith, which has been too little regarded in the late tranſactions; but let not her miniſters unneceſſarily concede one iota of her ancient dignities, her ancient rights and commercial privileges. If they do, it is a jeſt to ſay, that they have conſulted for the integrity of the Britiſh empire; for what greater or richer dominion did Britain ever poſſeſs, than the

pure respect of Europe, and the valuable sources of her commercial wealth?

I am, Sir,
Yours, &c.
W. H.

May 16, 1802.

TO W—— H——.

Sir,

I do assure you, that I was not aware that there was any subtlety in observing, that the words "*existing treaties*," as made use of by the negotiators of the peace of Versailles, mean the *treaties which existed before the war*, and which had ceased to exist from the commencement of that war, because I then conceived it, and I now conceive it, to be absolutely impossible that they could mean any other treaties; for, if they had meant treaties existing at the moment when they were speaking, to talk of the necessity of *renewing* those treaties, and of the confusion that would arise from not renewing them, would have been a downright absurdity.

The two exceptions which, in my former letter (Register, p. 548), I took to your observations respecting our right to carry on the gum trade I should have heartily rejoiced to see removed; but, after having given your arguments that attention to which they are entitled, I am sorry to find nothing to alter my opinion with respect to either of those exceptions.

As to the doctrine of the reciprocity and unity of treaties, it is too evidently just and necessary to be questioned; but I am really at a loss to perceive how the word *liberty*, in the treaty of 1783, can, by the acknowledgment of this doctrine, be construed to signify *reservation*. This point will, perhaps, be more fully illustrated by an examination of the arguments which you oppose to my second exception.

You wish, I perceive, not to rest our right to the sovereignty of Senegal (and, of course, our *reservation* of a part of that right, if it be a reservation) on the cession of 1763, but on the *conquest* of 1758. Far be it from me to deny, that conquest gives a right to sovereignty; but, Sir, I trust it will not require any appeal to civilians to convince you, that, when the conqueror obtains a cession of his conquest, the nature of his tenure is completely changed, and his right of sovereignty rests solely upon treaty. I do not, however, regard this as being at all material to the point in question; because the right of conquest must be abandoned the moment the territory is, no matter by what means, in possession of another. We return then, to the treaty of 1763, to which source, if to any, we must trace the reservation (if it be one) made in the treaty of 1783. The treaty of 1763 is, in my opinion, abrogated by the omissions in the treaty of Amiens, and of course, the reservation is abrogated, and our right to carry on the gum trade has, accordingly, ceased. In reply to this you ask, if I am aware of the lengths to which this opinion would carry me; and you proceed to state, that if my opinion on this point be correct, the abrogation of the treaty of 1763 deprives us of the right of sovereignty in Canada, Cape Breton, and Nova Scotia; and that, by parity of reasoning, Jamaica now belongs to Spain. The Master of the Rolls, in answer to Messrs. Windham and Grenville, adopted precisely this sort of reasoning, the sophistry of which, give me leave to say, every one perceived but the learned gentleman himself. No, Sir, though I contend, that our reservation of the gum trade is done away by the abrogation of the treaty of 1763, if not by the abrogation of the treaty of 1783, I am not absurd enough to allow that our right to Canada, &c. is at all impaired by that abrogation. Treaties and parts of treaties cease the moment they are *fully executed*. Canada was not only ceded but taken possession of. The stipulation was executed, and it ceased. But, if France had, by the same treaty, reserved to herself the right of trading to Quebec, such a stipulation would have been *unexecuted* at the breaking out of the war which ended in 1783, when, according to the opinion given in my former letter, it would have ceased. The stipulation respecting the cession of Senegal, contained in the treaty of 1763, was fully executed, and it ceased. But, if you attempt to resuscitate any part of its provisions, the late abrogation follows it as the shadow follows the substance. The conclusion I aim at is this: that you must found our right to carry on the gum trade either on the conquest of 1758, or on the treaties of 1763, or 1783; if you rest on the right of conquest, that right is gone the moment you lose possession of the territory; if you rest on either of the treaties, they also are now become of non-effect.

I am,
Sir,
Yours, &c.
Wm. Cobbett.

Pall Mall, May 21, 1802.

FORLIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Paris, May 12.—Yeſterday Citizen Lacuéye preſented to the Legiſlative Body the new plan for recruiting the army. Sixty thouſand men are to be raiſed from the conſcriptions of the years 9 and 10, who are to be immediately embodied to ſupply the places of thoſe diſcharged, and thus to complete the peace eſtabliſhment. Sixty thouſand are likewiſe to be inſcribed and organized, to form a reſerve that may be immediately called out if it ſhould be neceſſary to place the army upon the war eſtabliſhment. Citizen Lacuéye made a long ſpeech, in which he pointed out the neceſſity of keeping up a ſtrong military force in time of peace, and of being prepared to take the field with advantage if the war ſhould be renewed.

The Legion of Honour about to be eſtabliſhed is to conſiſt of about 6000 men.

This Legion is to be divided into 15 Cohorts, each of which is to have its peculiar ſtation.

Each Cohort ſhall conſiſt of ſeven great officers, 20 commandants, 30 ſubaltern officers, and 350 privates.

The pay to be as follows:—to each great officer, 5000 francs per annum, and during life.

To each commandant, 2000 ditto.

To each ſubaltern, 1000 ditto.

To each private, 250 ditto—all for life.

Every individual, on his being admitted into the Legion, ſhall ſwear, on his conſcience and his honour, that he means to devote his exiſtence to the welfare of the Republic, to the preſervation of its territory (in its integrity), to the defence of its government, its laws, and the property, which it has rendered ſacred; to oppoſe, by all means which juſtice, reaſon, and the laws authorize, every undertaking which may tend to the reſtoration of the feudal ſyſtem, of titles and immunities attached to them; in fine, to exert his beſt and moſt ſtrenuous efforts for the maintenance of liberty and equality.

The Firſt Conſul is, *de jure*, the chief of the Legion and preſident of the Great Council of Adminiſtration.

The conditions required for being admitted are, to have received arms of honour from the hands, or by order of the Firſt Conſul; to have rendered eſſential ſervice in the war of liberty, either in the field or in the cabinet. In time of peace, a candidate muſt prove that he has ſerved twenty-five years. Each year in time of war tells for two; each campaign of the republican war tells for four years.

May 14.—The people of this metropolis are eagerly ſigning the liſts, which are opened for collecting the ſuffrages chooſing Buonaparté Conſul for life. There never was greater unanimity on any ſubject, ſince the firſt meeting of the States General.

The following is a tranſlation of a handbill circulated throughout Paris, ſince the 13th inſt.

"It is propoſed to the French people to nominate Buonaparté Conſul for life; has the importance of the ſervices which he has rendered us been well conſidered, and is this recompenſe ſufficient? Is it not the intereſt of every Frenchman to prevent the return of revolutionary ſufferings, to annihilate anarchy for ever, and to avoid, in future, the intrigues of thoſe partiſans who promote and excite re-elections? When a ſtate without conſtitution is only governed by the caprices of its kings, hereditary right may be dangerous; but when a government, equally wiſe and powerful, is organized, when a man, equally extraordinary and ſurpriſing, compels it to be reſpected and eſteemed, when the whole world unanimouſly acknowledges his rights to the ſovereign power, is not the right of inheritance neceſſary, and ought not the gratitude of the French *to fix it in the family of their hero?* In ſhort, is not France, upon recovering its ancient limits, ſufficiently extenſive to honour herſelf with the title of *Empire?* and where, in the pages of hiſtory, ſhall we find an Emperor ſufficiently magnanimous to be compared with the Titus who governs her? I ſubmit theſe queſtions to my countrymen—they induce me to expreſs my own wiſh.—I deſire that the French people may proclaim Napoleon Buonaparté firſt *Emperor of the Gauls*, and fix in his family the hereditary power, upon re-eſtabliſhing the Salic Law.

(Signed) "BONNEVILLE AYRAL,
"*Chief of Battalion of the* 14*th of the Line.*"

Paris, the 22*d Floréal, Year* 10.

Berne, May 6.—Freſh troubles have broken out in ſeveral of the Cantons. The peaſants have riotouſly aſſembled for the purpoſe of deſtroying the title-deeds of the landholders, and generally all records of every deſcription. The French troops have marched againſt them, and there have been ſeveral ſkirmiſhes. The inſurgents have,

however, ſucceeded in their attempts to a very great extent. They have releaſed the priſoners and burnt the titles and other records in a great number of places. In ſhort the whole of this unhappy country exhibits a moſt ſhocking ſcene of diſtraction, pillage, and murder.

May 9.—We are informed, that a new conſtitution for Helvetia, ſimilar to that of 29th of May, 1801, recommended by the French government, is about to be adopted.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The debates in Parliament, on the Definitive Treaty of Peace, have furniſhed a ſubject of commentary for the newſpapers and the nation during the laſt week. The miniſterial papers (the True Briton and the Sun) have repeated the ſentiments and language of Lords Hawkeſbury, Caſtlereagh, Ellenborough, and Mr. Dundas; they have, without any attempt at argument, echoed the aſſertions of thoſe orators, and have rather improved upon Mr. Dundas's accuſation againſt Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham, which, of courſe, extends to all thoſe who voted with them. Let Mr. Dundas look at the liſt of the minorities on this occaſion; let him compare their characters and their paſt parliamentary conduct with the characters and conduct of himſelf and his adherents, and, then, let him, after due reflection, ſay whether they merit the name of "*a* CONFEDERACY *for the purpoſe of ſupplanting the preſent Miniſters.*" Of all men living Mr. Dundas is, perhaps, the very laſt who ought to have preferred this accuſation. He has, however, thrown down the gauntlet, and ſhame on the poltroon who is afraid to take it up. We ſhall, on ſome future occaſion, enter into an examination of his conſiſtency, and, perhaps, we ſhall not paſs over in ſilence his merits as a miniſter of war.

The diſcuſſion of the treaty has been productive of great good: it has ſhown the world, that if we have the misfortune to have a weak adminiſtration, we are not deſtitute of men, capable of ſeeing and expoſing its weakneſs; it has drawn from the Miniſters a confeſſion of the badneſs of the terms of the treaty, and of the ſtate of inſecurity in which we are placed; it has extorted from them a declaration that they will make no further conceſſions to the inſolence and rapacity of France; it has bound them down to a defence of what ſtill remains to us, and, which is more than all the reſt, it has awakened the nation to a due ſenſe of its danger and of its preſent diſgrace.

The Miniſters affect to regard the *votes*, on this occaſion, as the only ſtandard of the public opinion. If ſo, how comes it that the funds have experienced ſuch a ſerious depreſſion, notwithſtanding the loads of capital, which the peace has left dead in the hands of the merchants and ſhip-owners? Mr. Addington acknowledged, that the motions of his antagoniſts had produced a ſenſible impreſſion at both ends of the town; but obſerved, that this impreſſion would be done away by the reſult of the diſcuſſion. Has it been done away? Mr. Addington further obſerved, that the country *in general* ſtill hailed the peace as a bleſſing. If he had ſaid the *ignorant mob* of the country, we ſhould have been the laſt in the world to contradict him; but we venture to affirm, that of the ſenſe and property of the country, nine-tenths are oppoſed to the peace. The miniſterial prints informed the world, that as ſoon as Peace was proclaimed, addreſſes of thanks were "to pour in from *all parts* of the kingdom" Where are thoſe addreſſes? The city of London has, indeed, addreſſed their Sovereign on the occaſion; but was not the language of that addreſs ſo cold, as to the peace itſelf, as to amount to a tacit condemnation of the meaſure? It is ſaid that the city of York has preſented an addreſs; but it has been brought up with as much ſecrecy as if it had been a petition for a penſion. The county of Berks have held a meeting at *Reading*, where the addreſs was moved and ſeconded by two perſons who had openly *reprobated* the conditions even of the Preliminaries! Theſe gentlemen were of opinion, that, ſince the evil was without a remedy, it behoved them to endeavour to diſguiſe it; an opinion to which, though we think it erroneous, the momentary ſupport of the Miniſter is certainly to be aſcribed. But, how has it happened, that the miniſterial commentators on the debates, have not obliged the world with ſome reaſons for *Mr. Pitt's ſilence* during the whole courſe of this long and moſt intereſting and momentous diſcuſſion? Was it, that his eloquence was become unpopular in the Houſe? was it that Lord Caſtlereagh poſſeſſed greater abilities than himſelf? or was it that he wiſely reſolved not to ſtake his reputation on a meaſure, which he foreſaw would, firſt or laſt, be univerſally condemned?

The very important Bill relative to the

Non-residence of the Clergy, &c. stands for discussion next week. Never was a subject of more general concern submitted to the consideration of Parliament. It is, as to our domestic state, of full as much importance as the treaty with France is as to our foreign relations. It presents one of those cases, in which necessity is at war with a maxim universally acknowledged and with long established law. To decide on this case, with justice both to the priesthood and the people, requires nothing short of an union of all the wisdom, the impartiality, and the piety of the nation.

As if it were to throw ridicule on this great and serious question, the Puritans are pestering the Parliament with petitions for a law to prohibit *Bull-baiting*. Gloomy and factious as they have already rendered the poorer classes of the people, they are not content with their gradual success, but come boldly forward to invoke the aid of the Legislature to their insidious and destructive efforts. Those who are acquainted with the character of the Honourable Gentleman, by whom the matter in question has been introduced, will want no suggestion of ours to make them perceive that he has been deceived. He certainly imagines, that he is espousing the cause of order and morality; but, should his endeavours be crowned with success, he will, when it is too late, find that he has been labouring in the vineyard of faction and fanaticism.

By turning to the Public Papers, p. 577, it will be perceived, that the Intendant at New Orleans has issued an order, prohibiting the commerce of neutrals, after the peace shall be proclaimed, making an exception with respect to the Americans, who, by treaty, have a right to enter, and deposit their goods in, that port. When Mr. Addington and his supporters were arguing, that Louisiana would be of no value to France *now*, because it was of no value to her *formerly*, they certainly were not aware of the altered state of New Orleans, and we much question if they knew any thing at all about that port. This order of the Spanish Intendant reminds us, too, of a circumstance which is of great importance, but which we ourselves had overlooked in our remarks on the cession of Louisiana. We had observed, that the American settlements, on the banks of the Mississippi, would be placed under the absolute controul of France by her having the command of the river; but we neglected to state, that, by the treaty between the United States and Spain, the Americans are permitted to have factories at New Orleans, without which, indeed, the navigation of the river would be of little use to them. Thus, then, when France has once entered on her new cession, not only the command of the only outlet for the American produce will be in her hands, but she will hold the produce itself, as a security for the good behaviour of its owners! And yet there are men, members of Parliament, yea, and statesmen too, who believe that the cession of Louisiana to France will tend to *estrange* the United States from her influence! Gracious God! and is it to men like these that we are to look for the salvation of England?

Another document, which will also be found in p. 577, informs us, that the French have, as we predicted they would, taken effectual measures for preventing Toussaint and his adherents from receiving succours from the American States or elsewhere. The French minister in America has notified, that Cape François and Port-au-Prince are the only two ports into which merchant ships, of any kind, are allowed to enter, and that it is necessary for American ships, bound even to those ports, to have, from him or his agents, a certificate or passport, importing that the intention of the navigator is not to supply the *rebels*; for so the followers of our new friend Buonaparté denominate the followers of our old friend Toussaint. This was a measure to be expected: it has nothing in it contrary to the usual conduct of nations in similar cases; but it may serve to blast the hopes of those who place reliance on the eternal warfare, which they think Toussaint will be able to wage against his assailants. Without a supply of ammunition and provisions it is impossible that the Black army should long resist; and if the French hold the sea-ports, it is equally impossible that the Blacks should receive that supply.

The election of Buonaparté as Consul for *life*, and the ulterior measure of proclaiming him *Emperor of the Gauls*, with the hereditary right to that title in his family, appear, from our foreign intelligence, to be objects which are in a fair way of being accomplished. What the consequences of this bold step may be, to Buonaparté himself, it is impossible to tell. If the French, on the one hand, behold themselves placed under the despotic sway of a low-bred foreigner, they will, on the other, see with no small gratification, that the advancement of that foreigner extends the power and the predominance of their country. National glory

is the ruling paſſion in every Frenchman's breaſt, (would to God it were ſo in the breaſts of Engliſhmen!) and we may reſt aſſured that they will, as they hitherto have done, ſet at nought every conſideration that ſtands in competition with that glory: ſo that they are the maſters of the world, they care but very little whoſe ſlaves they themſelves are, or how miſerable and uncertain is the life that they lead.

We ſhould ſuppoſe, too, that the friends of the lawful ſovereign would aid, with all their influence, the intended exaltation of Buonaparté. It would be much eaſier for a Bourbon to ſucceed to the throne, vacated by the death of an uſurper; it would be much eaſier even to ſnatch the reins from his hands, than to raiſe the throne upon an exiſting Republic. The Emperor of the Gauls will eradicate the laſt remaining roots of the regicide principle of republicaniſm, and when that is done, the road to reſtoration is by no means rugged.

But, what will be the conſequences to the world, and to England in particular, if this ſtretch of ambition ſhould be attended with ſucceſs? And is it to Engliſhmen a ſubject of ſorrow or of joy? To every republican in England, to every citizen of the world, to every philanthropiſt, to every puritan, to every king-killer, it is a ſubject of grief the moſt poignant: what it is to men of a different ſort need not to be deſcribed. For our parts, we moſt heartily rejoice at the proſpect of ſeeing Buonaparté an emperor or a king; for, from the moment that he aſſumes a title common to the lawful monarch of the earth, from that moment are we united againſt him. The loyal ſubjects of our ſovereign are ever ready to oppoſe the power of France, be her ruler who he may; but, there is another deſcription of his ſubjects, in whoſe diſcriminating minds, in whoſe philanthropic breaſts, there lives no hoſtility except to the perſons and the families of monarchs; they, gentle ſouls, would never make war upon their "fellow men," never would they ſhed a drop of blood that iſſued not through a royal veſtment, never cut off a head unencircled by a crown. They would give up honours and power; they would yield commerce and colonies; they would ſurrender England itſelf, rather than imbue their hands in the blood of their *fellow* creatures: but, let a *king* attempt to encroach upon us, and they will exterminate the whole human race rather than cede him a rock, which the waves may have ſevered from one of our iſlands.

For theſe reaſons it is that we view the ambitious ſtrides of Buonaparté, not only without dread, but with delight. We ſee the poſſibility of its operating as a conſolidation of his power, and of that power paſſing into the hands of the Houſe of Bourbon, from whom England has certainly no right to expect forbearance; but let us have a king, and, if it be God's will, a *lawful* king, of France to contend with, and we fear not the reſult. Diſarm our enemy of the ſpell by which he unſtrings our nerves, let it be a fair competition of blows, and if he deals us harder than we return, why then let him triumph.

If there be any one, who doubts the correctneſs of theſe opinions, let him take a retroſpective view of the change in the ſentiments of the people of England as far back as the year 1776. At that diſgraceful epoch, for the firſt time, did Engliſhmen openly wiſh ſucceſs to the enemies of their country; to men who were, no matter on what ground, fighting againſt the armies of their ſovereign. France ranged herſelf under the banners of the Americans; it was impoſſible to wiſh ſucceſs to one, without extending that wiſh to the other; the cauſe of *liberty*, dear liberty! which is a bird of all climates, was the pretext; and thus, by degrees, were we prepared to behold without horror the unnatural partiality for France, which, to a great extent, prevailed during the whole of the late conteſt. To come cloſer to the preſent period, let any one examine, if he can find them, the pages of the Morning Chronicle, for inſtance, for the laſt ten years. He will there perceive, that, the friendſhip of that paper to France has conſtantly diminiſhed or increaſed in the exact degree in which her government has grown more monarchical or democratical. It has been, for ſome time paſt, looking at "the child and champion of Jacobiniſm" (to borrow a happy denomination from Mr. Pitt) with a wary and a jealous eye. It has very lately termed him a tyrant, though his government is an elyſium compared with that of the Convention: and ſhould he be Emperor of the Gauls, it will hate him as cordially as we do.

Poor Switzerland ſeems to be faſt approaching to its fate, that is, to form a province or two of the Empire of the Gauls. Neither do we here ſee a ſubject of very deep regret, provided always that Buonaparté wears a *crown*. The Swiſs nation has, by all the canting philanthropiſts of modern times, been held forth as a pattern of inno-

cence and virtue, and their government as the model of perfection. Never let it be forgotten, however, that Necker, Clavière, and Marat, iſſued forth from thoſe innocent cantons; and ſtill leſs let it be forgotten, that the government of Switzerland was the ſtandard, to which every regicide politician triumphantly referred. In ſhort, the throne, on which God has placed our Sovereign, and our own proſperity, freedom, and public happineſs, which have no other baſis but that throne, are our firſt and greateſt care; and, as their durability eſſentially depends upon the deſtruction of the republican principle, the firſt wiſh of our heart is, that that nefarious principle ſhould be radically deſtroyed.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

Downing Street, May 14, 1802.

The King has been pleaſed to appoint the Honourable George Vere Hobart to be Lieutenant-Governor of the Iſland of Grenada, and its Dependencies, in the room of Alexander Houſton, Eſq. reſigned.

Whitehall, May 12, 1802.

The King has been pleaſed to order a Congé d'Elire to paſs the Great Seal, empowering the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Wells, to elect a Biſhop of the See of Bath and Wells, void by the Death of the Right Reverend Father in God Doctor Charles Moſs; and his Majeſty has alſo been pleaſed to recommend the Right Reverend Father in God Doctor Richard Beadon, Biſhop of Glouceſter, to be by them elected Biſhop of that See.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

Births.—Saturday ſe'nnight, in Conduit-ſtreet, the Right Hon. Lady Frances Moreton, of a ſon and heir.—On Saturday morning, at her houſe in Soho Square, Mrs. White, widow of the late John White, Eſq. of the Houſe of Commons, of a ſon.

Deaths.—At Dover, at John Trevanion's, Eſq. Miſs Boyd, ſiſter of Sir John Boyd, Bart. of Danſon, in the county of Kent.—At Berwick-upon-Tweed, aged 72, Mrs. Elizabeth Renwick, daughter of the late Sir William Purvis, of Purvis-Hall, Bart. and niece of the late Earl of Marchmont.

PRICES OF THE PUBLIC FUNDS.

	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.
Bank Stock . . .	—	—	190¾	—	190¼	189
3 per Ct. Red Ann.	73⅝	—	73⅛	73⅜	73⅛	73⅛
3 per Cent. Conſols	74⅛	—	74⅛	74⅜	74⅛	74⅛
4 per Cent. Conſols	90¼	—	90	89¾	89¾	89⅝
5 per Cent. Ann. .	102⅜	—	102¼	102⅜	102⅜	102⅛
Imp. 3 per Ct. Ann.	72	—	72	71⅞	71⅞	72⅛
5 per Cent. 1797 .	103⅞	—	103¾	103	103⅛	103⅛
Bank Long Ann. .	20⅞	—	20¾	20¾	20¼	20⅛
Bank Short Ann. .	5	—	5	5	5	5
India Stock	—	—	219½	—	—	219⅛
Omnium	1½	—	1¼	1¾	1½	1
Exch. Bills, New .	—	—	—	—	—	2
Iriſh 5 per Cent. .	100¼	—	—	—	90⅞	—

AMERICAN STOCKS.—Eight pr. c. 113¼.
FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Conſolidé, 57 f.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C.F.	10 14 2 uſ.	LEGHORN	51¼
D°. at ſight . .	10 11	NAPLES	44
ROTTERDAM	10 15 2 uſ.	GENOA	47¼
HAMBURGH	32 72½ uſ.	LISBON	68
ALTONA . .	32 8 2½ uſ.	OPORTO	68¼
PARIS 2 uſ.	23 14 liv.	DUBLIN	12⅜
BOURDEAUX, d°	23 15	VENICE, 59 livres piccole effective per £. ſter.	
CADIZ . .	34½ in paper	BILBOA	37 D°
DITTO . .	36½ effective	PALERMO	
MADRID .	34⅞ in paper	AGIO, bank on Hol. p.	
DITTO . .	37¼ effective		

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s.	s.		s.	s.
Eng. Wheat per q.	52	to 67	Hops per cwt. .	84	to 145
Foreign	40	- 66	Hay per load .	38	- 88
Rye	32	- 36	Beef per ſtone . .	5s.	to 6s. 6d.
Barley	30	- 35			
Malt	40	- 50	Mutton 6s. od.	to	7s. od.
Oats	15	- 25	Veal	6s.	to 7s.
Peaſe	30	- 36	Pork . 5s. 4d.	to	6s. 8d.
Beans	30	- 39	Tallow . .	4s.	1d.
Flour per ſack .	45	- 50	Average of Sugar per cwt. . .	37s.	5¼d.
Seconds	40	- 45			
Coals per chal. .	32	- 40			

Bread *Nine Pence Farthing* the Quartern Loaf.
Porter Four Pence Halfpenny per Pot.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER,

Near Guilford, in Surrey, for the Month of Mar. 1802.

Days.	M's Age.	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barometer. Inches. M.	Barometer. Inches. A.	Thermometer. Degrees. M.	Thermometer. Degrees. A.
13		Fine.	NW	NW	29,84	29,83	50	52,5
14		*Snow* Fa	NW	NW	29,91	29,9	46	51
15		Fair Rai.	NW	NW	29,8	29,8	48	43
16		Fair.	N	NW	29,8	29,82	46	46,5
17	○	Rain Fai.	NW	NW	29,81	29,8	48	48,5
18		Fair.	NW	NW	29,85	29,86	45,7	51,5
19		Rain.	S	SW	29,48	29,55	48	53

● *New Moon.* ☾ *1ſt Quar.* ○ *F. Moon.* ☽ *laſt Quar.*

LONDON,

LONDON, May 22 to May 29, 1802.

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,

Succeeding events frequently give unexpected importance to circumſtances, which at the time excited little or no attention. Of this kind was the publication of a circular letter, which the French miniſter of the interior, *Citizen Chaptal*, addreſſed to the Chambers of Commerce in the different ſeaports and maritime towns of the Republic, juſt before the meeting of the Congreſs at Amiens.* Our heads then were hardly beginning to cool from "*the delirium of joy.*" Philanglus was ſtill dreaming of viſionary empires to be added to the Britiſh crown amidſt the inmoſt wilds of North America; not "antres vaſt and deſerts idle," Sir, but regions teeming with the ſofteſt, warmeſt, and moſt delicate catſkins. Mr. Chalmers had not yet calculated half our incredible gains by his new rule of three in moral arithmetic. The conſtant admirers of the French revolution in all its diverſified ſhapes had not quite abandoned their ten years occupation, which the conſtant admirers of the Treaſury had but recently taken up, of dealing out daily panegyrics on the harmleſs, peaceable, philanthropic diſpoſition of the fraternizing republic. The pompous promiſes of new reſources, which an increaſed trade was to furniſh for the more fortunate aſſertion of our honour at ſome better opportunity, had not loſt all their dazzling effect on our imaginations. Above all, we were taught to look forward with confident expectation, that, although the preliminary articles were ſilent, yet our commercial intereſts would be found in the definitive treaty to have derived freſh ſecurity from the diplomatic "*conciliation and firmneſs*" of Lord Cornwallis, who was repreſented to us as another Duke of Marlborough, reſiſtleſs alike in the cabinet and the field.

Appearing at ſuch a moment, Sir, the paper to which I allude, though it was inſerted in ſeveral of our own public prints, may probably have eſcaped the notice, or long ſince have paſſed away from the memory, of the greater part of your readers. It is in itſelf, however, worthy of being reſcued from oblivion in your Regiſter; and we muſt now learn to ſtudy with more than common care whatever can illuſtrate the temper and views of thoſe with whom we

---

* "*Paris, Nov. 22, 1801.*

"The moment is arrived, Citizens, when commerce will reſume its activity, and receive all the extenſion of which it is capable.

"I requeſt you, therefore, to ſend me your anſwers to the following queſtions, with the reaſons on which they are founded, and the concluſions you draw:

"I. Are you of opinion that it would be advantageous for commerce to re-eſtabliſh the great companies which formerly exiſted, ſuch as the India Company, the African Company, the Senegal Company, &c.?—If you anſwer in the affirmative, under what form and conditions would it be proper to re-eſtabliſh them?

"II. What are the changes that have taken place in our commercial relations with our colonies in America? Do the new order of things introduced there, and the preſent ſtate of culture, require new meaſures of adminiſtration better adapted to circumſtances?

"III. *Are there in our Navigation Laws regulations relative to foreign veſſels, which oppoſe any obſtacles to our connexions with the powers of the North of Europe? What are the means beſt calculated to augment thoſe connexions, and give them new activity?*

"IV. *Does not the ſtate of our commercial marine require that meaſures ſhould be taken to favour maritime expeditions, by giving greater facilities for the purchaſe and conſtruction of merchant ſhips, for the formation of the crews, and for increaſed economy in our navigation?*

"V. Do the tariff of the cuſtoms in 1791, the laws and regulations paſſed ſince, and which are ſtill in force, give riſe to any complaints? and what is the nature of ſuch complaints?

"VI. *What are the obſtacles which our commerce experiences in foreign countries in conſequence of their regulations and their cuſtoms?* POINT OUT THE COUNTRIES WHERE THESE OBSTACLES EXIST, *the articles on which they attach, and the reaſons for objecting to them.*

"VII. What is your opinion of the moſt economical means of procuring money for keeping up your port, the beſt means of conducting the works, and ſuperintending the adminiſtration of that branch?

"Such, Citizens, are the firſt points on which I am deſirous of receiving information from you, in order to lay the foundation of the principles and regulations which it will be my duty to propoſe to the government.

(Signed) "CHAPTAL."

have to deal, since the noble marquis, after all, has left our commercial interests just where he found them:—at the mercy of men, who feel our maritime power to be the great obstacle to their universal dominion, and who know that power to rest altogether on the basis and support of our mercantile navigation.

Out of seven heads of inquiry, which the circular letter of the French minister proposes, no less than four point directly to the plans, which that government is known to entertain, for sapping the foundations of our naval strength. The IIId and IVth questions clearly indicate the artifices, by which they hope to unite in a sort of commercial alliance against us, all those maritime and continental powers, which she has not already bound in leagues offensive and defensive, or does not hold attached in still more immediate dependence: the Vth and VIth plainly betray their design of excluding our trade and navigation from their ports. The style too of all the four is deserving of remark. They are all contrived with the greatest address for the purpose of suggesting the answer which the writer desired; while the rest relating only to matters of internal policy and domestic regulation, are left open to the admission of fair and impartial information.

In one of your former numbers,* Mr. Cobbett, you gave some extracts from a curious work of HAUTERIVE, the principal person under Citizen TALLEYRAND in the foreign office. As you gave them, I confess, they appeared to me a little mutilated and confused; their meaning, however, was but too intelligible. It was there avowed to be the fixed policy of France, whenever peace should arrive, to invite the nations of the North to a free communication of trade, even of the coasting trade, and all but the colonial, of which the moderate and generous republic happening to possess a lion's share, is determined to keep it, if possible, entirely to herself; and the condition of this confederacy is to be, that they shall impose restrictions on the ships, manufactures, and merchandizes of Great-Britain, unless we permit Lord Hawkesbury to make a surrender of our Navigation Act in addition to all our political and commercial treaties with Holland, the Netherlands, France, Spain, and Portugal. This was the public declaration of the foreign office in France before the conclusion of the war; the language of the home department since the peace is in perfect unison. Citizen CHAPTAL sets out with asking, whether there existed in the Custom-house any regulations, which stood in the way of a closer connexion with the northern nations?—a fact which admitted no dispute. The expediency of doing every thing, that may be necessary to improve the connexion, is then tacitly assumed; and the remaining inquiry regards merely the means of carrying this policy into effect: to which, what could be the return but this?—"Remove the obstacles, which all agree to stand in the way."

The *fourth* question looks more specious. But no person, Sir, is better acquainted with the secret object, than yourself. Next to the North of Europe, the views of France are directed towards the United States. Now ship-building, as we all know, is one principal trade of America. Very few masters indeed clear from her ports without an authority in their pockets to sell their vessels, if they can obtain their price. France formerly was a considerable market for this kind of dealing; but the first or second set of revolutionists—I forget which—aiming to imitate that Navigation Act of Great-Britain, which is become the theme of unceasing invective to their successors, were pleased to prohibit these purchases, not much to the satisfaction of America: indeed Mr. Jefferson himself, in his celebrated report to the Congress in 1793, like a fond, though disappointed lover, with a tone more of sorrow than anger, ventured to breathe one murmur of half-stifled complaint against this decree. Since that period the war has annihilated the commercial marine of France. She has not vehicles to transport a small part even of her present reduced trade, and she cannot wait the slow process of building for her own use. At present, therefore, she is willing to repeal (or perhaps I should rather say, to suspend) the prohibition which she so recently issued; and hopes thus at once to supply her own immediate wants, and afford a popular topic to her numerous and zealous partizans in the United States.

Without staying for the answer of the chambers of commerce, the measure was actually taken; and at the very commencement of the present year† public notice was given on the other side of the Atlantic, that the Consul-General of France had au-

* See Register, p. 233.

† See Register, p. 84 and 90.

thority to grant French regiſters, or licences, to American veſſels, and to allow of their being ſtill navigated by American ſailors. Here is a quick and ready ſupply of tonnage and men to any requiſite amount, transferred without difficulty from the colluſive trade of America, to the revived legal trade of France with the Weſt-Indies. And if the French merchants are a little ſhort of *capital*, the Americans, though they are not famous for ſuch ſort of *confidence*, will be obliged to lend them *credit*, that the quantity of their ſhipping, lately employed in carrying colonial produce circuitouſly to the markets of Europe, but now likely to be thrown upon their hands, may not lie rotting in their harbours. Neither are the FIRST CONSUL, and his Citizen Miniſters, inattentive to the other great nurſery of ſeamen, the fiſheries. The whalers of Nantucket, we are now told, are to be admitted again to their old privileges in the port of Dunkirk. I can alſo inform you, Mr. Cobbett, that the French at this moment are uſing every exertion to buy up Britiſh fiſhing-veſſels, and to enveigle Britiſh fiſhermen into their employ; and it is with ſorrow I add, that they have met with much more ſucceſs, than any true lover of his country can hear without regret and alarm. May they not find their ſucceſs ſtill more facilitated here by the operation of the late impolitic tax on our navigation, already ſtruggling with the burthen of a diſadvantageous competition, and on the import of every article of naval ſtores, for all which we are dependent on foreign countries!

The tariff of 1791, which is the next ſubject of inquiry, is not ſo covered with venerable duſt, that it might be ſuppoſed to be already antiquated. But that it ſhould want reviſion in all its parts, would not ſurprize any man, who has at all ſtudied the perfect works of the conſtituent aſſembly, as the conſtitution-mongers of that day called it, becauſe for a monarchy reſpected and loved during fourteen centuries, it had in its enlightened philoſophy ſubſtituted a royal democracy, which was too feeble to maintain itſelf for a ſingle year, and which in all the ſubſequent changes and revolutions of power no man has ever thought of re-eſtabliſhing. The truth is, however, that the tariff of 1791 was accommodated to the commercial treaty with Great-Britain. This was its original ſin, which demanded a complete regeneration. It required no management to draw an opinion and advice to that effect from the chambers of commerce. To deſire, that they would ſtate their complaints, if they had any to offer, was in fact only to deſire, that they would repeat to more willing ears the ſame objections, which many of them, in 1786, carried to the foot of the throne, and publiſhed to the world, after their ſovereign had irrevocably bound his faith by a ſolemn treaty, which in thoſe reſpects allowed of no alteration, no ſupplemental arrangements, no conſtructive modifications. A new tariff has accordingly been framed for the purpoſe of excluding our commerce; and whilſt I am writing, the FIRST CONSUL, not yet ſatisfied, has applied for new authority "*to* "*raiſe or lower the duties of cuſtoms, to* "*allow or forbid the eſtabliſhment of maga-*"*zines, and prohibit or permit the importation* "*or exportation of all commodities;*" proviſionally at his ſole diſcretion; not with any intention of relaxing the prohibitions againſt Britiſh manufactures, but (as the deſign was officially explained) the better to ſecure the manufactures of France againſt "a "ſudden *ſcarcity* of raw materials, or the "ſudden irruption of rival articles," by occaſional meaſures taken not only with *promptitude* but even with *ſecrecy*.

But the VIth queſtion is open and direct in its tendency. There is no pretext, no diſſimulation, no concealment to impoſe on the ſofteſt ſimplicity. The chambers of commerce are directed TO NAME THE COUNTRIES, *where French commerce experiences any obſtacles in conſequence of cuſtom-houſe regulations; and the reaſons for objecting to them.* To ſuch a direction what alone could be the anſwer? HAUTERIVE had already given it. "It is ſtrange," ſays he, "that, for "more than a century, ENGLAND ONLY "has publiſhed a Navigation Act, that may "be termed an authoritative injunction to all "nations and to every people, thoſe of "Britain and the United States excepted; "and that *this law of perpetual war ſhould* "*never have been anſwered by a law of re-*"*priſals.*"

When the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the hope of being able to diſembarraſs his adminiſtration from the proſecution of the war, was ſyſtematically lowering the pride and ſpirit of the people to the tone of his too ſincere negotiations, he was perpetually filling our ears and flattering our expectations with "the *accuſtomed* "*relations of peace and amity.*" Now, Sir, I was ſo dull as always to look upon commerce, as one of the principal of thoſe relations: and I was perhaps confirmed in this error by perceiving, that all our moſt illuſtrious ſtateſmen of former times be-

ſtowed the greateſt labour to accompliſh beneficial treaties of commercial intercourſe with France. They conſtantly made them the price of war or of peace, as we were led by our own intereſts, and the ſafety of Europe, to ſuccour or to oppoſe the French arms. But this "*traſh and trumpery*" (as, I think, a learned lord's phraſe is) of our ill-informed and narrow-minded anceſtors found nothing ſimilar to itſelf in the original and expanſive genius of *Lord Hawkeſbury*. With "an hereditary diſpoſition to "office" the noble Secretary of State joins an hereditary diſpoſition to regulate trade; and if we may believe his lordſhip, not rejected by our adverſaries, but acting from his own free judgment, he has voluntarily choſen, ſince he cannot ſet off on his march to Paris during this armed truce, to amuſe himſelf at home with the bloodleſs battles of the Cuſtom-houſe, tariff drawn up in array againſt tariff, and cocket ſkirmiſhing with cocket. There is much courage in this, and I heartily wiſh him ſucceſs; but where in the mean time, Sir, are *the accuſtomed relations of peace and amity?*

It may appear to many, Mr. Cobbett, that it was by no means neceſſary at this time of day to comment ſo much in detail on the paper, which is the ſubject of this letter. It is true not a day paſſes, which does not furniſh ſome clear and unequivocal proof of avowed hoſtility to our navigation and commerce. But the lullaby, which is now applied to ſtill the clamours of our merchants and ſhip-owners, is the gentle aſſurance, that all this is only the temporary ebullition of ſubſiding animoſity. It is proper, therefore, that we ſhould know our real ſituation. It is eſſential that by tracing the declarations and conduct of thoſe, who profeſs themſelves our eternal rivals, though they may ſometimes ceaſe for a ſeaſon to bear the name of enemies, we ſhould convince ourſelves that all which is now going on has been coolly premeditated, and is reſolutely executed on ſyſtem. Thus only is it, that we can ever bring our minds to reſiſt firmly and ſteadily all the deſigns of France for our injury, whether in war or peace.

I am,

Sir,

Your conſtant reader,

Acatus.

EXPORTS of the United States, from the 1ſt of October, 1800, to the 30th of September, 1801.

SPECIES OF MERCHANDIZE.		QUANTITY OR VALUE.
Aſhes, pot	tons	7223
Do. pearl	do.	1297
Apples	barrels	9022
Beer, porter, and cyder, in caſks	gallons	128,582
Do. in bottles	dozens	8307
Beef	barrels	75,331
Biſcuit, or ſhip bread	do.	105,983
Do. do.	kegs	44,070
Buck-wheat	buſhels	154
Barley	do.	8796
Bran and ſhorts	do.	385
Beans	do.	12,144
Butter	pounds	2,830,016
Boots	pairs	4487
Bricks	numb.	666,817
Bark, eſſence of	gallons	622
Corn, India	buſhels	1,763,162
Cheeſe	pounds	1,674,834
Coffee	do.	45,106,494
Cocoa	do.	7,012,155
Chocolate	do.	48,723
Cotton	do.	20,911,201
Coal	buſhels	16,334
Candles, wax	pounds	24,893
Do. ſpermaceti	do.	290,666
Do. tallow	do.	1,318,199
Canvaſs or ſail cloth	pieces	1543
Cables and cordage	cwt.	10,089
Cards, wool and cotton	dozens	368
Do. playing	packs	3828
Copper or braſs, and copper manufactured	dollars	69,474
Coaches & other carriages	do.	13,468
Flour	barrels	1,102,444
Furniture, houſehold	dollars	90,133
Flaxſeed	buſhels	461,266
Flax	pounds	28,960
Fiſh, dried or ſmoked	quint.	410,948
Do. pickled	barrels	85,935
Do. do.	kegs	10,424
Gunpowder	pounds	88,532
Ginſeng	do.	286,458
Hats	dollars	57,366
Hams and bacon	pounds	2,034,630
Hair-powder	do.	25,021
Hops	do.	70,784
Hemp	cwt.	561
Hides, raw	numb.	3691
Horned cattle	do.	8486
Horſes	do.	5085
Hogs	do.	7312
Iron, pig	tons	223
Do. bar	do.	70
Do. caſtings	dollars	22,798
Do. all manufactures of	do.	300,346
Indigo	pounds	411,140
Lard	do.	2,876,500
Leather	do.	210,316
Lead	do.	538,972
Meal, rye	buſhels	392,276
Do. Indian	do.	919,345
Do. buck-wheat	do.	1907
Do. oat	buſhels	347

SPECIES OF MERCHANDIZE.		QUANTITY OR VALUE.
Muſtard	pounds	2093
Molaſſes	gallons	421,628
Mules	numb.	433
Medicinal drugs	dollars	11,900
Merchandize, & all other articles of goods not particularly enumerated	do.	17,159,016
Oil, linſeed	gallons	31,564
Do. ſpermaceti	do.	91,684
Do. whale	do.	215,522
Oats	buſhels	100,544
Peaſe	do.	53,791
Pork	barrels	70,779
Pitch	do.	2682
Potatoes	buſhels	104,186
Poultry	dozens	6457
Rice	tierces	94,866
Rye	buſhels	31,110
Roſin	barrels	2397
Spices, pepper	pounds	3,153,139
Do. pimento	do.	320,447
Do. all other	dollars	80,426
Spirits, foreign	gallons	520,205
Do. domeſtic, from foreign produce	do.	320,649
Do. do. from domeſtic do.	do.	16,920
Shoes and ſlippers	pairs	133,545
Skins and furs	dollars	281,639
Sadlery	do.	1976
Silk, raw	pounds	
Starch	do.	203,360
Soap	do.	2,668,536
Sugars, bro. & other clayed	do.	97,565,732
Do. refined	do.	168,479
Sheep	numb.	11,621
Ship ſtuff	cwt.	1986
Salt	buſhels	70,067
Snuff	pounds	52,297
Tobacco, manufactured	do.	472,282
Do. unmanufactured	hogſh.	103,758
Tallow	pounds	37,142
Tar	barrels	67,487
Turpentine	do.	35,413
Do. ſpirits of	gallons	4783
Tea, bohea	pounds	669,208
Do. ſouchong	do.	211,920
Do. hyſon	do.	438,843
Do. other green	do.	39,277
Wheat	buſhels	239,929
Whalebone	pounds	23,105
Wax	do.	177,388
Wine, Madeira	gallons	29,401
Do. all other	do.	1,447,358
Do. do. bottled	do.	54,993
Wood, ſtaves and heading	numb.	37,189,498
Do. ſhingles	do.	81,044,316
Do. hoops and poles	do.	3,732,086
Do. boards, planks, &c.	feet	71,629,831
Do. timber	tons	9657
Do. all other, & lumber	dollars	61,070
Do. oak, bark, & other dye	do.	31,043
Do. all manufactures of	do.	170,027

A Summary of the Value and Deſtination of the Exports of the United States, agreeably to the above Statement.

DESTINATION.	DOLLARS.
To Ruſſia	9136
Pruſſia	120,238
Sweden	39,176
Swediſh Weſt-Indies	193,032
	232,208
Denmark and Norway	531,825
Daniſh Weſt-Indies	1,049,361
	1,581,136
United Netherlands	6,234,450
Dutch Weſt-Indies and American colonies	625,791
Dutch Eaſt-Indies	62,131
	6,922,372
England, Iſle of Man, and Berwick	25,3[illegible]9,334
Scotland	3,006,599
Ireland	2,576,367
Gibraltar	204,627
Guernſey, Jerſey, Sark, &c.	38,821
Cape of Good Hope	283,918
Britiſh Eaſt-Indies	71,617
Britiſh Weſt-Indies	9,699,722
Newfoundland and Britiſh fiſheries	125,305
Britiſh American colonies	815,722
	42,132,052
Imperial ports	52,459
Hamburg, Bremen, &c.	10,463,738
France	3,985,292
French Weſt-Indies	7,147,972
Bourbon and Mauritius	75,814
Other French African ports	52,673
	11,261,751
Spain	2,865,101
Teneriffe and other Canaries	267,664
Honduras, Campeachy, &c.	100,210
Spaniſh Weſt-Indies	8,437,659
Floridas and Louiſiana	1,408,029
Other Spaniſh American colonies	532,153
	13,610,816
Portugal	1,139,377
Madeira	528,344
Fayal and other Azores	5120
Cape-de-Verds	45,918
	1,718,759
Morocco	88,740
Italy	2,090,439
China, and Eaſt-Indies generally	1,374,506
Weſt-Indies do.	372,932
Africa do.	367,705
Europe do.	278,158
North-weſt Coaſt of America	343,338
Total . . Dollars	93,020,513
Sterling	£.20,929,615

CRITICAL NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

25. *The Criſis of the Sugar Colonies, &c. &c. Addreſſed to the Right Hon. Henry Addington.*—This is a work of extenſive information on a ſubject of great importance. The principal object of the writer appears to be to prevent Mr. Addington from further encouraging the ſlave trade, as it at preſent exiſts, and particularly from permitting that trade to be carried on for the purpoſe of ſtocking Trinidada with negroes. If we diſagree with the author, as we certainly do on this point, we perfectly concur with him in opinion reſpecting the conſequences of the French expedition to St. Domingo, and we regret extremely, that our limits do not at preſent permit us to make a very long extract from this part of his pamphlet, which we beg leave to recommend to the attention of all thoſe, who ſtill think that the Weſt-India colonies are worth preſerving.

26. *A ſecond Edition of Sir Frederick M. Eden's Letter on the Peace, &c. &c. with conſiderable Additions.*—Whatever can be ſaid in favour of the peace Sir Frederick has certainly ſaid; and, if our readers ſhould be of opinion that his arguments have not been confuted by Mr. Cobbett (in his Letters to Lord Hawkeſbury and Mr. Addington), the Letters of Sir Frederick cannot fail to yield them great conſolation. This being a new edition of a work, which we noticed before, we ſhould not have repeated our notice, were we not deſirous to promote a fair examination of the merits of that peace, concerning which we entertain notions preciſely the oppoſite of thoſe entertained by the author.

27. *Subſtance of the Speech of the Right Hon. Sir Wm. Scott, delivered in the Houſe of Commons, April 7, 1802, upon a Motion for Leave to bring in a Bill, relative to the Non-reſidence of the Clergy, and other Affairs of the Church.*—The information contained in this pamphlet has long been ſought for in vain; and it is now communicated to the public at a time when the momentous ſubject, to which it more immediately relates, is under the conſideration of his Majeſty's Parliament. That a ſtrict adherence to the rules and laws of reſidence would be deſirable, every man, and particularly every zealous friend to the church, will certainly allow; but that ſuch an adherence would not only be a great hardſhip on a conſiderable portion of the clergy, but would be abſolutely *impoſſible*, is clearly proved by this ſpeech, in which it is ſtated, that out of "eleven "thouſand ſeven hundred and odd livings "in the kingdom, about one moiety of the "whole are *under fifty pounds* a year, and, "upon an average, *leſs than twenty pounds a* "*year.*" From a ſource ſo high, ſo fertile in information, and ſo indiſputably pure, miſrepreſentation cannot be ſuſpected; while, then, one half of the livings in the kingdom are of this trifling amount, where is the man, with the leaſt pretenſions to juſtice, and with the leaſt deſire not to leave the pariſhes without any clergyman at all, who can refuſe his aſſent to a law for remedying the evil complained of? As to the *mode* of remedy we muſt refer the reader to the ſpeech itſelf, and to the diſcuſſions, which will, doubtleſs, take place in the ſeveral ſtages of the bill.

28. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Effects of the Paper Credit of Great-Britain. By Henry Thornton, Eſq. M. P.*—A work of great uſe in the ſtudy of commerce and finance.

29. *A Political Eſſay on the Commerce of Portugal and her Colonies, &c. &c. Tranſlated from the Portugueſe.*—This alſo is a work of great utility, particularly at this time.

VERSES OCCASIONED BY THE PEACE.

Thy ſoft approach, O Peace, when millions hail,
And gratulation floats on every gale,
Why frowns the PATRIOT on the public joy?
Why thus his breaſt with boding cares annoy?
Is it that now no more his counſels charm
The Sov'reign's ear, or nerve the ſoldier's arm?
Is it that, touch'd with envy, ſpleen, or ſhame,
He ſeeks to wound a riſing Statefman's fame?
Ah! no!—ſuch arts his lofty mind diſdains,
Free to avow its pleaſures or its pains.
Of Peace he knows the worth, but weighs the coſt,
And thinks the glories of his country loſt.
With clear prophetic eye, in time's dark womb,
He reads the annals of the age to come;
And ſees a vaſt gigantic pow'r unfurl'd,
That aims to graſp the empire of the world.

High o'er his peers, his brows with laurel bound,
A youthful chief in deeds of arms renow'd
Aſſumes the reins; a mighty nation's head,
The ſoldiers' darling, and the ſubjects' dread.
Obſequious allies crouch beneath his rod,
And Monarchs tremble at a Conſul's nod.

Britain alone maintains her wonted ſtate,
Still great in arms, in arts and commerce great.
Britain alone awakes his ſecret dread,
And haunts the victor ſlumb'ring on his bed.
Long as her fleets the ſubject ſeas controul,
And bear her thunders to each diſtant pole;
Long as her merchants crowd each foreign port,
And the world's wealth on ev'ry wave import;
Long as her ſons with gen'rous ardour glow,
The firſt in Freedom's cauſe to brave the foe;
France knows how vain to ſtem the flowing tide,
And meet the lord of ocean in his pride.
Silent and ſlow ſhe waits an happier hour,
To ſap the broad foundations of his pow'r.
From court to court, from clime to clime ſhe ſends,
With threats alarms, with ſoothing flatt'ry bends,
In ev'ry realm the rights of trade to bar,
And wage with Britain a clandeſtine war.
Should guile prevail, and Europe couching low,
With tame ſubmiſſion to her mandate bow;
Again, her potent rival lull'd aſleep,
Her fleets ſhall ride in triumph o'er the deep;
Her peopled towns their priſtine arts reſtore,
And her proud commerce ſtretch from ſhore to ſhore.
Then Father Thames, awak'ning from his dream,
Shall mourn the raviſh'd honours of his ſtream:
Where late he ſaw his lofty navies ride,
In dreadful pomp arrang'd on either ſide;
Fair nurs'ry of a brave and generous race,
Whoſe gallant deeds their country's annals grace;
Where late he ſaw, from London's gloomy cells,
The tribe whom ſecret thirſt of gain impels,
On his broad banks diſplay the ſhining ſtores
That either Ind' in gay profuſion pours;
No more he hears the ſeamen's cries reſound,
Nor ſees the products of each clime around.
On the lone beach the penſive merchant ſtands,
And views with tearful eye and wringing hands,
The ſhipleſs rivers and deſerted ſtrands.
Prime ſource of power, when commerce quits her ſhore,
Then Britain's ſun ſhall ſet—to riſe no more.

Apart and muſing on the mournful theme,
Nor fondly caught in a deluſive dream,
His country's honour glowing in his breaſt,
Nor hope, nor fear, the PATRIOT's zeal expreſt.
On the full ſenate flaſh'd a beam of light,
And times yet diſtant open'd on their ſight.
With ſilent awe and deep attention ſate
The fathers, liſt'ning to the ſtern debate,
That thrill'd thro' ev'ry nerve—from man to man,
Swift through the realm the ſhiv'ring impulſe ran.
With jealous doubts and anxious fears impreſt,
His dark forebodings throbb'd in ev'ry breaſt.
All ſeem'd to ſee, athwart the hov'ring gloom,
Their feeble rulers ſealing England's doom.

AFFAIRS OF INDIA.

The Special Committee of the Court of Directors have made a report relative to the Private Trade with India, and to the affairs of the Company, as far, at leaſt, as thoſe affairs have been affected by the "dangerous" ſyſtem of Mr. Dundas, which, it appears, found but one advocate in the whole Court of Directors, and that one was Mr. Scott. who has ſince retired from his ſituation, The principal object of the report, appears to be to ſhow the deſtructive conſequences of any extenſion of the Private Trade; and, in the purſuit of this object, the Committee are naturally led to comment, with that degree of ſeverity which the caſe amply juſtifies, on the miſtakes, the miſ-ſtatements, and pertinacity of the late Preſident of the Board of Controul. They have, in our opinion, fully proved, that his ſyſtem is pregnant with danger, and that he left the affairs of the Company in a much worſe ſtate than that in which he found them. As this is a ſubject of vaſt public importance, we ſhall not be afraid of treſpaſſing on the patience of our readers in the extracts, which we mean to make from this report.

"If your Committee decline, for the ſake of brevity, to extend their obſervations and arguments on many parts of this ſubject, they feel themſelves compelled to take notice of a letter from Mr. Dundas, which he has printed, under date the 30th of June, 1801. The Right Honourable Gentleman, on retiring from office, has repreſented India, and the affairs of the Company, in the moſt proſperous ſituation; and, in the event of peace, capable of reducing the debt in India, within reaſonable and proper bounds, many years before the expiration of the Company's charter.

"The letter above referred to being in the nature of an appeal to public opinion, unwillingly forces itſelf upon your Committee's notice. That Mr. Dundas has not properly appreciated the importance and extent of the claims of the Indian agents, your Committee truſt they have diſtinctly proved in this and their former reports; and they have too much reaſon to fear that the excluſive trade, as regulated by the Act of 1793, is not only neceſſary, but indiſpenſable, as a reſource to ſave the Company from deſtruction. It muſt always be remembered, that every part of Mr. Dundas's plan, whether it relates to the flattering proſpects held out to the Company at home, or to the relief and proſperity of the empire in India, depend wholly and ſolely upon the Company's commerce;—but whilſt the means of applying every commercial aid with ſpeed and ef-

fect, are far beyond what he could have expected on the 30th of June laft, in conſequence of the peace; yet the few months which have intervened, have been more than ſufficient to convince the Court, that Mr. Dundas was miſtaken as to the real ſituation of the Company's affairs in India; for *the whole of his eſtimates are completely deſtroyed*, in conſequence of the advices ſince received from thence.

"Mr. Dundas (we quote his own words) ſays, 'When 'I ſaw the amount of the debt riſe to above ten 'millions bearing intereſt, and ſtill likely to increaſe, 'I thought it my duty to ſtate to you the propriety 'of reſtoring to India, from your Treaſury at home, 'a part of that balance, &c.'— Again—'And this 'led me to ſtate that I was ready to meet the 'Indian debt even at the large amount of fourteen 'millions.'

"Every perſon converſant with the affairs of India, will concur with Mr. Dundas that the ſafety of the Empire depends (amongſt other things) upon the comparative magnitude of the debt. He was alarmed, and with reaſon, when the amount was ten millions; but as an exertion, and with a reſponſibility of which he appears to have felt the weight, he was ready to meet it, on the 30th of June, 1801, *at the* LARGE AMOUNT *of fourteen millions*; and although peace was not then made, he calculated *upon peace*, and upon the debt not exceeding *fourteen millions*. In the firſt point he has been fortunate;—with regard to the laſt, we ſhall now proceed to examine.

"The Indian debt on the 30th of April, 1800, was as follows:—

	At Intereſt.	*Intereſt due.*	*Arrears and other Debts.*
Bengal *	£.8,512,298	£.419,701	£.1,342,014
Madras †	2,325,173	80,000	198,432
Bombay ‡	1,263,263	54,731	179,138
Bencoolen	16,675	. . . .	41,292
	£.12,117,409	£.554,433	£.1,760,878

Total . . £.14,432,717

From a curſory view of the accounts and eſtimates received within a few days from India by the Georgina Packet, it appears that the increaſe of debts at Bengal and Bombay for 12 months, and Madras for 6 months, amounted to 2,100,000

That Bengal propoſes to borrow more than will be paid off in the enſuing year 600,000

That Bombay propoſes to do the ſame for 400,000

And that the letter from Madras, dated the 2d September, 1801, ſtates, that they had borrowed 30 lacks of pagodas, or . . . 1,200,000

"After an addition of this magnitude to the eſtimate made by Mr. Dundas, it is unneceſſary for your Committee to purſue their inquiries further on this ſubject at the moment; but they truſt that they have demonſtrated the opinion they intertain of the ſanguine eſtimate formed by Mr. Dundas; and ſtill more, that *the difficulties which the Company have to encounter, will require the aid of every reſource to enable them to ſurmount. However diſcouraging this proſpect may be, it is aggravated by circumſtances which never exiſted before. The eſtabliſhments are increaſed, the political reſources are abſorbed, and it is further intended to deprive the Company of a material part of the reſources they actually poſſeſs, under pretence of contributing towards the proſperity of the Indian Empire.* The laſt time that the Company appeared before Parliament, *in forma pauperis*, was in the year 1783. In conſequence of the war, debts had been incurred, and the reſources of the Company had been abſorbed in ſuch a manner as to require parliamentary relief. The relief they ſolicited on that account was to ſuſpend the payment of £.924,862, due to the Public for duties on the Company's goods, for a further time, and to prolong the payment of bills drawn from India until the goods, for which thoſe bills were drawn, could be ſold; but no new money was raiſed, either by the Public or the Company, on the occaſion: and trifling as that relief may appear, when compared with the wants of the preſent day, it was ſufficient to extricate the Company from every difficulty abroad and at home.

"It cannot, however, be denied, that the diſtreſs of the Company in the year 1783, was great. At that time Mr. Dundas took upon himſelf the adminiſtration of Indian affairs; and therefore we will venture to make a compariſon between the period of diſtreſs in which he began his adminiſtration, and the ſtate in which he has left the Company's affairs on retiring from office.

"The Report of the Court of Directors, dated the 23d January, 1784, and laid before the Houſe of Commons (which was approved and defended by Mr. Dundas,) ſtates diſtinctly the revenues and debts of India, according to the laſt accounts which could be obtained at that period.

The net revenue of India, excluſive of the profit on ſalt and opium, was	£.1,091,546
The ſalt and opium, although they have produced much more, was at that time eſtimated at only .	400,000
Net *ſurplus* at that time	£.1,491,546

"This ſurplus was ſubject to charges, and particularly to the intereſt of the debts in India. The ſalt and opium are eſtimated at no more than £.400,000, but produced, for an average of above twenty years, £.800,000 per annum.

By the accounts laid before the Houſe of Commons the 5th of May, 1801, the ſurplus net revenue was . .	£.664,397
It appeared, at the ſame time, that the intereſt upon debts bearing intereſt was	1,082,204
Leaving a deficiency of	£.417,806

"*Your Committee are aware that the* DEFICIENCY IS MUCH LARGER, *not only from additional intereſt on debts, but for expences which are not included; but the difference againſt the annual* political *income of the Company, between the periods of* 1783-4, *and of* 1801-2, *is very conſiderable.*"

* 2*s.* the Current Rupee.
† 8*s.* the Pagoda.
‡ 2*s.* 3*d.* the Rupee.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

On the ſecond reading of the Election Treating Bill in the Houſe of Lords (Thurſday, May 20), ſome diſcuſſion took place.—On the queſtion being put for the committing of the bill, it was loſt by 7 peers againſt 6. A motion was then made for the rejection of the bill, which was carried by the ſame numbers.

On Friday (May 2), on the queſtion being put for the Houſe to reſolve itſelf into a committee on the Manure Sale Bill, *Lord Holland* roſe, and, after ſome pertinent obſervations on the frivolous ſubjects which were brought before their Lordſhips, moved, that the committee ſhould be poſtponed till Monday next.—The queſtion was then put, and the motion carried.

On Monday and Tueſday (21ſt and 22d), nothing of importance took place.

On the ſecond reading of the Militia Regulation Bill (Wedneſday, May 23), ſome debate took place on the motion of *Earl Fitzwilliam* that the bill ſhould be read that day three months. The motion was negatived.

In the Houſe of Commons on Thurſday (May 20), ſome converſation took place upon the number of men to be raiſed by the Engliſh Militia Bill, which was read a third time and paſſed. The *Attorney General* then moved for leave to bring in bills for repealing certain parts of the Alien Act, and ſubſtituting other regulations in their place; and for repealing certain regulations of the Police Bill, and ſubſtituting others in their ſtead. Leave was granted for that purpoſe. The Houſe was next reſolved into a committee, on the Bill for regulating the Committees on Controverted Elections. Much converſation took place on the motion of *Mr. Banks*, that the clauſe for the appointment of nominees ſhould be left out. On the committee dividing upon the queſtion, only thirty-four members were preſent, and the Houſe was therefore adjourned.

A long converſation paſſed in the Houſe the next day (May 21), on the mode of branding flax-ſeed in Ireland, ſo as to prevent bad ſeed from being imported. A bill for repealing part of the Alien Act, of which the Attorney General had given notice the preceding day, was brought in and read a firſt time. The Debtor Bill, after ſome diſcuſſion, was withdrawn by Mr. W. Wynne.

The Houſe met on Saturday (May 22), but, after proceeding through ſome unimportant buſineſs, adjourned at four o'clock.

On Monday (May 23), after the uſual buſineſs before the Houſe had been gone through, *Mr. Dent* moved the ſecond reading of the Bull-baiting Bill. The motion was ſeconded by *Sir R. Hill*. He wiſhed, he ſaid, to be the advocate of thoſe poor friendleſs beings who could not help themſelves, and were, in common juſtice and humanity, entitled to protection. He then read extracts from various newſpapers, which related ſtories of bull-baiting, and alſo from ſeveral letters in which the practice was ſpoken of with abhorrence. There was nothing, he urged, in bull-baiting that excited a manly ſpirit. It was a cowardly proceeding. The preſent bill was the beginning of a ſyſtem of humanity and peace, and he hoped gentlemen would have no objection to ſigning a definitive treaty between the dog and the bull; a meaſure which he hoped would be as well ſupported as the definitive treaty between this country and France, which had given ſuch general ſatisfaction.—The meaſure was oppoſed by *Mr. Windham* in a ſpeech of exquiſite wit and great argument. Better ground, he ſaid, ought to have been taken than had been taken by the ſupporters of the bill now before the Houſe. Though the ſubject muſt be ludicrouſly treated, it was a ſerious matter that it ſhould occupy their attention at ſuch a period. In the midſt of the moſt important affairs, the Houſe was occupied with bull-baiting. Did the cuſtom call for this immediate interference? Was it a growing evil? No. It was daily vaniſhing away. At Norwich only two bull-baits could be remembered in twenty years, and he believed it was the ſame all over the kingdom. This bill was one inſtance of a practice which he was ſorry to ſee gaining ground, of legiſlating upon every trifling occaſion. Every meaſure of this kind increaſed the number of penal ſtatutes, and conſequently increaſed the danger there was of the authority conferred by them being vexatiouſly uſed. The Houſe ought to ſee things on a large ſcale; but in the preſent inſtance it had been employed in poring through a microſcope. This bill was part of a plan for reforming, as it was called, the manners of the people: thoſe who had been diſappointed in reforming the conſtitution had now turned their hands to the people. Some of the parties to this deſign he muſt conſider as deſcended from the Puritans of old, and divide into Methodiſts and Jacobins. Many marks indicated their common anceſtry. The Puritans hated lewd ſports and antichriſtian paſtimes, as they called the amuſements of

he lower orders; ſo did the Methodiſts. They would deſtroy the ſocial character, and convert men into ſour moroſe beings. They hated ſports, becauſe the followers of thoſe ſports were unfit for their purpoſes. It was not to thoſe who joined theſe ſports, but to the gloomy, auſtere, diſcontented, methodiſtical character, that a Jacobin would apply for the furtherance of his deſigns. The Jacobin miſſionary would paſs by the bull-bait, but ſtop at the meeting-houſe. Both wiſhed to deſtroy the old Engliſh character. "Read," ſays the Methodiſt; "aye, do," ſays the Jacobin, "we ſhall then get you to read the Rights of Man." It was ſtated by a Mr. Capel Loft, in a preface to a poem of merit written by Mr. Bloomfield, a ſhoemaker, that whilſt Mr. Bloomfield worked along with ſeveral others, he was employed to read the newſpapers, and attended a debating ſociety; and it ſeemed to be a ſubject of exceeding great regret to Mr. Loft that theſe rational amuſements were diſcouraged. This bill favoured the views of thoſe who wiſhed to turn the common people into politicians, but thoſe views ſhould meet his utmoſt oppoſition. Let the lower claſſes keep their ſports, and the higher conduct the buſineſs of the ſtate. To looking at one part only of a ſubject he was a decided enemy. If bull-baiting was cruel, ſo were hunting, fiſhing, and ſhooting, and ought likewiſe to be aboliſhed. It had been ſaid that the love of cruelty was what produces bull-baiting; but he denied this to be the ſtimulative to that or any of the ſports he had mentioned. Bull-baiting, it was ſaid, threw a place into confuſion; but what then did a horſe-race do? A horſe-race collected together all the ſharpers of all parts, and hindered the proſecution of buſineſs for days; yet an hon. gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce) had leaped over nine horſe-races in his own county, and ſeen nothing wrong till he came upon his legs at a bull-bait in Staffordſhire. The conduct of the hon. gentleman put him in mind of the butcher, who ran about ſcolding for his knife, while he had it, at the time, in his mouth. For his own part he could not conſent to take from the lower claſs of the people every amuſement they enjoyed. Nor could he think the ſport had that cruelty in it which was laid to its charge. It was well known that a bull which had been uſed to the ſport enjoyed a pleaſure from it. If the preſent bill was ſuffered to paſs, he would bring in another to aboliſh hunting, angling, and ſhooting; but he would repeat his declaration, that cruelty was not the character of thoſe who followed theſe ſports, or even bull-baiting. It was to be found in ſpecious, plauſible men—razors ſet in oil. He was followed by *Mr. Courtenay*, who entered into an ironical defence of bull-baiting. In reply to the arguments of Mr. Windham, it was urged by *Mr. Wilberforce* and *Mr. Sheridan*, that the evidence of cruelty in bull-baiting was too ſtrong to be overthrown; that it was a reproach to the lower orders to ſay that they muſt have ſuch a ſport; that it was bad argument to ſay that becauſe one evil was not aboliſhed, another muſt be ſuffered to ſubſiſt; and that the practice, which this bill was intended to aboliſh, ſo far from making a people manly and generous, could only make them cowardly and malignant. The arguments of Mr. Windham were defended by *Mr. Frankland* in a ſpeech of great ſpirit and ability. Contraſting with much force the hunting and death of a ſtag with the baiting of a bull, he aſked which was the moſt cruel? Yet the one practice was to be ſanctioned by law, the other was to be aboliſhed. Such ſchemes as the preſent could have no effect but to reduce the people to ſedentary and unmanly purſuits.—On the diviſion, the ſecond reading of the bill was negatived by 64 votes againſt 51.

On Tueſday (May 25), after ſeveral bills had been read, and accounts received, the Iriſh Law Courts Bill was withdrawn, on the ſuggeſtion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who ſaid it would be proper to defer the conſideration of it till the next ſeſſion, that, in the interval, the aſſiſtance of a noble friend of his, now in Ireland, in the higheſt ſituation of the law, might be obtained.

Nothing particular occurred on Wedneſday (May 26). A clauſe was introduced into the Alien Bill, which was ordered to be received the next day; the Sinking Fund Bill was committed for Wedneſday next; and a ſum of £ 173,535 was granted in a committee of ſupply for the relief of the ſuffering clergy and laity of France, Corſica, and St. Domingo ſufferers, and American loyaliſts.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

St. Domingo, March 9, 1802.—A letter from General Leclerc, of this date, informs the French Government, that Port-au-Prince, where he then was, had been preſerved uninjured; that the ſouthern part of the colony had been preſerved, by means of the black General Laplume, who had abandoned Touſſaint; and that the whole of the Spaniſh part, the inhabitants of which had formed a line of defence againſt the blacks, had alſo been preſerved; but,

from a subsequent part of the letter it appears, that Toussaint had, at one time, made an irruption into the Spanish part, and that he had been guilty of great cruelty. Great quantities of ammunition had been found in several of the mountains, where it had been deposited by Toussaint. Provisions were beginning to arrive from France. The black chiefs are said to live in great luxury, and to wear silver spurs on their naked legs.

March 26.—A letter from General Leclerc, of this date, gives an account of the taking of the Mornes and Forts of La Crete à Pierrot, twenty-four miles from St. Mark. In advancing to the attack of these important posts, Leclerc states, that General Hardy surrounded 600 negroes, all of whom he put to the sword. After giving a narrative of the attack, the letter concludes thus: "We found in the fort a powder magazine, the baggage and band of Dessalines, and a great many muskets, and fifteen pieces of cannon. The enemy has lost in these combats more than three thousand men; but though he fought with great boldness behind the walls, he shewed little in the open field. Our loss has been considerable, and we have had in all these engagements 500 men killed or wounded. Meanwhile Toussaint, after having been defeated and dispersed at Gonaives, early in March, had retired into the woods with only 500 men. During the time the army was occupied against Dessalines, he recovered from his first fright, collected 500 more, effected a junction with Christophe, who had saved 300 men, and conceived the plan of raising the whole department of the North, and perhaps carrying the whole Cape. He presented himself at Plaisance to attack General Desfourneaux, who repulsed him briskly. Toussaint was not discouraged. He disappeared before General Desfourneaux, advanced to Dondon and Marmelade, raised a part of the cultivators of the North, and presented himself before the Cape. If the succours from Flushing and Havre had been arrived, the inhabitants of the North would have been kept down, but knowing that there was only a feeble garrison at the Cape, and deceived by the false reports which Toussaint had circulated, these unfortunate cultivators were once more led astray. General Boyer kept the enemy at a certain distance from the town, made frequent sorties, and the Cape, at least, notwithstanding, suffered no kind of injury.—General Hardy set out this day from La Crete à Pierrot, to take cantonments in the department of the North. General Rochambeau is on his march towards Gonaives, Toussaint being in that canton. I hope that the divisions of Flushing and Havre, that which you announced to me from Brest, and that from Toulon, will speedily arrive. They will be useful to us, by enabling us to occupy cantonments upon all the points of this vast colony, which is the only means of arriving at the re-establishment of order and tranquillity. Although we have been marching forty days, we are resolved to march still, and not allow the enemy time to take breath.—I can find no terms to express the ferocity of Toussaint. He has massacred more than 10,000 inhabitants, blacks, whites, and mulattoes. We collected in our several expeditions nearly 8,000 persons, men and women, whom he intended to massacre. None of the Generals are wounded mortally.

N. B. This letter encloses a copy of a dispatch from Toussaint, who calls upon his generals to kill, burn, and lay waste, rather than submit to the whites, whose intention, he says, evidently is, to restore slavery.

April 8.—Under this date, the French Government has received a letter from Admiral Villaret, who, after having given a detail of the military movements, and of the distribution and state of his ships, states, that 5,500 men have arrived in the frigates from Havre de Grace and in the Dutch division. He mentions his intention to return to Europe with some of his ships, and concludes in the following words: "The Spanish Government of the Havannah has hastened to furnish all the assistance which it could spare; they have granted the 500,000 piastres, which were required, and some articles of clothing. As to provisions, American flour is dearer at the Havannah than at St. Domingo; and we are besides so far provisioned as to have no longer any uneasiness. Citizen Montquinault praises highly the frank cordiality of the Spanish Government, and the constant loyalty of Admiral Gravina, who suffers no opportunity of being useful to us to pass him. It is also just to attribute the success of the mission partly to the character and talents of this administrator. I shall send the St. Gennaro and the Libre, to-morrow, to the Havannah; the latter, in consequence of having been on shore, makes 15 inches of water in an hour. I strongly press the Spanish Government to promote the repair of these vessels, and the Captains have positive orders not to lose a day in returning to France, when they shall be in condition to sail."

Brest, May 21.—*Telegraphic dispatch.*—Admiral Villaret, who left St. Domingo the 20th Germinal (April 11), with eight sail of the line of his squadron, is arrived at Brest.——There was nothing new at St. Domingo since the departure of the Fidele. Our troops had set off again in pursuit of Toussaint.

United States of America, April 16.—The newspapers under this date, inform us, that a squadron of French ships was hourly expected (some few had already arrived) to take in provisions for the army in St. Domingo, and that, the merchants being unwilling to contract for the supply, the government of the United States had engaged to furnish the quantity of provisions wanted, and had appointed commissioners to make the necessary purchases, and to superintend the lading of the ships.

Paris, May 13.—The new arrangements relative to the Concordat have met with considerable difficulties. The Concordat itself, and the discourse of Portalis, were burned at Aix, though it has not yet appeared whether this act of violence proceeded from Jacobinical fury or Catholic zeal. Revolts are also apprehended in several of the dioceses where the constitutional bishops have been appointed.

The Legislative Body received on the 11th a project of a law from the government, for raising one hundred and twenty thousand conscripts, of whom sixty thousand are destined to replace the disbanded troops, and to complete the peace establishment, and sixty thousand are to form a reserve adequate to complete the war establishment, should the resumption of hostilities become necessary. The fact is, that upwards of one hundred thousand men belonging to the force actually on foot, having received per-

miſſion to return home in conſequence of the general peace, the government is raiſing ſixty thouſand recruits to replace them, which will only ſerve to provide for the ordinary ſervice of the frontier garriſons, the tranquillity of the interior, and the ſupplies which may be deemed neceſſary for the colonies, particularly St. Domingo.

It appears by letters from Milan, that in conſequence of a decree iſſued by Buonaparté, the three electoral colleges of the Italian Republic have been ſummoned to meet upon important buſineſs.

Regnier, one of the Generals who ſerved in Egypt, has challenged Deſtaing, and killed him in a duel. He has alſo challenged Menou, and openly reviled him, in print, for his miſconduct in Egypt, to which miſconduct he aſcribes the ſucceſs of the Engliſh. Buonaparté, who eſpouſes the cauſe of his brother Abdallah Menou, has baniſhed Regnier to a diſtance not leſs than thirty leagues from Paris.

May 15.—A deputation, compoſed of 102 members of the Legiſlative Body, was yeſterday introduced at one o'clock to the Conſuls.—Citizen Viennot Vaublanc, the orator of the deputation, declared the hearty aſſent of the Legiſlative Body to the propoſition of the Senate and Tribunate, relative to the re-election of Buonaparté, who made, on this occaſion, the following anſwer:

"The ſentiments which you have juſt "expreſſed, and this ſolemn deputation, are "a precious pledge of the eſteem which "the Legiſlative Body entertains for go-"vernment. I was called to the ſupreme "magiſtracy at a time when they could not "weigh, in the calmneſs of reflection, the "merit of their choice.

"The Republic was then torn by civil "wars—the enemy threatened our fron-"tiers; there exiſted neither ſecurity nor "government. In ſuch a criſis, the choice "made by the people could only be the "unconſidered effect of their alarm.

"Now peace is eſtabliſhed with all the "powers of Europe, the people preſent the "aſpect of an united family, and the ex-"perience which they have made of their "government, has enabled them to judge "more correctly of the value of their firſt "choice. Let them manifeſt their wiſhes "with perfect frankneſs and independence. "They ſhall be obeyed: whatever my deſ-"tiny may be, whether Conſul or Citizen, "I only exiſt for the happineſs and gran-"deur of France."

May 17.—A bill was this day preſented to the Legiſlative Body, the articles of which were as follows:

I. In the Colonies reſtored to France, in execution of the Treaty of Amiens, dated Germinal 6, year 10, ſlavery ſhall be maintained conformably to the regulations and laws anterior to 1789.—II. The caſe ſhall be the ſame in the other French Colonies beyond the Cape of Good Hope.—III. The ſlave trade and importation of ſlaves into the colonies ſhall be continued agreeably to the laws and regulations exiſting before the above period of 1789.—IV. Notwithſtanding all anterior laws, the management of the colonies is ſubjected for ten years to the regulations which ſhall be made by Government.

It is ſtated from *Vienna*, that the flower of Paſwan Oglou's army conſiſts of Chriſtians of almoſt every country in Europe, and amounts to 6,000 men at fartheſt, whom he pays and treats in the moſt liberal manner. Of natives and Janiſſaries he can always command from 10 to 12,000 men, who are better diſciplined than the troops of the Grand Seignor.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

Captain Mudge, of the Conſtance frigate, arrived in town on Wedneſday the 15th inſt. and on Friday a Privy Council was held to hear his relation of the tranſaction at Liſbon, as ſtated in the Regiſter, p. 468.

On Thurſday the 20th inſt. a fire broke out in the Warren, at Woolwich, by which public buildings and ſtores were conſumed to the amount of £400,000 or upwards.

On the 19th inſt. Baron Silverhjelm, Miniſter reſident from the King of Sweden, had a private audience of his Majeſty to deliver his Credentials.

The officers of the ſencible corps, having neither permanent rank nor half pay, are to receive the following allowances: one month's pay to each field officer and captain; and two months pay, and daily allowances, to the captain-lieutenant, to each ſubaltern, and to the ſtaff officers, from the day of diſbanding, excluſive. Officers holding two appointments, are to receive the above allowances for only one of them; but the paymaſter is to have a ſum equal to two months full allowance as ſuch, including the pay of his regimental commiſſion.

Yeſterday (the 28th of May) the Birth Day of the Right Hon. Wm. Pitt was celebrated, by a public dinner, at Merchant Taylors' Hall. A great number of noblemen and gentlemen were preſent; as many, we believe, as ever were, on any occaſion, preſent at the Birth Day Dinner of Mr. Fox.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The Continent of Europe, though far from being deſtitute of objects intereſting to the politician, preſents nothing of ſo much importance as the change of ſituation and opinion, viſible in every part of our own country. That decline of trade, which every one might have foreſeen, as the firſt conſequence of peace, has already been ſeverely felt. "Nothing is doing upon the river," is an obſervation that echoes and re-echoes from Limehouſe to Temple Bar, and from Temple Bar to Limehouſe. Some particular branches of manufactures have experienced no falling off; but, generally ſpeaking, the flattering hopes of the manufacturers have not only been diſappointed, but they have the mortification to find, that war, even with the Income Tax, would have been preferable to ſuch a peace as that to which his Majeſty's miniſters have ſubmitted. The ſituation of the ſhip-owners preſents an object ſtill more diſcouraging. This reſpectable body have publiſhed an account (Regiſter, p. 559) of the diminution in the value of their property; and, though the miniſters (Lord Caſtlereagh in particular) have thought proper to attribute the gloomy ſtatement to the unfounded alarms of ſelfiſh individuals, we are perſuaded the fears of the public will not ſo eaſily be removed, eſpecially when that ſtatement is fully confirmed by the concurrent teſtimony of the Special Committee of the Eaſt-India Directors, who, in their laſt report (of which we ſhall ſpeak more at large by and by), have this remarkable obſervation: "If there is any well-founded "claim on government, at this time, it is "the fair and juſt claim of Britiſh ſhips "and ſeamen, to provide (and not to de-"prive them of) the means of employment, "in return for the great and meritorious "ſervices rendered during the war. Bri-"tiſh ſhips of four or five hundred tons "and upwards, are fallen above *thirty per* "*cent.* in value, in *conſequence of the peace.*" They add, that "the number now unem-"ployed *muſt be increaſed very conſiderably*, "when the tranſports and other private "ſhips, in the ſervice of the navy, have "been diſcharged."—Now, his Majeſty's miniſters may aſſert, and re-aſſert, that the ſhipping has not diminiſhed in value; but, they may reſt aſſured, that, to all men of ſenſe and candour, their aſſertions will be as ſounding braſs and a tinkling cymbal.

The truth is, the miniſters now perceive, that their ſpeculations upon peace were erroneous. That, in thoſe ſpeculations, they were guided by Mr. Pitt we *know* (we ſpeak with great deliberation); but, that Mr. Pitt himſelf is not *infallible* will, in a very ſhort time, be readily allowed by all except thoſe, who are preſumptuous enough to aſſert, that to him, and him alone, "the "King is indebted for the crown that he "wears." Let us not, for a moment, be underſtood as wiſhing to detract from the talents or the integrity of Mr. Pitt; but, as it is the lot of human nature to err, ſo we are well aſſured, that he has erred, and moſt groſſly erred, in adviſing and ſupporting the peace of Amiens; and, as to the other point, what man with a loyal heart in his boſom can brook the aſſertion, that his Majeſty's crown has ever depended upon the breath of a ſubject?

To return to the ſpeculations on the peace: if any one will look back to the month of October laſt, he will find, that the ideas of *peace* and of an *increaſe of trade* were inſeparably united. But, we reſt not on newſpaper reflections and the mottos of tranſparencies; we refer to the more ſober obſervations of pamphleteers, and the declarations of miniſters themſelves, made in his Majeſty's Parliament. They did, indeed, admit, that, in certain branches of trade, the peace would cauſe a diminution; but that, "upon the *whole*" (a phraſe in great vogue amongſt them), there would be a conſiderable increaſe; particularly with the States of America, in which branch we have no heſitation to aſſert, that there has already been a diminution of *one-third*. They now find, from the reports of the Eaſt-India Company, the Weſt-India merchants, the ſhip-owners, and manufacturers in general, and from that infallible criterion, the receipts of the cuſtoms, that the commerce of the country has, from the opening of the negotiations to the preſent hour, experienced a regular and rapid decline. To remedy this evil they are, we ſuſpect, about to have recourſe to a ſort of ſtate quackery, which, though it may, for ſome few months or years, prolong their political exiſtence, will, we greatly fear, end in the total ruin of their country.

In the Letter to Lord Hawkeſbury, relative to our future commerce with France and her dependant allies (Regiſter, p. 401), is the following paſſage: "The ſyſtem of "France is, indeed, levelled more imme-"diately againſt the *navigation* laws of "England. As a compenſation for chip-"ping them away, we may, probably, ob-"tain *certain relaxations in favour of our* "*manufactures.*"—The letter (to which we beg leave to refer the reader) then proceeds

to ſhow from what cauſes this temptation will be likely to ſucceed; and we have not the leaſt doubt, that the commercial arrangements with France, which are ſaid now to be in contemplation, will but too fully verify the remarks we then made. The decline in point of navigation this miniſtry of ſhreds and patches, of ſhifts and expedients, might, for ſome time, reſiſt. The ſhip-owners are, in point of political influence, much inferior to the manufacturers; the ſhips lie and rot out of ſight, or are ſold to ſome foreign country, whither the ſailors quietly go with them, leaving the pariſhes unburdened with their maintenance. Juſt the contrary is the caſe with reſpect to the property and perſons of manufacturers, whoſe clamorous voices would, at a ſingle whoop, ſend the preſent timid legion ſcampering from the benches of the Treaſury. Knowing, therefore, the weakneſs of their nerves, and yet forcibly impelled by their "hereditary diſpoſition to "office," there is no expedient they will not try, no ſacrifice of national dignity, honour, or ſafety, that they will not make, in order to obtain ſome ſort of mitigation of the ſentence of excluſion, which the French have pronounced on our goods. They muſt too have money; no matter how. Their plan is to "huſband our reſources," amongſt which they do not reckon either ſhips or ſailors. Nor muſt we ſuppoſe, that Buonaparté has been ſo totally engroſſed by the ceremonies of Notre-Dame as to overlook what has lately paſſed in the Chapel of St. Stephen. He, prudent youth, "wears his eye thus; not too "ſuſpicious, yet not too ſecure;" and, he may, poſſibly, perceive, that, unleſs he enables his pacific friends to buoy up the hopes of the nation, thoſe friends may, perchance, be obliged to give place to men of a leſs complying diſpoſition; to men who would once more have recourſe to arms, who would try, at leaſt, one more battle, rather than undermine our navigation, the only remaining pillar of our power and our independence.—Should we have a commercial treaty with France, we have here deſcribed its cauſes, its foundation, and its effects; the "tone, the terms, and the "time," muſt depend on Mr. Otto and Lord Hawkeſbury.

In our intended remarks on the late adminiſtration of the conſiſtent Mr. Dundas, we have, as our readers will perceive by turning a few pages back, been, in ſome degree, anticipated by the Eaſt India Company, whom, when he conſiders their former docility and gratitude, the right honourable gentleman will certainly forbear to term "*a confederacy.*" Having ſaid thus much, we refer our readers to the report (ſee page 622) to which we allude, and to which, after having made ſome further extracts from it, we ſhall, with Mr. Dundas's leave, ſubjoin a few elucidatory remarks.

By a reference to our Parliamentary ſummary, it will be perceived, that there has, during the laſt week, been no debate of much public importance. "Little things, however, are great to little men," and, therefore, from a mixture of reſpect and compaſſion for the enemies of bull-baiting, we muſt ſay a word or two on the fate of the Bill, brought into Parliament for the purpoſe of aboliſhing that ancient, hardy, and anti-puritanical ſport, and of extirpating a race of animals, which are peculiar to this iſland, and peculiarly characteriſtic of its people. The whole creation does not afford another race of animals ſo reſerved and yet ſo affectionate and ſo faithful, ſo gentle and yet ſo brave.—The ſecond reading of the bill was oppoſed by Mr. Windham in a ſpeech, which, together with that of Mr. Frankland, we hope to ſee publiſhed at length, and which certainly produced the rejection of the bill. *Sir Richard Hill* and *Mr. Courtenay*, *Mr. Wilberforce* and *Mr. Sheridan*, ſupported the bill!!!! But even this moſt wonderful union of piety and wit made but a feeble reſiſtance againſt the reaſon and eloquence which it had to oppoſe. Whether Mr. Sheridan came unprepared, or to whatever cauſe it may be aſcribed, he certainly made a worſe figure than on almoſt any former occaſion. The conſciouſneſs of his inferiority deprived him of the temper, which he uſually preſerves, and hurried him into an obſervation, that if Mr. Windham had made as good a ſpeech on the treaty of Amiens, he would not have been left in ſo ſmall a minority; entirely overlooking the very important circumſtance, that the miniſters did not then *withdraw and leave the combatants a clear ring and no favour*, a line of conduct, which when the fairer and nobler ſport of bull-baiting was at ſtake, they now thought it incumbent on them to purſue.

In France things appear to be rather in a ſtate of uncertainty. Not that we give credit to all the rumours about plots and conſpiracies againſt the life of the Corſican; but, from the facts, which daily tranſpire, it is very certain that great diſcontent does prevail amongſt thoſe turbulent men, who, after having been the comrades of Buonaparté, cannot ſo eaſily ſubmit to his mandates. This was preciſely

the ſituation of Cromwell; his comrades, too, were equally dexterous with the pen and with the ſword, and whoever has read the hiſtory of his times, will remember, that the latter part of his life was, by the dread he entertained of thoſe men, rendered an uninterrupted ſeries of inquietudes and alarms. One diſcontented general is more to be feared than the whole gang of thoſe Atheiſts and Jacobins who compoſe the National Inſtitute. We cannot ſay, that we feel much anxiety for the ſafety of Buonaparté's perſon; that is, in fact, no affair of ours; but we have no ſcruple in declaring, that, if the lawful ſovereign of France is not to be reſtored, we moſt ſincerely wiſh, that monarchy may, under ſome ſhape or other. The *Legion of Honour* appears to be intended as the baſis of a new order of nobility, which, it is more than probable, are meant to be, in time, rendered hereditary; and, if we could ſuppoſe the members of this order free from baſeneſs and bloody-mindedneſs, we ſhould be ready to confeſs that a better foundation for an ariſtocracy could not have been invented, if, indeed, that can be called an invention, which is evidently borrowed from the feudal ſyſtem.

The news from St. Domingo is, for what reaſon we know not, regarded, by ſome perſons in this country, as inauſpicious to France. In the reſiſtance of Touſſaint we confeſs ourſelves to have been ſomewhat diſappointed; not by the diſpoſition of that negro, but by the conduct of the French towards him, which has been ſo very different from what we expected. His reſiſtance has not ariſen from his wiſh to make the colony independent of France, but from his reſentment at being totally excluded from the new government, and deprived of all the honours, power, and emolument, which he had ſo long enjoyed. He has, as was to be expected, given the French army great trouble, and will, as we before obſerved, probably continue to do ſo for ſome months longer; but he muſt be finally ſubdued. He cannot long keep an army on foot without communication with the ſea, which communication is completely cut off. His enemies, in the mean while, are ſtrengthening themſelves even by ſuperabundant precautions. They have, leſt merchant ſhips ſhould avoid the iſland, ſent off 25 ſail to the United States of America for a ſupply of proviſions, and, as the merchants of that country had not the moſt exalted opinion of French faith, the *Government* has engaged to furniſh the proviſions, and has actually appointed commiſſioners to ſuperintend the execution of the contract! The Spaniards, too, have been called upon for their pledge of fealty. We predicted in the Regiſter, p. 351, that Leclerc and Villaret would repleniſh their military cheſt by drawing upon La Vera Cruz, or the Havannah. As if for the expreſs purpoſe of fulfilling this prediction, Villaret now tells us (ſee his letter), that the Spaniſh Governor of the Havannah has cheerfully ſupplied the French fleet and army with *half a million of dollars*. Where then are the predictions of thoſe, who aſſured us, that the French expedition would fail for want of money? Half a million of dollars is, indeed, but a trifling ſum compared with what was expended in the expedition of Mr. Dundas and General Maitland. Thoſe great ſtateſmen and heroes expended, in St. Domingo, more gold than lead. The gold they employed weighed about 25 tons; much more than all the balls and bullets they ever fired at the enemy. Had they charged the cannons and muſkets with guineas, and diſcharged them at the negroes, with good aim, Lord Hawkeſbury and Mr. Addington would have had another iſland wherewith to purchaſe the ruin and diſgrace of their country.

To return to the French expedition: we ſaid too (Regiſter, p. 255), in anſwer to thoſe who contended, that the French ſhips muſt come home to be repaired, that they would find thoſe repairs at the Havannah; and Villaret now tells us, that, as faſt as his ſhips have ſtood in need of repairs, he has ſent them thither for that purpoſe, where they have been immediately attended to, of courſe, at the expenſe of Spain. Thus the American government ſupplies them with lumber and proviſions, the Spaniſh with ſhip yards and money, and the Dutch with ſhips and ſailors. The whole maritime and colonial world, England and her colonies excepted, is at the mercy, and abſolutely the property of France. And yet there are men weak enough to hope to reſiſt a power like this by the ſilent and unſeen operation of Britiſh capital!

One act of the French government is entitled to our moſt unqualified approbation, namely, the law which it is about to paſs for maintaining negro ſlavery, in the iſlands now to be reſtored by Great-Britain. We ſay this, not only becauſe we wiſh to ſee no alteration whatever in the ſyſtem of negro ſlavery, but alſo becauſe a contrary conduct on the part of France would have produced great and immediate

injury to England, by alienating the immenſe property, which our countrymen poſſeſs in thoſe iſlands. To the puritans and citizens of the world, to thoſe who can ſee no diſtinction between whites and blacks, between men and monkeys, this decree will certainly be a ſubject of ſevere cenſure; but we truſt it will completely fruſtrate the hopes of thoſe meddling and canting innovators, whoſe "humanity" has ſpread devaſtation and bloodſhed over countries, which, till viſited by the puritanical peſt, knew neither ſtrife, poverty, nor ſorrow.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

May 13.—William Rawlins, Eſq. (one of the Sheriffs of London) a Knight. *May* 19. Major-General Eyre Coote, a Knight of the Bath. Thomas Manners Sutton, Eſq. (Solicitor General) a Knight. John Pinhorn, Eſq. of Ningwood-houſe, in the Iſle of Wight, a Knight. Charles Arbuthnot, Eſq. to be his Majeſty's Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Sweden.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

Births.—Lately, Right Hon. Lady Frances Vandeleur, of a daughter. On Tueſday the 18th inſt. at Felton Park, Northumberland, the ſeat of Ralph Riddell, Eſq. Mrs. Riddell, of a ſon and heir. Monday, the Lady of Sir Thomas Barret Lennard, Bart. of a ſon, at his houſe, in Park-ſtreet. On the 19th inſt. the Lady of William Baker, Eſq. M. P. at Bayfordbury, Herts, of a ſon.

Marriages.—On Thurſday, at St. Pancras Church, Mr. W. G. Roſe, of the Houſe of Commons, to Miſs F. Davies, of Guilford-ſtreet. Laſt week, at St. Mary-le-bonne Church, the Hon. Auguſtus Richard Butler Danvers, to Miſs Elizabeth Sturt. On Wedneſday laſt, at Arlington Court, Glouceſterſhire, V. Conolly, Eſq. of Portland-place, to Miſs Matilda Dunkin, daughter of Sir William Dunkin.

Deaths.—On Tueſday, in the 20th year of her age, at her father's houſe in St. James's-ſquare, Miſs Thornton, eldeſt daughter of Samuel Thornton, Eſq. M. P. At the beginning of laſt week after a ſhort illneſs, at the apartments of her ſiſter at Somerſet-houſe, Miſs Margaret Forreſt of Binfield, Berkſhire. On Monday laſt, at Fladong's Hotel, in Oxford-ſtreet, the Hon. Frederick Stuart, Member for the county of Bute. On Thurſday week, at his houſe in the City of York, aged 72, Edward Bedingfield, Eſq. ſon of the late Sir Henry Bedingfield, Bart. of Oxburgh, Norfolk. On Thurſday, in Edward-ſtreet, Portman-ſquare, in the 78th year of her age, Mrs. Mary Noel, ſiſter of the late, and aunt of the preſent Viſcount Wentworth. On Tueſday laſt, at Temsford-hall, Bedfordſhire, Lady Payne, widow of the late Sir Gillias Payne.

PRICES OF THE PUBLIC FUNDS.

	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.
Bank Stock	—	—	—	—	—	183
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	73⅛	73⅜	72⅝	72⅜	—	72⅜
3 per Cent. Conſols	74	73¼	73⅜	73	—	73⅛
4 per Cent. Conſols	89	88⅛	88⅜	88	—	88½
5 per Cent. Ann. .	102¼	101⅞	102	103	—	104
Imp. 3 per Ct. Ann.	—	71	70¾	—	—	72
5 per Cent. 1797 .	103⅝	103	102⅝	102¾	—	103⅞
Bank Long Ann. .	20¾	20⅛	20⅜	20¾	—	20¼
Bank Short Ann. .	—	4⅞	5	4⅝	—	5
India Stock	—	—	—	—	—	—
Omnium	1	¼	½	1	—	—
Exch. Bills, New .	—	5	—	—	—	5
Iriſh 5 per Cent. .	—	—	—	—	—	—

AMERICAN STOCKS.—Eight pr. c. 111¾.
FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Conſolidé, 57 f.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C.F.	10 13 2 uſ.	LEGHORN	51¼
D°. at ſight . .	10 9	NAPLES	44
ROTTERDAM	10 14 2 uſ.	GENOA	47¼
HAMBURGH	32 10 2½ uſ.	LISBON	67½
ALTONA .	32 11 2½ uſ.	OPORTO	67
PARIS	2 uſ. 23 14 liv.	DUBLIN	13
BOURDEAUX, d°	23 15	VENICE, 59½ livres piccole effective per £. ſter.	
CADIZ . .	34⅛ in paper		
DITTO . .	36¼ effective	BILBOA	36 D°
MADRID .	34½ in paper	PALERMO	
DITTO . .	36¼ effective	AGIO, bank on Hol. p.	

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s.	s.		s.	s.
Eng. Wheat per q.	48	to 69	Hops per cwt. .	73	to 96
Foreign	50	- 68	Hay per load .	32	- 80
Rye	30	- 35	Beef per ſtone . .	5s. 2d.	
Barley	30	- 35	to 6s. 4d.		
Malt	40	- 52	Mutton 6s. od.	to 7s. 2d.	
Oats	12	- 22	Veal . 6s. 4d.	to 7s. 6d.	
Peaſe	35	- 37	Pork . 6s. od.	to 7s. 8d.	
Beans	31	- 38	Tallow . . 4s. od.		
Flour per ſack .	40	- 53	Average of Sugar		
Seconds	45	- 50	per cwt. . .	37s. od.	
Coals per chal. .	30	- 38			

Bread *Nine Pence Farthing* the Quartern Loaf.
Porter Four Pence Halfpenny per Pot.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER,

Near Guilford, in Surrey, for the Month of May, 1802.

Days.	M's Age.	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barometer. Inches. M.	Barometer. Inches. A.	Thermometer. Degrees. M.	Thermometer. Degrees. A.
20		Fair.	SSE	SW	29,87	29,88	51	53
21		very Fine	SE	E	29,9	29,9	66	69
22		very Fine	E	E	29,9	29,9	72	76
23		Fine.	E	E	29,9	29,9	67	68
24	☾	Fair.	E	E	29,91	29,91	65	64
25		Fine.	E	E	29,85	29,8	64	66,5
26		Fine.	E	E	29,77	29,78	70	75

● *New Moon.* ☾ *1ſt Quar.* ○ *F. Moon.* ☽ *laſt Quar.*

LONDON,

LONDON, May 29 to June 5, 1802.

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,

The debates in Parliament are deſervedly the regulators of public opinion. The acknowledged information of thoſe who ſpeak, and the official nature of the ſpeeches of miniſters, give to all arguments urged there a weight which any other diſcuſſion of public meaſures cannot poſſeſs. It is, therefore, Sir, of the greateſt importance that the public ſhould be fully and accurately acquainted with whatever paſſes there, and this information is the moſt valuable conſequence of the liberty of the preſs.

But, although the Parliamentary diſcuſſion has advantages, yet there the debates, like all debates in large aſſemblies, where many different ſpeakers take oppoſite ſides of the ſubject, aſſume a deſultory form, muſt frequently deviate from the eſſential point at iſſue, or what is termed the jet of the queſtion, and muſt ſometimes leave arguments unanſwered, without ſhewing that they are ſo. To remedy this in the inſtance of the late important diſcuſſion of the treaty of Amiens, to combine the various arguments for and againſt this meaſure, to ſhew what are anſwered and how they are anſwered, in ſhort, to ſum up the debates and bring the important queſtion within the focus of converging but different arguments, for the ſake of thoſe who may not have leiſure to extract light from the chaos of diſputation, is the object of this letter. I ſhall endeavour to do it with conciſeneſs. I am ſure I ſhall do it with impartiality. As the debates in both houſes were exactly on the ſame point, and as the arguments took a ſimilar turn in both, I ſhall conſider them as one.

Sir W. Grant urged that the motive of the addreſs moved by Mr. Windham was plainly to renew the war, and that the probable effect of it would be to raiſe claims on the part of France, which ſhe might not have thought tenable had they not been urged with ſo much force in this country. This however is fully anſwered in Lord Grenville's ſpeech, in which it was urged, that to ſtigmatize an injurious and diſgraceful peace would be completely a conſtitutional object, and to cenſure the miniſter who concluded it; but that his lordſhip and his friends wiſhed to awaken the people to their danger, to make them watchful againſt French encroachment, and not to induce miniſters to violate the public faith, but on the contrary to ſecure the continuance of peace by entering into a full explanation, with the French government, on ſuch equivocal and dubious points in the treaty of Amiens as were likely to produce future diſpute—before we paid the price of our tranquillity by the ſurrender of our conqueſts.

With theſe views the firſt objection urged againſt the definitive treaty was the wide deviation of it from the preliminary articles. This was not ſo in the treaties of 63 and 83. That this ought not to be ſo was the opinion of the great Lord Chatham, who laid it down, that preliminaries ſhould be in themſelves definitive. By the abandonment of this principle, the preliminaries had, in fact, operated as a naval armiſtice, a meaſure which we had before refuſed, and into which we were now entrapped. But what added to the impolicy of this conduct, the change was egregiouſly in favour of the enemy, notwithſtanding their encroachments on the Continent and our permiſſion of their expedition to St. Domingo might have entitled us to demand ſome advantages for ourſelves in return, to riſe inſtead of falling in our terms. To this objection I find no anſwer made by miniſters unleſs it be the hopes they expreſs of Buonaparté's generous forbearance towards this country, an anſwer that amounts to a full confeſſion of the charge.

In the next place, Lord Grenville objected to the proviſion in the definitive treaty for the ſale of the enemies property in iſlands ceded to us, while there is none made for the diſpoſal of Britiſh property in the colonies which we are to reſtore—a flagrant breach of equity, by which a large Britiſh capital is loſt to us and transferred to our rivals. This, Sir, met with an anſwer not more ſatisfactory than the laſt. Lord Hawkeſbury ſaid that thoſe who embarked

their fortunes in newly conquered colonies did it knowingly on a risk of their restoration. This is not *exactly* the case. For nobody could imagine that any negotiators would neglect to stipulate that the English settlers should have liberty of sale for a time after the surrender, though that time should be short. Nor, were the fact true, is it an answer *ad rem*; for the principal duty of our ministers was not to treat for the West-India planters in these islands as individuals, for the sake of doing *them* justice to a scruple, but to consider the interests of the nation at large, to provide for them accordingly, and not to make a provision for the Spaniards and Dutch in Trinidad and Ceylon which they did not for the English in Demerara. And this neglect is highly culpable in itself; but when we reflect on the number of settlements we have ceded, and on the vast capital laid out on them, our censure warms into indignation.

With regard to prisoners of war, we find equal injustice towards England in the peace, by making the maintenance, &c. of Russian prisoners a set-off against that of the French prisoners here. To this Lord Hawkesbury replied, that being clothed, paid, and disposed of by Great-Britain, they were British soldiers to all intents and purposes: and this would be a fair conclusion were the fact true; but the fact was, as Mr. Thomas Grenville stated, that these Russians were armed, clothed, and set at liberty to gratify the Emperor Paul, and with other artifices to seduce him from our alliance; so that they were not *at the disposal* of our government, nor better entitled to be maintained by us than deserters to the French would be. And thus it is, that we complaisantly reimburse the French the expenses of seducing our ally.

But these, though important causes of discontent with the treaty of Amiens, shrink into insignificance when compared with the numerous and fatal effects of not renewing those ancient treaties, which have been the security of Europe and the defensive outworks of our policy and commerce. This neglect is unprecedented, and the effects of it already appear in the prohibition of our gum trade on the Senegal, which France has not lost a moment in issuing. * This fact at once overturns Sir William Grant's reasoning—that if France be so unprincipled as to take advantage of this omission against our most indubitable rights, the whole treaty is but waste paper; or perhaps points it *against* administration for yielding so much to *such* an enemy for such *insecure* repose: the French have done this with regard to the gum trade, and from this we may infer that they will do it with respect to the other points thus left open to litigation.—Lord Hawkesbury, however, urged another argument, that such was the change of circumstances in Europe, that a renewal of treaties would produce obligations we could not fulfil, such for instance as the guarantee of the Netherlands to Austria, and many others—a difficulty we could overcome only by a counter guarantee of the French acquisitions to France, and that by this we should become parties to the wrongs of Europe; whereas at present, if we could not prevent, we at least did not sanction them.

But this objection, as Mr. Thomas Grenville very justly observed, does not counterbalance the security which the renewal would give to the many scattered rights we possess in different parts of the globe, and some of them arising out of territories subject to France and Spain. The acknowledgment of our full sovereignty over India situated in another hemisphere, is surely of much greater importance to us than our guarantee of the contiguous territory on the Rhine can be to her. Her acquiescence in our right to trade in her own colony of Senegal, and to cut logwood in the Spanish territory of Honduras, rights we possess without the dominion of the soil where they arise, is surely more necessary to our enjoyment of those rights than our acknowledgment of the Italian Republic can be to her sovereignty over Lombardy. The value of a guarantee to the party is in an inverse ratio with the security of dominion over the country guaranteed; and when that security is great, the guarantee is of little value. The renewal therefore of former treaties acknowledging our rights at Senegal, in Honduras, in India, the Eastern Seas, &c. was an advantage that completely superseded the inconvenience of acknowledging the European conquests of France. And in fact, though we have not formally entered into a guarantee, we have yet most effectually secured the usurpation to Buonaparté by making peace, which was all he wanted, that time might cement the vast fabric which his victories had constructed.

My Lord Hawkesbury has then stood on a *punctilio*, while he has sacrificed all that was essential—a thing in point of precedent not quite new in English diplomacy. But

* Vide Lord Grenville.

the acuteneſs of Sir W. Grant has unfortunately furniſhed the opponents to the peace with a new arrangement; for this learned gentleman, after denying that old treaties were renewed at Ryſwick and Utrecht, obſerves, that out of the various conventions concluded ſince King William's time, thoſe articles which were of importance to us might have been ſelected and inſerted in the preſent treaty;—but adds rather extraordinarily, that this objection might be anſwered when it ſhould be made. This reaſoning indeed would have been of ſome conſequence if the object the oppoſers of the peace had in view had been to prove the ſuperiority of Mr. Windham and Lord Grenville over Mr. Addington and Lord Hawkeſbury;—but as their object is to prevent as much as poſſible the bad effects of the treaty of Amiens, as their oppoſition is not againſt men, but meaſures; this obſervation of Sir William's cannot operate to juſtify, but on the contrary to condemn the peace.

This non-renewal of treaties is an objection to the peace, that embraces ſo many particulars, that it will be neceſſary to ſtate the arguments urged on each diſtinct point ſeparately. And firſt, Sir, the honour of the flag is greatly endangered by it. The anſwer of miniſters to this was, that this right is founded on preſcription, and that if formerly we obliged Holland ſpecifically to acknowledge it, it was becauſe ſhe had diſputed it; we could not, therefore, now demand the formal acknowledgment of it from France; and then, my Lord Hawkeſbury adds, in the true ſpirit of his former punctilio, that it would be beneath our character to demand that of a weaker, which we did not of a more powerful ſtate. To this I do not find the oppoſers of the peace made any anſwer,—and I wiſh the French would make none. His lordſhip's reaſoning, however, is not itſelf an anſwer to the original charge; for the object of treaties on the part of nations that are not conquerors is not to acquire *new rights*, but to confirm *the old*. Miniſters ſeem to have forgotten this object throughout the preſent treaty, and in every argument urged in its ſupport. They ſay we have the right; why do you impeach it? But the oppoſers of the peace do not; on the contrary, they wiſh to ſave theſe rights, and they demand of miniſters why they have left them open to cavil? why have they not entrenched them as in former treaties behind poſitive ſtipulations? A queſtion which miniſters have found it more convenient to evade than to anſwer.

Upon this our yet unanſwered principle is, that the right claimed by the Dutch to the *excluſive* navigation of the Eaſtern Sea, a claim which M. Schimmelpenninck, their plenipotentiary, has already aſſerted to be reſtored to them by the peace, ought to have been poſitively relinquiſhed by Holland in the preſent treaty. On this ſame ground it is alſo, that the peace, by not renewing the convention of 1787, endangers our rights in India;—not becauſe they are ill founded, or in other words, not rights at all; but, becauſe the French have formerly diſputed them, and the treaty of Amiens does not ſtipulate for their acknowledgment. The oppoſers of this peace do not demand a ceſſion from France of *her own* power in India, but a recognition of *ours*. The anſwer, therefore, of Lord Hawkeſbury's, that formerly we and the French were both tenants under grants *(firmauns)* from the Mogul; but that now by conqueſt *we* have ſucceeded to the Mogul's fee ſimple of the country, and that the French muſt hold under us;—conſequently, that no acknowledgment on their part can be requiſite; however good an anſwer to make to Buonaparté, was none to Mr. Windham. For though the acknowledgment of France is not neceſſary to our *right*, yet it is to the *ſecurity* of that right.

In reply to this argument, which was in ſubſtance urged by Mr. Thomas Grenville, Mr. Dundas had recourſe to our military force in India, and expreſſed great confidence in the ſtrength of our arms, if France ſhould diſpute our rights. This, however, is very doubtful, notwithſtanding our Indian army; for, as Mr. Windham obſerved, the battle might be fought in Europe; but ſuppoſing it probable that our arms ſhould ſucceed, yet as the truth of this is only applicable to *war*, it cannot be any juſtification of the *peace*.

Another defence ſet up by Lord Hawkeſbury, and I believe by Mr. Dundas too, is equally futile; namely, that the convention of 1787, the renewal of which was urged by the oppoſite ſide, was but a remedy for the poiſon contained in the treaty of 1783, and that we have now, as Lord Hawkeſbury expreſſed it, got rid of the diſeaſe and remedy at once; as if the moſt uninformed could believe, that we ſhould have made any ſtipulations in the treaty of 83 about claims the French had never advanced. The fact is, that the treaty of 83 did not

make ſufficient proviſion againſt French claims *then* exiſting; which I am ſorry to ſay, is the caſe with that of 1802. The treaty of 83 was an inadequate remedy againſt a poiſon *already* exiſting, and in 1802, by diſmiſſing both that and the convention of 87, we have not got rid of the *poiſon*, but only of the *remedies*; and to continue his lordſhip's alluſion, I can only compare his conduct to that of an invalid, who, becauſe quack medicines have failed to cure him, refuſes to take any, and thus wiſely leaves himſelf at the mercy of chance and the diſeaſe.

X.

(To be continued.)

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,

Proverbs and old ſayings have been often thought to contain a great deal of wiſdom in a ſmall compaſs. They are chemical drops of good ſenſe drawn from obſervation and experience, and generally given in a vehicle of agreeable poignancy. A ſtriking figure taken from common life, an alliteration in the language, or antitheſis in the compoſition, the jingle of rhyme, or the cadence of metre, recommends them to the natural taſte, and impreſſes them on the memory of the multitude. The country, Sir, in which you paſſed many years of your life, has not yet forgotten, I believe, the effect produced by a collection of them, which the late Dr. Franklin introduced in Poor Richard's Almanack; and Dean Swift is reported to have coined them, as occaſion required, in converſation.

The preſent is the epoch of a new and more enlightened philoſophy, totally unlike any thing which our forefathers dreamed about; and we ought, if poſſible, to preſerve ſome portion of it in a commodious form for the uſe of poſterity. Lord Hawkeſbury, whom I name to honour, has made one or two very pretty attempts, to give currency to ſome elegant and choice phraſes of his own, a little in this ſtyle. Inſtead of the old jargon of the *ſtatus quo* and the *uti poſſidetis*, the noble lord wiſhed to ſubſtitute "*the time, the tone, and the terms*" of his treaty, as the only proper objects of conſideration. The notion was happy: it promiſed to hit the popular taſte to a T, at the time that men's brains were ſet ſpinning like a *tetotum* by the "delirium of joy;" but in the courſe of the many impertinent and unfair diſcuſſions which his lordſhip's great work has ſince undergone, he found "*the tone and the terms*" ſo little tenable, that he was reduced at laſt to the cruel neceſſity of contenting himſelf with humbly and faintly ſubmitting, that *the time made it* "*wiſe upon the whole*," to lower his *tone*, and accept for *terms* whatever the Firſt Conſul was graciouſly pleaſed to grant. The public and private degradation of this confeſſion, Sir, might be borne; but how terrible a trial of temper to a true taſte was it abſolutely to abandon ſuch an admirable alliteration ſo artfully accommodated to apology in all after-ages!

The ſincere compaſſion which I feel for the noble lord, induces me to offer the only conſolation in my power. All I can do is to make a modeſt attempt at perpetuating the ſum of his excellent arguments for three hours and a half in defence of his own treaty, by compreſſing them into the ſpace of three ſhort lines. I am well aware, Sir, that there already exiſt ſome very good proverbs, which probably his Majeſty's miniſters ſtudied during the late negotiations. They had read, I preſume, that "*honour* "*and caſe are ſeldom bedfellows*;" ſo, thinking it is "*good ſleeping*" in quiet as well as "*in a whole ſkin*," they even left Britiſh honour to compoſe herſelf as ſhe could in what Hudibras calls her own truckle-bed, that they might themſelves enjoy a comfortable nap "with eaſe and dignity," a much better-behaved companion than honour, on the ſoft cuſhions of the treaſury bench. The aſſociation of "peace and plenty" in their minds was perhaps aſſiſted by learning that "*honour buys no beef in the market*;" they may have comforted themſelves in reſtoring factories, towns, iſlands, ſettlements, and continents, to the enemy, that, after all, "*half an acre is good land*;" and above all, they may have reſolved on peace at any rate, by reflecting, that "*mettle is dangerous* "*in a blind horſe*." All theſe ingenious ſayings, with many more as good, may be found in Dr. Viceſimus Knox's Elegant Extracts for the uſe of ſchool-boys; but I truſt that in the next edition the doctor will place at the head of them, and in capitals, the following couplet, of which I leave the nation to judge whether the leſſon contained in it, ſo uſeful to keep us in future out of the dangers of war, be not worth every thing that we have gained beſides by the treaty of Amiens:

'Tis wiſe upon the whole,
To have no heart and ſoul.

The firſt line, it will inſtantly be perceived, is borrowed word for word from very high authority, and both together are, I am ſure, the genuine quinteſſence of all that has been written and ſaid, and ſaid and written on the noble lord's ſide of the queſtion, from Philanglus the firſt and beſt, down to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the laſt and worſt defender of the preſent peace.

As I mean to be impartial, Mr. Cobbett, I ſhall now try to epitomize in the ſame manner the attacks made by the minority, or, as I think they have been called, *the* CONFEDERACY *for the purpoſe of ſupplanting miniſters.* Theſe gentlemen too ſeem to me to have urged very little more than is ſubſtantially to be found in ſome old proverbs, though, I am concerned to add, not all of Engliſh origin. The addreſs which they propoſed, merely ſays, in effect, that "*courteſy* "*on one ſide only laſts not long*;" while "*arms carry peace along with them, and one* "*ſword keeps another in the ſcabbard.*" It was their opinion, as well as I can collect it, that, when kicked through every quarter of the globe, kicked out of Martinique and Tobago, out of Curaçoa, Eſſequibo, Demerara, and Surinam, without being allowed to button up in our breeches pocket a purſe of between ten and twenty millions, which we have left behind us in thoſe places; kicked out of the Spice Iſlands, out of Pondicherry, Surat, Cochin, Chandernagore, Chinſurah, and I know not how many other French and Dutch ſettlements in the Eaſt; kicked out of the Cape of Good Hope, Goree, and Malta in Africa; kicked out of St. Marçou and Minorca in Europe; kicked out of the right to protect our allies; and kicked into giving our conſent to the ſpoliation of their territories; if, after all, we chooſe to take a plaiſter of bad diachylon, powdered with cantharides, as indemnity and ſecurity, rather than fall to kicking and cuffing again, nothing will remain in future, but at every menace of another kicking to put ourſelves into the leaſt inconvenient poſture for ſuffering the operation, and to take the beſt care we are able, that the dirty foot which inflicts it, may not leave a mark upon our clothes. There will be no point, at which we can ſtop, in the deſcent of humiliation.

He who takes kicks,
To nothing ſticks.

The noble Secretary of State made another well-intended eſſay in the alliterative ſtyle. It was a ſort of ſentiment which at firſt was thought worthy of three cheers:—the ſix C's—"*capital, credit, and confidence conſtantly command commerce.*" But, alas! it being found, that the commercial men of the city are not inſpired by the wiſe heads of his Majeſty's miniſters with any ſuch *confidence* as to give them *credit* for any thing of *capital*; and the noble lord and his colleagues having heard ſo much elſewhere, without the confidence to deny how much more *capital* a conſideration is the *credit* of our national character, than the paper of our private merchants on the Bank of England itſelf; for one or other of theſe reaſons, the elegant phraſe to which I have alluded, has been dropped. I certainly cannot pretend to ſupply the deficiency with any thing of equal beauty: but I will venture to recommend this adage in commemoration of Lord Hawkeſbury's celebrated diſcovery, connected with that happy alliteration:

When old treaties ceaſe,
Trade and ſhipping increaſe.

But as I wiſh theſe new chemicals of mine to operate at both ends (as an eminent ſtate doctor lately ſaid of the Galenicals of the new firm in oppoſition), at the eaſt as well as the weſt end of the town; and as the coal-fitters, ſhip-owners, and directors of the India Company, with ſome ſtrange obſtinacy or other, perſiſt in ſaying, that the value of ſhipping has actually fallen between thirty and fifty per cent. in conſequence of the peace; that I may ſave this ink, which future Bentleys and Baxters might otherwiſe ſhed in controverſies about conjectural emendation, it may be proper here to obſerve, that where the reading of St. James's is "*increaſe*," that of the Royal Exchange is "*decreaſe*," and the latter is generally thought to be of higher authority.

The noble negotiator of the treaty, Sir, has received very ample praiſe from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He may, therefore, now afford the uſe of his name to convey a plain matter of fact to poſterity. It may be ſurely no derogation from the talents of that reſpectable nobleman to ſay, that he was never taken for a conjuror: and in future, probably, it will be an undiſputed truth, that "*though every witch has a broom*, "*every* BROOM *is not a witch.*" The noble marquis is well known in that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, and I have heard a triplet, which, from one word in the concluſion, I ſuſpect to have come from a native of that country, who has been

amuſing himſelf with new "Meditations "on a Broomſtick." It is at your ſervice, Mr. Cobbett, if you think it can furniſh any entertainment to your readers.

> With a Joſeph to cheat,
> Send a Broomſtick to treat,
> Your ſucceſs muſt be neat!

As proverbs and adages concentrate obſervation and knowledge, ſo the names which have been conferred on illuſtrious perſons, on account of their qualities or their actions, often paint a whole character in a ſingle word. One of our kings who had loſt his crown was called lack-land; another, from his romantic valour, was known by the name of lion-hearted; and a third, from a peculiarity in his perſon, has, among our graveſt hiſtorians, the ſurname of long-ſhanks. But that ground, as I underſtand from the newſpapers, has been already beaten by Mr. Sheridan, and it is no leſs difficult to add any thing in elegant aptitude of language than in the dazzling brilliancy of wit to his poliſhed compoſition, or meditated effuſions of eloquence. I ſhall, therefore, content myſelf with the humble part of pointing out how you may make his ſuggeſtions of more general and extenſive uſe.

He obſerved, that, notwithſtanding Mr. Dundas had long ſince declared the miniſter who dared to ſurrender the Cape of Good Hope ought to loſe his head, yet, that Mr. Addington at this very moment actually has a head upon his ſhoulders. Now, though I am aware that ſome ſubtle reaſoners may contend that a man ſhould rather be characterized according to that which he ought to be than that which he phyſically is, and conſequently that, on the authority of Mr. Dundas, the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to be called "*the "miniſter without a head,*" yet, as it is an undoubted fact that there is at the upper end of Mr. Addington's perſon a projecting excreſcence of fleſh and bone, of uſe to hang a hat or full-bottomed wig upon, I with all deference propoſe, that when you have occaſion to refer to that great ſtateſman he may be called "*the miniſter with "a head.*"

Having thus provided for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, you will probably be anxious to pay your compliments next to your favourite correſpondent Lord Hawkeſbury. As his lordſhip is himſelf alone, nearly all that remains of adminiſtration, may we not, Sir, fairly appropriate to him in a more particular manner the deſignation which the modern Ariſtophanes, in a ſtory picked up from ſome obſcure commentator or other on the ancient, applied to the whole of the miniſtry left behind him by Mr. Pitt? May not his lordſhip be called the *fitting part* of Lord Grenville? And as that, Mr. Cobbett, is the blind ſide of a man, perhaps that name alone will, at once in the fulleſt, faireſt, and moſt natural manner, account for the lamentable difference ſo apparent between the projet of Liſle and the treaty of Amiens.

One of the greateſt honours in Rome was that of being recorded in the inſcriptions and ſtatues as the father of cities. How much more honourable then muſt be an inſcription to the father of iſlands? And ſince Mr. Sheridan has named Ceylon and Trinidad the iſlands of Indemnity and Security, may I then take the liberty of recommending, through your paper, to the City Committee the following inſcription:

> The Father
> of
> Indemnity and Security
> to
> Great-Britain.

It may be objected, perhaps, that the words are a little ambignous and equivocal, as not ſufficiently diſtinguiſhing whether two exiſting iſlands, or two poſſibly exiſting metaphyſical notions, are intended. To this I anſwer, that they are, for that very reaſon, ſo much the more beautiful and appoſite; as, for ten years together they were pompouſly founded again and again without any determinate ſignification, till at one time they were diſcovered to mean Ceylon and Trinidad with the Cape of Good Hope and Cochin, and afterwards, when 200 millions more had been ſpent and our adverſaries had become more formidable, were declared to mean only Ceylon and Trinidad without the Cape and Cochin, and might have been applied with equal juſtice and conſiſtency if we had inſiſted on retaining only the barren rock of Marçou.

I am, Sir, Yours, &c.

J. Ray.

TO THE REV. MESSRS. NARES AND BELOE,

Conductors and Proprietors of the Britiſh Critic.

Gentlemen,

I have long obſerved, and not without great mortification, that the Britiſh Critic has abandoned the principles, upon which

it set out, and that it has, in many instances, favoured the cause of the PURITANS.

On two articles, in your last number, I think it my duty to make some remarks. The first is your review (if, indeed, it can be so called) of *a sermon on bull-baiting*, preached by the Rev. Edward Barry, in the parish church of Wokingham, Berks, on the 20th of Dec. 1801, being the day previous to the annual bull-bait in that town. After bestowing some commendation on the sermon, you say: "we find with regret, that, "*even in Parliament*, this SAVAGE SPORT "has been *again defended*. But we learn "with *astonishment*, that, in the parish of "Wokingham, not only one bull is pro- "vided by the charitable donation of Geo. "Staverton, in 1661, but a second bull is "purchased annually out of the poor rates;" for which you censure the parish officers and the justices for allowing "such an un- "warrantable article in the overseers' ac- "counts." You conclude by asking this question: "after all, is not every bull-bait- "ing indictable at common law, as a public "nuisance?"

That you should think bull-baiting a "savage sport" would not be at all astonishing, had you not had an opportunity of perusing the late debate in Parliament; but having had that opportunity, and having, as evidently appears from your own reflections, actually perused that debate, your observations may be fairly ascribed to perverseness.

As to the conduct of the parish officers of Wokingham, I can, for my part, perceive nothing censurable in it, though so loudly condemned by Mr. Barry and the British Critics. It is the duty of those officers to provide *meat* for the poor; bull-beef is the cheapest, and I see no harm, no "*misapply-* "*ing* of the money intrusted to them," if the overseers can find the means of at once providing the poor with food and with sport at the festive season of the year. Nor is there any thing "*savage*" in the practice. The poor at Wokingham first bait the bull, and afterwards slaughter him and eat him, with just as little ferocity as the lord of the manor first hunts the hare to death, worries her, and breaks her heart, and then devours her, broken heart and all. The magistrates are guilty of no "negligence" in allowing the charge in the overseers' accounts. The Court of King's Bench *would* compel them to allow it. It is a charge for the price of a bull, purchased for and given to the poor: with the manner of treating that bull, previous to the killing of him, neither the magistrates nor the Court of King's Bench have any right of inquiry.

No, no, gentlemen, be assured, that bull-baiting is *not* "indictable at common law, "as a public nuisance." The common law, on the contrary, fully sanctions the baiting of bulls, and, I believe, that to sell the flesh of a bull, which has *not* been baited, is an offence, which is punishable by that very law to which you appeal. You have echoed the puritanical denunciation, which has rung, and which is yet ringing, through every part of the country. In the hands of the busy sect, which has undertaken to *reform* the manners of the people, the law would become a most dreadful scourge; a curse instead of a blessing. The life of a poor man would be ten million times worse than that of a negro slave. Every assemblage of persons, except at a club or conventicle, would be embraced in the vague denomination of "a public nui- "sance." The "ungodly games and anti- "christian sports," against which the murderers of the martyr Charles so furiously inveighed, would be totally suppressed, as a prelude to the ulterior views of the "gos- "pel-preaching ministry," who have already created a schism in that church, which it is your duty to defend, but which you have shamefully deserted. No, no, gentlemen, the law is not yet to be twisted to the purposes of this gloomy and intolerant sect. For those, who assemble to commit acts of violence on the persons or the property of his Majesty's subjects; for the base villains who, under the cover of night, lead an ignorant rabble to demolish a man's house, the law has, indeed, provided a punishment; but none has it ever contemplated for those who, without injuring the person or property of their neighbour, choose to enjoy the contest between two of those animals, from which, though man is their sovereign lord, he derives the most noble example of courage and of fortitude.

The other article of your Review, to which I have alluded, is the very laconic notice, which, in your address to correspondents, you have given with respect to the letter of Mr. *Spencer*. Your words are these: "Mr. *Spencer's Letter*, and other mat- "ters relating to it, will be *taken into con-* "*sideration* NEXT MONTH." Next month! and then only *taken into consideration!* No promise to *insert*, even then, either it or the documents with which it was accompanied? Nobody can learn from you who Mr. Spencer is, or what is the subject of his letter. And did you think, gentlemen, that you

would be able to conceal the contents of this letter? Did you think to ſuppreſs it, till you had been able to obtain ſome palliative ſubterfuge, ſome plauſible excuſe, ſome puritanical evaſion? Did you hope to procure for yourſelves and your abettors a thirty days reprieve from the diſgrace which theſe documents will bring down upon your heads? Did you, could you poſſibly hope, that the preſs of the whole country was ſo venal and ſo baſe as to refuſe juſtice to the poor, the oppreſſed, and the calumniated curate of Blagdon?

I have charged you with ſhamefully deſerting the cauſe of the church. This charge is too ſerious to reſt on bare aſſertion; I ſhall, therefore, ſubſtantiate it by proof.

It is not neceſſary for me to go into a narrative of the Blagdon controverſy; to remind you that Mr. Bere, the curate of Blagdon, was ſecretly accuſed by Mrs. Hannah More, becauſe he had inſiſted that her Methodiſtical ſchoolmaſter ſhould be diſcharged from the Sunday-ſchool of the pariſh; that Mr. Bere was finally diſmiſſed from his curacy, in conſequence of this ſecret accuſation; that he was afterwards re-inſtated, without any ſolicitation on his part, and without any acknowledgment of the injury attempted to be done to his character. I need not remind you, that Mrs. More and her adherents have, in the courſe of this controverſy, been accuſed of methodiſm, and ſtill leſs is it neceſſary for me to ſay, that you have uniformly defended Mrs. More and as uniformly condemned her opponent, whom, though one of your own brethren, you have treated with every ſpecies of contempt and abuſe. All this is freſh in your memory, and in the memory of the public. One thing, however, you may have forgotten: you have ſolemnly declared, that the moment you ſhould receive proof of Mrs. More's being a methodiſt, you would give up her cauſe. And, have you not received this proof in the letter of Mr. Spencer, and its accompanying documents? Read thoſe papers once more, gentlemen. Mr. Spencer reminds you of your declaration, and calls upon you to do juſtice to Mr. Bere; and leſt you ſhould have loſt the moſt important of his documents, I ſhall here copy them from the Anti-Jacobin Review, which, fortunately for the cauſe of truth, breathes, though conducted by a layman, that zeal for the church of England, which, in the Britiſh Critic, has been ſought for in vain.

(A) *"Copy of a Letter from Mr. Ridout, dated Briſtol, Dec. 26th, 1801, to Mr. Spencer, of Wells.*

"Sir,

"John Harvard has preached at Mr. Weſley's room, in Old King-ſtreet, which is known by the name of Eben-e-zer Chapel. I have the information from his own mother. I am, Sir, your humble Servant,

"*C. Ridout.*"

(B) *Copy from Edward Sheppard, D. D. Chatham-row, Bath, to Mr. Spencer.*

"Sir,

"In compliance with your requeſt, I inform you that Mr. Jay told me, that Mrs. Hannah More uſed *conſtantly* to attend his miniſtry, and received the *Sacrament* in his Meeting-houſe, in Argyle-ſtreet, Bath, or, as Diſſenters term it, the Ordinance, thereby proving herſelf in *full Communion* with Diſſenters. How ſhe came to leave his miniſtry and frequent Laura Chapel I cannot inform you; that is beſt known to herſelf. Mr. Jay ſays he frequently dined with her.

I am, Sir, yours, &c. &c.

"*Edw. Sheppard.*

"*Jan. 18th, 1802.*"

Part of a letter, ſent you by Mr. Spencer with the foregoing documents, will ſhew who the writers of the laſt letters to Mr. S. are, and moreover will throw ſome light on the circumſtances to which they allude.

"In your Review of the laſt month, you ſay, '*if it* '*be proved to us that Mrs. More is a methodiſt we defend* '*her no longer*;' in reply thereto I muſt again refer you to my advertiſement, entitled, 'One other ſample 'of Mrs. H. More's Village Politics,' and likewiſe to my pamphlet: however, to aſſiſt your deciſion, I now ſend you the annexed documents, A and B, atteſted by the Rev. Mr. Archdeacon Turner, one of his Majeſty's juſtices for this county, and canon of Wells.—Mr. Ridout's letter (A) proves Harvard, the Wedmore ſchoolmaſter, to be a methodiſt with a vengeance. Mr. Ridout is a linen merchant of high reſpectability in the city of Briſtol. Dr. Sheppard's letter proves Mrs. More to be in full communion with that ſect.—Dr. Sheppard lives in Bath, and formerly preached in Lady Huntingdon's chapel: having ſome little acquaintance with him, I deſired him to call on Mr. Jay, to aſcertain the fact, and in reply received the letter (B).—Dr. Sheppard has ſince informed me that *Mr. Jay told him he had heard Mrs. More frequently ſay*, '*ſhe could find no people ſo fit as the methodiſts to* '*conduct her ſchools.*' Mr. Boak likewiſe told Mrs. Shortman, of Wedmore, '*that Mrs. More could find no* '*people ſo fit to manage her ſchools as the methodiſts*;' and Mr. Boak's *own daughter*, at this moment, goes to a boarding-ſchool in Bridgewater, kept by Mrs. Taylor, a methodiſt. Mrs. Taylor's relations, who live in Wells, have informed me of the fact.

"Theſe potent and irrefragable proofs of the ſectariſm of Mrs More and her inſtruments, will, I hope, impreſs you with that conviction which you waited for, to draw your concluſions; and I truſt, that with every true friend of our eccleſiaſtical government, you will perceive, with your general conſiſtency and attachment to the church, that you can 'no longer 'defend' a character, whoſe principles have led her one Sunday to the SACRAMENT of the *eſtabliſhed* cler-

gyman; and the following, to the ORDINANCE of a LAYMAN;—a practice which she has been in the habit of following for the long course of fifteen years, though during that period (the whole of which she has proved herself a Calviniſt) she has had the art to dazzle the optics of thoſe who fill the higheſt civil and religious ſtations, and even to draw from their pockets the means of carrying her views into effect.——Should any doubt ſtill remain on your minds, I hope on a future occaſion to diſpel them. In the mean time I am,

"Very reſpectively and obediently, yours, &c.
"*Edward Spencer.*

"*Wells, May 20th*, 1802."

Now, gentlemen, is not this proof? Is not Mr. Spencer, who is a Surgeon at Wells, a perſon to be believed? And how have you treated his proofs? Do you think that the negative conſtruction of your declaration, cited by Mr. Spencer, will abſolve you from the ſpirit of its engagement? Are you not at this moment *defending* Mrs. More by ſuppreſſing, as far as in you lies, the information, the evidence, the *proof*, that you have received? You will *conſider* of it *next month!* You did not heſitate thus at the commencement of the controverſy, when you thought the poor curate was devoted to deſtruction. Would a "ſavage" bull-baiter have acted thus?

For the preſent, gentlemen, I take my leave of you, not, however, without a promiſe (which I ſhall keep better than you have kept yours), that, unleſs you do juſtice to Mr. Bere, I will enter into a full and clear expoſure of the motives and of the influence from which you have acted.

I remain, in the mean-time,
Gentlemen,
Your moſt humble
and obedient Servant,
Wm. Cobbett.

June 3, 1802.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Admiral Villaret Joyeuſe to the French Miniſter of the Marine and Colonies.

Harbour of Cape François, on board the Admiral's Ship, the Jemappe, March 6, 1802.

"At the moment when the diviſion of the centre, Admiral Gantheaume, was about to ſet ſail, the frigate La Corneille, from Jamaica, entered the Road.—I haſten to acquaint you with the news received by her.

"The Engliſh Admiral, Sir John Duckworth, behaved with the moſt diſtinguiſhed politeneſs to Captain Villemaudrin, and Enſign de Vaiſſeau Clouet, who carried to him my Diſpatches. He ſeized the opportunity of celebrating the return of Peace between the two Nations: the Frigate ſaluted the Admiral and the town with a diſcharge of thirteen pieces of cannon, which were returned in the ſame manner by the Admiral and the Forts. All the Captains of the Engliſh Squadron haſtened to make preparations for the viſit of Captain Villemaudrin, and many received him to the ſound of warlike muſic. *Our Officers remarked, that the Portrait of the Firſt Conſul was very general amongſt the Engliſh Squadron.*

(Signed) "VILLARET."

Copy of a Letter from Admiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth, Commander on the Jamaica Station, to Admiral Villaret Joyeuſe, at the Cape.

On board his Britannic Majeſty's Ship the Leviathan, at Port Royal, Jamaica, Feb. 19, 1802.

"Sir,

"I received the letter which your Excellency did me the honour to write to me, communicating the arrival at the Cape of the French forces under your command, and I am flattered by the confidence with which you have honoured me in informing me of the ſtate of thoſe forces and their deſtination. This Information is perfectly conformable to that which I received from his Majeſty's miniſters, who tranſmitted to me at the ſame time orders from the King, my maſter, to treat the French nation with all poſſible reſpect.

"So far however as relates to proviſions, which your Excellency ſeems to fear you may be in want of, I ſincerely regret that our preſent ſituation in conſequence of the arrival of a great naval and military force, renders it impoſſible for me to give you any hope of aſſiſtance. Our own reſources are ſo limited, too, I have been obliged to detach frigates to different points, in order to ſeek the means of preſerving us from entire diſtreſs, and I have, as well as your Excellency, ſought to draw ſuccours from the American Continent.

"It is with ſentiments of grief that I have learned the hoſtile reception your Excellency has met with, and the direct violation of all the duties of colonies towards the mother-country.

"I perfectly agree with you as to the conſequences of ſuch conduct, and I think it is of the greateſt importance to all the powers of Europe: but with the conſiderable force under the orders of your Excellency this revolt cannot be of long duration, and the devaſtations committed by the rebels can only produce a temporary evil.

"I have the honour to be, with high conſideration for your Excellency,

"Your Excellency's obedient Servant,
"*John Thomas Duckworth,*
"Rear-Admiral, &c. &c.

Admiral Duckworth to Admiral Villaret.

An extract of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Sir John Duckworth to the French Admiral Villaret Joyeuſe, having appeared in the Moniteur of the 28th of laſt month, dated Port Royal, Jamaica, Feb. 19, it has been judged adviſable to communicate to the public the ſequel of that letter, which is there omitted:

"The officer bearing your Excellency's diſpatches having laid much ſtreſs upon the ſalute being returned (though only a private Captain) with an equal number of guns, I did not heſitate in objecting to a compliance contrary to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom; but on his repreſenting that he was authorized by your Excellency to

ſay a reciprocal attention ſhould be paid to the ſhips of the King, my Maſter, arriving with diſpatches and ſaluting your flag, I have accorded in giving an equal number of guns, to evince my diſpoſition to meet your ideas, as far as conſiſtent with the conſequence of both nations.—And I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) " J. DUCKWORTH,
" Rear-Admiral, &c. &c. &c.

Extract of a Letter from Admiral Lacroſſe, Captain-General of Guadaloupe and its Dependencies, to the Miniſter of the Marine and Colonies, dated Dominica, Feb. 16.

" In a diſpatch of the 31ſt ult. which you muſt have received by the way of St. Domingo and of England, I announced to you the ſailing from Point à Petre of the frigate La Cocarde, and its arrival at Dominica. It is to be attributed to the zeal and fidelity of Citizen Henry, and the officers employed under him, that they eſcaped from the tyranny of the rebels. He had been diſpatched by the uſurped authority of that iſland to convey to France three citizens under the title of Commiſſaries, for the purpoſe, as they called it, of *enlightening the religion of the Firſt Conſul.*"

[The letter then goes on to ſtate, that the Commiſſaries only undertook that charge to eſcape more ſurely the tyranny of the rebels, and that Captain Henry had confirmed the reports of the amelioration of public opinion in that colony, and the diſunion which appeared to exiſt among the chiefs of the inſurrection.]

" Having determined to take poſſeſſion of the Iſle of Marie Galante, General Seriziat, at the head of a ſmall detachment, entered the iſland amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the inhabitants, who expreſſed the greateſt ſatisfaction at being delivered from the yoke of the rebels."

The following addreſs was preſented on Thurſday the 13th of May:

TO THE
KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The Humble Addreſs of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council aſſembled.

" May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

" We, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council aſſembled, beg leave to approach the Throne with the moſt lively ſentiments of allegiance, gratitude, and affection, to congratulate your Majeſty on the return of Peace to the United Kingdoms, over which Providence has placed your Majeſty, not more conſpicuouſly to govern than to bleſs.

" When we contemplate the nature of the War in which your Majeſty has been engaged; the unexampled difficulties which have attended its progreſs; and, above all, the great object of preſervation, which it had in view, namely, the inviolate purity of that venerable ſtructure, our glorious Conſtitution, at once the Palladium of our Liberties, and the Sanctuary of our Altars; what muſt neceſſarily be our triumphant feelings, as Britons, at the cloſe of this arduous conteſt! which inſcribes in the Archives of Europe, your Majeſty's Navy more proudly pre-eminent that at the termination of any former War—which, to the name of the Britiſh Soldier, gives a luſtre equal to the glory of ancient times, and which records the determined efforts of your Majeſty's people, united in arms, an impregnable bulwark for the protection of every thing dear to them, and an illuſtrious precedent of genuine patriotiſm to future time.

" The voice of Omnipotence has arreſted the devaſtation of a bloody, extended, and expenſive War, and long-contending Nations are at length at reſt.—Your Majeſty's faithful Subjects who have ſtruggled for the attainment of this important period, will, while they appreciate the bleſſings of Peace, know likewiſe to prize its duties, by which alone thoſe bleſſings can be ſecured. They will perceive, that a faithful adherence to the Laws, and a reverence for the Conſtitution that framed them, are inſeparable;—and that, by their unſhaken loyalty, and their unſwerving attachment to the revered ſyſtem of our Anceſtors, that Conſtitution has under Providence been hitherto preſerved, and will be able to ſtem the torrent of ages yet to come.

" Your Majeſty's loyal Citizens of London renew at this moment moſt ardently their fervent prayers for the long continuance of your Majeſty's auſpicious Reign, and for every bleſſing which your Royal Boſom can receive from the proſperity and happineſs of a free, grateful, and united People.

Signed, by order of the Court,
" HENRY WOODTHORPE."

His Majeſty received them very graciouſly, and returned the following anſwer:

" I thank you for this very loyal and affectionate Addreſs, and for your congratulations on the reſtoration of the Public Peace. Your cordial and ſteady attachment to our invaluable Conſtitution, and the lively ſenſe you expreſs of the unrivalled exertions which have been diſplayed by my Subjects of every deſcription, are moſt grateful to me, and cannot fail to ſecure to my City of London my conſtant favour and protection."

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

The Proceedings in Parliament, from May 26, are of conſiderable importance; but we are compelled to poſtpone, to a future page, the inſertion of the debates.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

United States of America.—The New-York Gazette of the 24th March contains the following article, which the Editor ſtates to be an extract from a member of Congreſs at Waſhington, and to have been received the preceding day: " This day the French " Conſul informs us, that a French fleet of " twenty-five ſail of the line may be ex- " pected in the Cheſapeake next week.

" Their object is proviſions for their army " in the Weſt-Indies; *but they have no* " *money.*"

Report of the Committee, to whom was referred that part of the meſſage of the Preſident, which relates to naval preparations, and the eſtabliſhment of ſites for naval purpoſes:

1ſt. Six navy yards to be purchaſed.

2d. Timber for building eight 74-gun ſhips has been purchaſed.

3d. The timber ought to be ſecured under ſuitable ſheds to preſerve it.

4th. Charleſtown in Maſſachuſetts, and Norfolk in Virginia, appear the moſt eligible places for receiving and repairing ſhips in actual ſervice.

5th. The ſhips in ordinary ought to remain at Waſhington.

6th. Two ſhips, the Adams and General Green, being of bad conſtruction, ought to be ſold, and the money applied in building or purchaſing others, or to the improvement at Charleſtown and Norfolk.

7th. The rations of the ſeamen to be enlarged conformably to the report of the Secretary of the Navy; and recommend for improving the navy yards, docks, and wharfs, that there be appropriated 50,000 dollars; and for wear, tear, and military ſtores of veſſels, &c. 87,666 dollars, making together 137,666 dollars.

Extract from the Regiſters of the Decrees of the Preſident of the Italian Republic.

Paris, April 3, 1802.

Buonaparté, Firſt Conſul of the French Republic, and Preſident of the Italian Republic, in conſequence of the 83d Article of the Conſtitution, which runs thus, Government convokes the Legiſlative Body, and prorogues its ſeſſion;

Decrees—The meeting of the Members of the Legiſlative Body, for the ſeſſion of the year 1802, ſhall take place on the 24th of the month of June, at Milan, in the Palace prepared for that purpoſe.

The preſent Decree ſhall be ſealed with the Seal of State, inſerted in the Official Journal, and inſcribed in the Regiſters of the Civil and Adminiſtrative Authorities. The Grand Judge is charged with the publication of the preſent act.

(Signed) *Buonaparté.*
For the Preſident, *F. Mareſcalchi.*

Paris, May 21.—A treaty between the Republic and the Duke of Wirtemberg was ſigned on the 19th inſt. by Citizen Hauterive, Chief of Diviſion of Foreign Affairs, and the Baron de Normann.

Paris, May 26.—The Colony of St. Domingo, which for ſo long a period has been delivered up to diſorder, is about to be reſtored to its former ſituation. Until this day, for ſome years paſt, its commerce has been ſubject to no regulation. The French nation, to whom it excluſively belongs, has not ſent there a ſingle veſſel. It muſt return to the ancient order of things, but only by degrees; it muſt alſo, as before, be divided between National and Foreign Commerce, giving to each its reſpective ſhare. But prudence forbids that the one to which it has been ſo unfortunately given up, ſhould be ſuddenly taken away, and every thing reſtored to the other. It muſt wait the return of ancient habits, it muſt wait till the products of our manufactures are perfected: the communication with England has cauſed a ceſſation of ancient wants, while it has given birth to new. The trade muſt be ſuited with thoſe articles which will be of ſervice to the grower of colonial produce.—Who doubts that the Engliſh have introduced into St. Domingo ſome new proceſſes of art, of real utility, which they have been able to bring to perfection by their great knowledge on many points of culture and manufacture?

May 28.—Lord Hutchinſon came to Geneva about the middle of May, and remained there ſeveral days.

May 29.—His Excellency Ghalib Effendi, Bachmouhaſſebe, (Comptroller of the Finances) Miniſter Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary of the Sublime Porte to the government of the Republic, left Vienna about the 20th May, and is arrived at Straſbourg.

The Chief Conſul had ſent to the frontiers to receive him, Citizen Dupas, Superior Adjutant of the Palace of Government, and Citizen Dantan, Chief Interpreter of the French Legation at Conſtantinople.

The following obſervations, which we copy from the proceedings of the Council of Commerce at Bourdeaux, will no doubt have ſome weight with the French Government:—

" *Commerce with England.*

" It would no doubt be very advantageous to France to obtain a diminution of the heavy duties paid by the wines of France. Theſe duties amount to a prohibition, except in the caſe of thoſe perſons whoſe circumſtances are extremely eaſy. The demand might be made, but the gaining of

this point would perhaps coſt conceſſions, the reciprocity of which might not be beneficial to us. With reſpect to navigation, the two nations may agree that their flags ſhall enjoy in the reſpective ports the ſame advantages as thoſe poſſeſſed by the moſt favoured nations. They might alſo concur in fixing the rate of exchange at *twenty-four livres for every pound ſterling* in the tranſactions of their reſpective factories."

The Captain-General Leclerc has publiſhed the following arrêt, which is perfectly adapted to exiſting circumſtances, as it does not take away every thing from foreigners, nor reſtore every thing to the French; but the diminution of half the duties of importation in favour of the latter, is an encouragement, of which the effects cannot fail to be deciſive.

Army of St. Domingo.

"*Head-Quarters, Port Républicain,*
"*March* 31, 1802.

"The General in Chief orders,

"Art. I. That all French Veſſels arriving directly from France, and loaded with French merchandize, ſhall pay the half of the duties on importation and exportation paid by foreign veſſels.

"II. All veſſels loaded with merchandize, being the manufacture of other countries, ſhall pay as a duty on importation, twenty per cent.

"The General in Chief,
"*Leclerc.*"

The Hamburgh papers contain the following article:—"The Queen of Pruſſia is "to attend the King on his tour, only as far "as Konigſberg, when his Majeſty will pro"ceed to Memel, to hold an interview with "the Emperor of Ruſſia."

The army of the French Republic is to conſiſt of 300,000 men.

Berlin, May 15.—It appears certain that the Duke of Brunſwick will make a journey to Pruſſia towards the end of June, but it is very doubtful whether he will be at Memel between the 10th and 14th of June, as reported.

Milan, May 17.—By an article from Madrid, of the date of the 27th of April, it appears that the King of Spain has publiſhed an Edict, by which he annexes in perpetuity to the Royal Domain, the *Langues* and poſſeſſions of the Order of Malta in Spain, and declares himſelf Grand Maſter of the Order in his States, keeping the direction of the Civil Adminiſtration, and leaving the Spiritual to the authority of the Church and the Holy Father, who will not diſapprove of this arrangement.

Berne, May 20.—To the political commotions which have diſtracted this unfortunate country, an earthquake has been added, which has ſpread a new kind of terror over the minds of the people. A part of Rubland, in the Canton of Baden, experienced a ſhock on the 9th inſt. About four in the afternoon of the ſame day, a ſubterraneous noiſe was heard in the environs of Windiſch, Biligen, Raemingen, Geiſberg, and Koenisfilden, ſimilar to the noiſe of a chaiot rolling, or of a cannon at a diſtance. On the 12th a violent ſhock was felt at Zurich and other places. In this city, many old men who were walking, were thrown down, the town-houſe and ſeveral other houſes were ſhaken. At Zurich the ſhock was general, and in the evening a fire happened, which conſumed ſeven houſes, and greatly added to the trouble and fear of the people.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

The 29th, 49th, and 59th regiments, are all under orders for Nova Scotia and Canada.

His Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cambridge arrived at Cuxhaven on Sunday laſt, and in the evening purſued his journey to Hanover.

His Royal Highneſs the Duke of Kent has arrived at Gibraltar, where his Royal Brother the Duke of Suſſex was arrived, overland from Liſbon, before him.

Yeſterday (the 4th of June), being the anniverſary of His Majeſty's Birth-day, was celebrated with the uſual demonſtrations of joy. The illuminations were leſs numerous than laſt year, owing to an opinion, which ſome perſons entertain, that that mode of expreſſing joy has been, in the laſt two or three inſtances, rendered diſgraceful and infamous. Of this opinion is the Editor of this work, who, in expreſſing the love and veneration, which he feels towards the ſacred perſon of his Sovereign, never can think of employing the ſame means, which have been employed to celebrate the triumph of Buonaparté and the degradation of England.

Addreſſes on the peace have come in from the Univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge, as alſo from the diſſenting miniſters. Several cities, boroughs, and counties have alſo ſent ſimilar addreſſes.

The Nabob of Oude has been compelled to cede to the Eaſt-India Company in perpetual ſovereignty certain portions of the Vizier's territorial poſſeſſions, yielding an

annual revenue of one crore and thirty-five lacs of rupees (one million three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds), in commutation of the ſubſidy hitherto payable to the Company by the Vizier.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The diſſolution of the Parliament is retarded by the great maſs of buſineſs, which yet remains on hand, and which it would be very inconvenient to poſtpone. The Clergy Non-reſidence Bill cannot be hurried through, and yet it is impoſſible to leave the object which it has in view, totally unprovided for. Great difference of opinion appears to prevail reſpecting it, and it is, indeed, very difficult to ſay, what courſe ought to be taken. That reſidence ought to be enforced, ſome how or other, every perſon who wiſhes well to the church muſt allow; but the law and the livings, as they now ſtand, are inadequate for that purpoſe: paſs a law enforcing reſidence, without diſcrimination, and in many pariſhes you leave no clergyman at all; for Sir William Scott has clearly proved, that it is abſolutely impoſſible for one third part of the clergy to exiſt upon the produce of the livings, if twenty pounds a year, or leſs, can be called a *living*. The diſcuſſion of this ſubject will have one good effect: it will convince all reaſonable men, that the clergy are not ſo pampered as they have been repreſented to be. Their eaſe and luxury have been the ſtanding theme of envy and of abuſe for many many years: the big-bellied vicar and his half-ſtarved pariſhioners have been exhibited to the paſſing crowd in St. Paul's Church-yard, every day, except Sundays, for forty years paſt. The picture might, with great truth, be reverſed. A half-ſtarved clergyman, amidſt a crowd of big-bellied, roſy-gilled, farmers, is to be found in one half of the pariſhes in the kingdom. Conſidering the character and the well-known diſpoſition of Mr. M. A. Taylor, we were much ſurpriſed at a ſentiment, which eſcaped him in the debate of Monday laſt. "Who *pay* the clergy? "The laity. And when the people pay a "clergyman £500 a year, ſhall it reſt "with the biſhop whether they ſhall have "any clergyman or not?" Theſe are the words, which the newſpapers give to Mr. Taylor; but we are very certain, that they are words, which he will not, upon cool conſideration, repeat. The clergy are not *paid* by the people any more than the landholders are. The tithes are as much their property as the rent is the property of the landlord; the title of the former can no more be deſtroyed than the title of the latter; and why the clergyman ſhould receive as *pay* what the landlord demands as his own, we cannot perceive. A man, who ſhould attempt to defraud his landlord of his rent would be deemed, and juſtly deemed a cheat; yet we ſee no loſs of character attached to him who is in the conſtant habit of defrauding his rector or vicar. This diſtinction, together with all the plunder that has been committed, and is daily and hourly committing upon the church, is ſolely to be attributed to the falſe, the dangerous, and degrading notion, that the tithes are given by way of *payment* to the prieſt for ſervices rendered, for ſo much work done, for the perſons by whom they are raiſed. Nothing can be more erroneous. The tithes do not belong to the huſbandman: they never can be called his; and, therefore, he never can give them in payment. The clergyman claims them as his right, unfettered with any conditions whatſoever, other than thoſe which he enters into with God and the King. It has been the faſhion, of late years, to talk very familiarly about "*aboliſhing* tithes." Thoſe who have lands would do well to conſider how they would reliſh the aboliſhing of *rents*; for they may reſt aſſured, that the latter will never be far behind the former. Thoſe who would make a law for aboliſhing tithes, would, probably, not wiſh to make another for aboliſhing rents; but they would very ſoon find a ſet of legiſlators to do it for them.—We are extremely happy to hear, that there is an intention of doing ſomething to better the lot of the clergy; but we hope that no project of *ſecularization*, of *commutation*, or of *compulſory compoſition*, will ever, for a moment, be entertained. The law for the redemption of the land-tax has already broken in upon the church: let the breach go no further, or the whole fabric will come to the ground with the throne tumbling upon its ruins.—When we reflect on the vaſt importance of the ſubject of non-reſidence, and other matters, either directly or indirectly, connected therewith, we cannot help wiſhing, that nothing may be done in a hurry. One falſe ſtep may lead to another, and total ſubverſion may finally enſue.

We congratulate the country on the fate of the "Manure Bill," which on the motion of Lord Holland, has been thrown by, as being of a nature too trifling and

low for the conſideration of the Houſe of Peers, a motion for which his lordſhip will receive the thanks of every conſiderate man in the nation. The *multitude of laws* has been, and with good reaſon, reckoned amongſt the greateſt calamities of the French revolution. In America, where there are eighteen different ſets of law-givers hard at work, every year, from about Michaelmas to Lady-day, legiſlating upon trifles has finally produced ſuch indifference with reſpect to legiſlative deciſions, that a new law is regarded as the mere lumber of a newſpaper. Yet theſe leſſons produce no effect. There are a ſet of *well-meaning men*, in this country, who would paſs laws for the regulating and reſtraining of every feeling of the human breaſt, and every motion of the human frame; they would bind us down, hair by hair, as the Lilliputians did Gulliver, till anon, when we awoke from our ſleep, we ſhould wonder by whom we had been enſlaved.

While, however, people ſeem totally inſenſible of the danger to be apprehended from this multiplication of laws, while they ſeem even to vie with each other in the invention of theſe trammels for their neighbours and themſelves, there are ſome who are, or who affect to be, jealous of the increaſe of a *ſtanding army*, and who, while the coaſt of France gliſtens with bayonets, while ſhe has an army of 300,000 men, ready to employ againſt any and every part of our dominions, would willingly leave us not a ſoldier at the diſpoſal of the crown; would willingly reſt upon a body of militia, confined within the bounds of our iſland. This is perfectly conformable to the *defenſive* ſyſtem, which ſeems to have been adopted, and which, if well followed up, will, in a very few years, reduce this kingdom to a mere factory. Militia-men and yeomen may be good men, they may even be brave men; but they are not *ſoldiers*. Inſtinctive courage is, indeed, a neceſſary ingredient, but it is by no means a principal one, in the character of a ſoldier, whoſe corporeal virtues are much oftener wanted than his mental ones. If we had to chooſe a ſoldier, we ſhould inquire, not into the qualities of his mind, but into thoſe of his limbs and his body. The moſt effeminate of the fops that crowd our ſtreets would pull a trigger, and, with a ſergeant at his back, would probably ſtand the heat of a battle; but, load him with a knapſack and ſixty rounds of ball-cartridges, march him thirty miles through woods or over burning ſands, give him, for ſupper, pork broiled upon the coals, and, for a bed, the bare earth, and the next day he loads your baggage-waggon, or goes quietly to his grave. Hardſhips are not to be found in Chatham barracks or in Bagſhot camp; and the man who has not learned to bear hardſhips is not a ſoldier. It is impoſſible, too, to ſupport, in a body of militia, a due degree of that ſubordination, which is the life and ſoul of an army. In the unfortunate engagement, which the American General Sinclair had with the Indians, his militia-men were in ſuch haſte to decamp, that they threw away their arms and ammunition, their knapſacks, and even their coats, while a handful of regular troops made a bold reſiſtance, ſtood their ground for a long time, and, after being overpowered by numbers, made a regular and ſucceſsful retreat. The runaways were of the ſame country as thoſe who fought ſo bravely; but their bodies were not hardened, their minds not bent to implicit obedience. Militia-men are always looking towards *home*: they are, what the regulars term them, "featherbed ſoldiers." Many very material amendments may, doubtleſs, be introduced into the militia laws; but, do what you will, the militia will always be, in ſome ſort, a deliberative body; a body large in bulk and ſmall in ſtrength; always troubleſome and expenſive, and never to be relied upon in the hour of danger; in ſhort, Dryden's deſcription of this ſpecies of military force ſeems to us to be the moſt juſt that can poſſibly be given:

"The country rings around with loud alarms,
"And raw in fields the rude Militia ſwarms;
"Mouths without hands, maintain'd at vaſt expenſe,
"In peace a charge, in war a weak defence;
"Stout, once a month, they march a bluſt'ring band,
"And ever, *but in times of need*, at hand;
"Of ſeeming arms they make a ſhort eſſay,
"Then haſten to be drunk—the buſineſs of the day."

It is ſtrange, too, that thoſe perſons, who are alarmed for their *liberties* when a ſtanding army is talked of, ſhould never have made a compariſon between the liberty, which they may poſſibly be deprived of by a ſtanding army, and that which they really muſt loſe by a mandate to join the militia. Every young fellow in a pariſh is haunted with a dread of being drafted for a militia-man, until the lot at laſt reaches him, or until he voluntarily takes ſhelter in the army to get rid of the tantalizing ſuſpenſe. And this is *liberty!* In America (for that is the very neſt of

liberty), the people continually clamour againſt a ſtanding army, and really, to this hour, they quote the old invectives of Ruſſel and Sidney, and God knows who; but they very quietly ſubmit, every man of them, to be held, during their whole lives, in a conſtant ſtate of requiſition, and are actually called out as often as ſome barber captain or tailor colonel chooſes to treat his wife with a field-day. In England, where *liberty* is upon the decline, a man is ſubjected to this unbearable thraldom but a ſhort portion of his life, but who would not rather be free from it altogether?

From the militia we would now turn to the ſlave-trade, and offer our readers ſome few remarks on that moſt important ſubject, which we were in hopes the wiſdom of the Houſe of Lords had laid for ever at reſt; but, it is a matter which demands more room and more time than we have at preſent to ſpare. In every one of the arguments, which the abolitioniſts advance, they are to be met, and, we truſt, eaſily diſcomfited. In the mean time, it may not be amiſs, however, to ſtate that there is, at this moment, a petition on the table of the Houſe of Commons, from the Sierra Leone Company, praying for *relief*, in conſequence of the loſſes it has ſuſtained from the troubles in the colony. What! troubles, and battles, and bloodſhed, in that new Utopia, where Philanthropy reigned in perſon, where the tears were to be wiped from all eyes, and the weals from all backs, where the *harmleſs* African was, at laſt, to find reſt from his labours! The annals of Bedlam do not furniſh a ſtronger inſtance of madneſs than the eſtabliſhment of this colony; and we hope, that, while many of the French Royaliſts are ſtarving in our ſtreets for want of a trifling addition to their miſerable pittance, no money will be granted the citizens of Sierra Leone, unleſs it be to carry thoſe of them who are not already diſpoſed of on the gallows, back to clear the lands in Nova Scotia, where they lived in as much comfort as their native lazineſs would permit. That this application for *forces* and for money will not paſs *ſub ſilentio* we truſt, and, if it becomes a ſubject of diſcuſſion, we are well aſſured, that there is too much wiſdom and juſtice in Parliament to add to the burdens of the people of England, and to ſend Engliſhmen to be ſuffocated on the ſands of Africa, merely to gratify the cloſe-veiled ambition of the leading members of the Company of Sierra Leone. We ſhall watch the progreſs of this curious petition, which we hope will ſhare the fate of that of the Bookſellers and Printers, to whom the citizens of Leone do, in truth, bear no very diſtant reſemblance, whether we conſider the qualities of the mind or the colour of the ſkin. But, if the philanthropic colony ſhould be actually broken up, it may be no very unintereſting ſpeculation, to conſider what is to become of that hopeful tribe of paſtors and maſters, whom Meſſrs. Thornton and Wilberforce are training up in their academy at Clapham. Work they will not, and to beg they are aſhamed. *Livings* they cannot very well be preſented to; for, though, doubtleſs, moſt excellent "Goſpel miniſters," it is, as yet, required that a prieſt ſhould have hair upon him, while their heads are, unfortunately, covered with wool. Such, however, will be their yearnings and bowel-hankerings for the miniſtry, that it will be abſolutely impoſſible to reſtrain them; and, therefore, if ſuch ſinful creatures as we may be permitted to ſpeak, we would recommend, that each of theſe comely youths ſhould be furniſhed with a tub, and that the whole ſeminary ſhould be equally diſtributed amongſt the conventicles in the different counties of the kingdom, a ſituation for which they are eminently qualified both by their moral and phyſical capacities.

This dear little buſy buſtling England furniſhes ſo many and ſuch delightful topics, that we can ſcarcely find time to take a glance at foreign countries. The only circumſtance, which has occurred to us, as worth remark, is, certain indications, which have appeared in the French newſpapers, of an intention to enter into ſome ſort of a commercial arrangement with this country. This arrangement, as we have frequently aſſerted, will be aimed at our *navigation laws*, which we have good reaſon, and very good reaſon, to believe, our miniſters are prepared to ſacrifice in part, by way of beginning. The ſhip-owners appear to have taken the alarm; but, it is too late. They have the manufacturing and the monied intereſt to contend with, and their ſhips and ſailors muſt go to other climes. War is over. We want no fleet to-day, and as for to-morrow, let the morrow take care of itſelf; ſufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. So ſays Mr. Addington, and Mr. Wilberforce ſays, *Amen*. What the nation will ſay, when, eighteen months or two years hence, the French ſhall menace our colonies, or this kingdom itſelf,

is another queſtion, and a queſtion too, about which the preſent miniſters neither care nor think. Give us peace in our day, ſay they, and let that day be as long as poſſible.

As our readers are deeply concerned in the reſult of the judicial proceedings againſt the perſons, who were concerned in demoliſhing the houſe of the Editor of this work, it may be proper to inform them, that on the 3d inſtant bills of indictment were found againſt CHARLES BELOE (ſon of the Rev. Wm. Beloe), a *clerk in the General Poſt office*, C. WAGSTAFF, *another clerk in the General Poſt office*, and JOHN HARWOOD, amanuenſis to the Rev. Wm. Beloe and to the Britiſh Critic. Againſt SAMUEL WISE and JOHN PARNELL no bills were found, and it is, therefore, to be concluded, that they were innocent. Parnell is an exciſe-officer, and in juſtice to the Commiſſioners in that department, we muſt obſerve, that they have, in this inſtance, acted with great propriety, in *ſuſpending* him till his guilt or his innocence ſhould be legally eſtabliſhed. He will now, doubtleſs, be reſtored to his ſituation.

The election of the Firſt Conſul for life appears to meet with little or no oppoſition. In fact, no one dare oppoſe, and we ſincerely rejoice that ſuch is the ſtate of France. The mortal enemy of all government will be deſtroyed by the very man, who has been its principal ſupporter. The child and the champion of jacobiniſm will murder his mother, and in ſo doing will rid the world of a monſter, which has threatened its deſtruction. What will be the fate of the champion himſelf is by no means a ſubject of ſolicitude with us.

MARRIAGES AND DEATHS.

Marriages.—Lately, at Mary-le-bone, Gilbert Harvey Weſt, Eſq. to Miſs Ffolkes, eldeſt daughter of Sir Martin Browne Ffolkes, Bart. In November laſt, at Dinapore, in the Eaſt-Indies, C. S. Maling, Eſq. brother to Lady Mulgrave, to Miſs Moore, daughter of Sir William Moore, Bart. of Stamford, in Lincolnſhire.

Deaths.—On Tueſday, at Morden Hall, Surrey, Lady Burnett, wife of Sir Robert Burnett. On Wedneſday, the 19th ult. Sir Philip Ainſlie, of Pilton. On Saturday ſe'nnight, at his Lordſhip's houſe, St. James's-place, the Counteſs of Roden. Lately, at Nancy, in France, the Right Hon. Lady Ann Saltmarſh, ſiſter to the late, and aunt to the preſent Earl of Fingall. On the 2d of March, at Fort Royal Town, Martinique, Lieutenant Charles Wake, of the Royal Marines, nephew of the late Sir W. Wake, Bart. of Courtain-hall, in the county of Northampton.

PRICES OF THE PUBLIC FUNDS.

	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.
Bank Stock	—	—	—	182	—	—
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	—	73¾	—	72¾	71	—
3 per Cent. Conſols	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 per Cent. Conſols	—	88¾	—	88	87⅝	—
5 per Cent. Ann.	—	103⅛	—	103¾	103½	—
Bank Long Ann.	—	20¾	—	20¾	20⅜	—
D° Sh. 1778&1779	—	4⅞	—	4⅞	—	—
Imp. 3 per Ct. Ann.	—	72	—	71⅛	—	—
D° Ann.	—	—	—	—	11⅞	—
5 per Cent. 1797	—	104¼	—	103⅞	—	—
Omnium	—	¾	—	¾	—	—
India Stock	—	—	—	—	211	—
D° Bonds	—	—	—	—	—	—
South-Sea Stock	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° Old Ann.	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° New	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 per Cent. 1751	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Navy Bills	—	—	—	—	—	—
Exchequer d°	—	—	—	1s 3d	—	—
Iriſh 5 per Cent.	—	—	—	99¼	—	—
Iriſh Debentures	—	—	—	—	2 diſ.	—
Lottery Tickets	—	—	—	—	—	—

AMERICAN STOCKS.—Eight pr. c. 112¾.
FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Conſolidé, 55 f. 60 c.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C.F.	10 15 uſ.	LEGHORN	51⅞
D°. at ſight	10 11	NAPLES	44
ROTTERDAM	10 16 uſ.	GENOA	47⅝
HAMBURGH	32 11 2½ uſ.	VENICE,	59¾ livres piccole effective per £. ſter.
ALTONA	33 2½ uſ.	LISBON	67½
PARIS	2 uſ. 24 liv.	OPORTO	67
BOURDEAUX,	d° 24 1	DUBLIN	12¾
CADIZ	34 in paper	BILBOA	36 D°
DITTO	35½ effective	PALERMO	
MADRID	34 in paper	AGIO, bank on Hol.	p.
DITTO	36½ effective		

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s.	s.		s.	s.
Eng. Wheat per q.	56	to 68	Hops per cwt.	80	to 140
Foreign	46	- 67	Hay per load	80	- 95
Rye	30	- 34	Beef per ſtone	4s. od.	
Barley	30	- 34		to 5s. od.	
Malt	44	- 51	Mutton	5s. 4d.	to 6s. od.
Oats	14	- 25	Veal	4s. od.	to 5s. 6d.
Peaſe, white	35	- 39	Pork	4s. 8d.	to 5s. 4d.
Beans, horſe	31	- 35	Tallow	3s. 9d.	
Flour per ſack	50	- 53	Average of Sugar		
Seconds	45	- 50	per cwt.	32s. 7½d.	
Coals per chal.	38	- 43	Salt, per Buſhel	14s.	

Bread *Ten Pence* the Quartern Loaf.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER, *near Guilford, in Surrey, for the Months of May and June*, 1802.

Days.	M's Age.	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barometer. Inches. M.	Barometer. Inches. A.	Thermometer. Degrees. M.	Thermometer. Degrees. A.
27		Fine.	ESE	E	29,82	29,82	65	72
28		Fine.	S	S	29,75	29,69	69,5	73
29		RaFaRa	SW	SW	29,41	29,37	64	65
30		Rain.	NE	E-S	29,5	29,5	48	51
31	●	Rain.	NE	NE	29,7	29,71	46	48
1		Fair.	NE	NE	29,86	29,86	46	53,5
2		Fair.	NE	NE	29,93	29,93	54	58

● *New Moon.* ☾ *1ſt Quar.* ○ *F. Moon.* ☽ *laſt Quar.*

LONDON,

LONDON, June 5 to June 12, 1802.

Review of the Debates in Parliament on the Treaty of Peace.

(Continued from page 647, and concluded.)

I shall not pursue the impolicy of this omission of renewing former treaties through its other melancholy effects on our gum trade on the Senegal, and our claims on the Bay of Honduras; because the arguments urged by ministers, *if they do* prove the *existence* of our rights, yet do not exculpate the treaty, any more than in the case of India, from the charge of not *securing* the *peaceful enjoyment* of them; and because the French have already *shown*, beyond a doubt, in the instance of the gum trade, *their* manner of understanding this omission.

But, Sir, the enemies of the present peace object to it, that it not only affords no protection to many of our own rights, but that it abandons our allies, the Queen of Portugal and the Prince of Orange; that in the instance of the latter, the article which professes to secure him an indemnity is so loosely worded, as in fact to leave him at the mercy of his enemies, and that the treaty between the French and Dutch, by which the latter are exonerated from affording this indemnity, is a fraud on him and on us.

To this charge, Sir, I blush to say I can find no answer.

In the case of Portugal, for whom we pretend to have done much in securing the boundary of the Arowary, it is alleged by Mr. Windham, that this boundary gives the French the command of the navigation of the River Amazons as much as did the frontier of the Carapanatuba. For the truth of this he refers to the map, where we find that the Arowary falls into the mouth of the Amazons, and consequently when in the hands of a *stronger power* commands the navigation of that river. Ministers deny this consequence; and General Maitland urges the eagerness with which this point was contested between France and Portugal as a presumption to the contrary. The proof of it must, however, rest with the event. But the *doubt* of it is a sufficient objection to this part of the treaty.

And even *granting* the facts contended for by ministers, yet Sir, you and I, and all of us must observe, that still the *integrity* of Portugal is not preserved; that by the loss of Olivenza to Spain and of part of Guiana, she comes out of this contest in which she embarked with us in a *worse* condition than she was when she entered into it. Thus Portugal suffers by our alliance; the Prince of Orange is expelled in consequence of it, and if he be ever indemnified, he will owe it rather to the unusual generosity of France than to the power or honour of Great Britain.

Thus to abandon your allies is always a flagrant breach of policy as well as of faith; and this too with the aggravated mockery of stipulating for them, is insult added to injury—and in the instance of Great-Britain, circumstanced as this country is, it is madness, it is political suicide. For with that vast power, which by the present peace we have confirmed to France, consolidated as her empire will be by the sanction of glory and by an interval of tranquillity—how can we contend unless at the head of an alliance? How can we a few years hence even whisper those words which Marlborough thundered in the plains of Flanders, "the balance of power," unless our feeble notes are echoed by allies? And who will risk the loss of their colonies like Portugal, or the sacrifice of their political existence like the Stadtholder, upon the honour of Great-Britain? Will not other nations profit by the example of these powers, and prefer to submit to the mercy of the Consul?

With the balance of power national independence is ultimately sacrificed. This is proved in every page of history, from the fall of Greece under Philip—I will not add to that of Europe under Buonaparté. I will only observe, Sir, that there is too much analogy between our conduct to the Stadtholder and that of the Athenians to the state of Olynthus.

Thus much for our regard to our allies; let us next look to what we restore to France and *her allies*.

While we were sacrificing the possessions

of the Portuguese crown in Guiana, it appears that ministers were ignorant of the secret treaty by which Louisiana was ceded by Spain to France; at least when urged by Mr. Thomas Grenville, they did not deny it. But it does not appear, that on the discovery of this secret negotiation, any equivalent was given to Britain or her allies. Mr. Windham urged, that the position of this vast country gives France access to the wealth of Mexico on one side, and a commanding influence over the United States on the other; that the cession of this and of part of Guiana, by giving her the command of the Amazons and the Mississippi, lets her into the hearts of North and South America, and is an eventual surrender of two continents to her. To this it was answered, that, Tobago excepted, France possessed all the West-India islands she now does in 1763, and yet that she was allowed to retain Louisiana; that its situation with regard to the Americans would excite jealousy on their part, and make them incline the balance of their politics in favour of Britain; that the mouth of the Mississippi is not a formidable naval station according to good professional authority; that this colony has never been of importance, and that it could not become so until France had first become a great naval power. This, Sir, is the best answer we have had yet to any of the objections urged against the treaty. But we must remember, that the last observation, all circumstances considered, is not very consoling, for though this country was not important *formerly*, and though it will require naval power to enable France to make it formidable, yet we must look to the map of Europe, observe the vast accession of sea-coast to the French empire, the acquisition of the *industry* and *capital* of the Netherlands, and the controul over the naval and commercial resources of the Dutch; and perhaps we should not think the period of French naval greatness so remote, unless retarded by the military ambition of the French monarch, Buonaparté. In this however, there is great hope; but it is a hope that the ministry affect by no means to entertain.

The effects, however, of this acquisition will be better seen when we look to what was urged by Mr. Windham against the vast cessions made to France in the West-Indies, cessions which she receives *improved* by our industry and capital. But by peace the dangerous sovereignty of Toussaint in St. Domingo will probably be destroyed. This Mr. Windham observed very justly was a reason for the West-India merchants, but not a satisfactory one for the British senate; for that the dominion of the French in that island, and in the others restored, was more dangerous to this country than Toussaint's power; but that to the West-India merchants Toussaint's success would be more injurious, because the foundation of his power would be the destruction of their property; whereas Buonaparté would found his greatness on the preservation of their property, upon the sole condition of their transferring their allegiance. The interests therefore of the planters is not a criterion of those of the nation, and the danger of Toussaint's government to the other islands, unpossessed as he is of any naval force, nothing to be compared to the vast power of the French Republic, to whom we thus surrender a port which almost commands our communication with our most important islands, and which in case of war would be from that cause a most formidable military position.

This reasoning is not answered by ministers. Lord Castlereagh, however, calculated, that St. Domingo could not be valuable for many years, for that supposing (which was the general opinion) that 300,000 negroes have fallen in the present troubles, to supply this number, at the rate of 60l. a man, would require 18,000,000l. a capital France cannot afford. But we must remember what we before observed, that the European conquests of our rival, and particularly her sway in Holland, give her the command of a much greater capital than she formerly had: that this calculation depends entirely on the supposed fact of so many negroes being cut off, a fact the grounds of which his lordship does not tell us, and that at any rate Martinique, &c. are very valuable, and restored without an equivalent; that the French have a formidable force in the West-Indies, that they have a pretext to send still more ships and troops, and that St. Domingo is a commanding military station. Sir W. Grant, however, is of opinion, that the restoration of the French islands is advisable, because we had *too much*, and the possession of so many scattered islands divided our force. I do not find that the opposers of the peace answered this argument; probably it was not thought necessary.

In answer to this, however, may be urged what M. l'Abbé Du Bos observes, in his History of the League of Cambray, of the scattered possessions in Candia, Cyprus, Naples, &c. of the Venetians, that their

maritime greatness united all these separate parts, that by the facility of communication which their shipping afforded these possessions had all the advantages of contiguity without the disadvantages, for that the barbarous Turks not being a naval power could not overrun them, as they would, had they been on the Continent; and that this scattered situation was therefore their security. This is very applicable to our power in the West Indies, whether we understand by the barbarous Turks, the negroes of Hispaniola, or Buonaparté and his Janizary legion of honour.

In the next place, the Cape of Good Hope, it was objected by Lord Grenville, would not be virtually a free port. The stipulation that it should be so was totally nugatory, because no regulations were made, and we know that France would interpret its neutrality to admit as many ships of Holland, and of Spain, and of France, as of England, consequently that the French interest would have three ships to our one. In war time we must have five times as many ships of war as the enemy to protect three homeward and two outward bound India fleets. And in respect of sending troops to India, (a thing that would very probably be necessary from our neglect of our interests in that country,) though single ships may run the passage without touching at the Cape, yet the troops on board would be unfit for service for months after their arrival; whereas by the possession of this settlement on the war with Tippoo breaking out in Asia, we were enabled, merely by sending orders to the Cape, to afford to the Indian army an immediate reinforcement of seasoned troops, which were present at the taking of Seringapatam. Considering the value and magnitude of our Indian empire, and its remote situation in another hemisphere, the link that secures the connection unmolested between the two countries is of the utmost importance; yet this link, this key to our treasures in the East, is surrendered to our rivals in trade and in power under the feeble protection of a neutrality, which they may violate, and which we know admits of an interpretation equivalent to our exclusion. This important station may also, as we have learned in the instance of Louisiana, be surrendered to France. But what, Sir, is said to all this by the ministers and their friends. In the importance of this colony to our sheet anchor, our empire on the Ganges, and in the impolicy of surrendering it, Mr. Dundas concurred, and my Lord Hawkesbury stated himself satisfied with the provision made by the preliminaries. Mr. Dundas deserves to be congratulated on the consistency of his vote and his opinion; and my Lord Hawkesbury on his summary method of getting rid of an objection which he feels is unanswerable.

If we turn to Europe, we find still further cessions. It was observed before, that the definitive treaty differed from the preliminaries, not in our favour, but to our further disadvantage, notwithstanding the accession of Buonaparté to the presidency of the Italian Republic, acquisitions of power which might, as Lord Pelham himself acknowledged, have justified ministers in breaking off the treaty, but which certainly, as Lord Grenville urged, entitled them to demand an equivalent cession to England in the definitive treaty. But, says Lord Hawkesbury, you have yielded the Netherlands, the left bank of the Rhine, &c. will you after so many cessions quarrel about Buonaparté's having the direct or indirect government of Italy? To this Mr. Thomas Grenville answered, that the number of cessions already made was the very reason why no more should be; and though Italy might not by itself be a sufficient ground for breaking off the treaty, yet superadded to Flanders, the Cape, &c. &c. it might be. Sir William Grant admitted the justice of this reasoning, but yet denied the conclusion, and compared the breach of the negotiation, on account of the Italian Republic, after submitting to the French possession of the Netherlands, to the case of a man who should decline a law-suit for the removal of a nuisance at his own door, yet go the next day to a distant street and take upon himself the expences of a law-suit for a nuisance, there the parties interested in it not choosing to bear any part of the expence. But, Sir, this is not a parallel case, for the French dominion over Italy, *superadded* to the loss of Belgium, amounts to more than that alone; whereas a nuisance at a distance will always be inferior to one near, whether that be put down or not. In a contention for power every further privilege, however small, is still an addition, and had he supposed the case of a Parliamentary contest, where the independent interest had lost the election for a knight of the shire through the corruption, violence, and low electioneering arts of the other party, but still contended for some of the boroughs in the county, it would have been a fair case. But this, Sir, would not have led to the conclusion Sir William

aimed at. The truth is, it is not the surrender of the Cape *alone*, nor of Italy *alone*, nor of the West Indies *alone*, which is objected to; but *all these together*, on the principle my Lord Hawkesbury himself laid down in the outset of his speech, that the treaty should be considered as *a whole*.

In the next place, with respect to Malta, it was argued: 1. That the order of Malta could not be independent, because by the confiscation of their property in France, Piedmont, Lombardy and Spain, (in which latter country it either has taken place or is decreed to take place—Lord Grenville), they have but a revenue of £23,000 left to support an establishment which costs £130,000. In answer to this Lord Castlereagh stated, that two new langues or national classes have been established, a Russian and a Bavarian, which will make their revenue amount to £120,000 a year. This answer is to the point. And this point must rest on the authority of Lord Grenville and his brother on one side, and Lord Castlereagh on the other: 2. It was in the next place objected, that the institution of a Maltese *langue*, in which proofs of nobility were not requisite, instead of being a security of the independence of the order, was totally hostile to the spirit of the institution, and conformable only to French principles. To this Lord Hawkesbury answered, that the abolition of the langues of France prevented the influence of that country, and that the valour and attachment we had experienced in the natives of the island entitled them to our protection, and were pledges of their fidelity in future. But the Maltese are a pure democracy, and we all know how much the *people* are attached to those who *profess* the principles of France, and how little they are susceptible of gratitude. We know too, that the ancient knights from their constitution must be more attached to us, and that they are equally indebted for their restoration to our arms as the Maltese are for their liberty: 3. The dissentions that would necessarily arise from such a combination of opposite principles, such an heterogeneous mixture of democracy and chivalry would, it was objected, render the interference of the guarantees of the treaty at least plausible if not necessary; that they were six powers of such opposite interests, that they probably would not agree, and that the vicinity of one of them, France, would enable her to seize the island, or in the language of Buonaparté to extend her protection over the order: 4. And what would still further assist the French to do this, it was urged, was the Neapolitan garrison; for as Naples must always lie at the mercy of her near and powerful neighbour, she dared not, could not attempt resistance to the consular orders; so that the surrender of Malta to Naples is in fact to give it up to France. To this Lord Hawkesbury's observation, that Naples would be faithful to preserve Malta, because the *independence* of Sicily would be lost with that of Malta, is no answer; because it *supposes* Naples independent and able to resist, when we all know it is not; and that a French force marched from the frontiers of the Italian Republic would extort from that feeble power the immediate surrender of this fortress; for the weakness of Naples would render nugatory the fortifications of Malta. It would therefore, as Mr. Windham observed, have been far preferable even *to have surrendered* Malta to France, and obtained an equivalent elsewhere, than to have acted this farce, and thus again to have preferred punctilio to substance. It is virtually a surrender of a place of the first importance, which would have stopped the road of the French to Egypt, would have secured our Levant Trade (in which from our services to the Turks we have a right to expect great advantages), and in case of war, would have been, as Mr. Dundas said, a watch tower in the storm to direct the frighted nations of Italy to the haven of British protection.

Such are the vast sacrifices we make for peace notwithstanding the success of our arms, notwithstanding, as Lord Grenville urged, our formidable commanding position at the time of treating. The colonies we had conquered alone imported above two millions a year; the commerce of the world was in our hands; we had the most commanding military stations in every quarter of the globe—our enemy *was blocked up*; and our expence, though great, was supported by increase of trade, and *expended chiefly at home*, two circumstances that operated as a very material deduction from it.

Such were the resources the war supplied, and the commanding influence it gave us. Look what is the peace! An *armed* peace. The sacrifice of our colonies, of our security for a *small* deduction of expence. We give up colonies that produce two millions, to reduce our regular army 12,000 men out of 180,000, while in the West-Indies we are obliged to support a fleet of 35 sail.

Our commerce also, which is the very blood of our political body, will be reduced by the vast colonial establishments which

we restore to France and her allies, and by our not entering, as had been formerly our invariable custom, into a commercial treaty, by which we might have prevented that hostile system which France has adopted against our trade.

To these short but cogent objections I find my Lord Hawkesbury answer, as to a commercial treaty, that by the renewal of the old commercial treaties we should allow neutrals to carry enemies colonial produce, and be obliged to repeal the Alien Act. But, Sir, though it be very truly stated by his lordship, that political circumstances have changed, as in these two instances, so much as to prevent such a measure; yet a *new* commercial treaty was the first thing we should have stipulated for, since the prosperity of our trade is founded as much on our commercial treaties as on the navigation act.

His lordship also replies, that if France prohibits British imports, it cannot succeed so well as in war time it did, and yet even then it was not successful. But we must recollect that the French were then *unable* to make imports to any amount *themselves*, consequently they were glad to smuggle them from the English. But now, though I hope and believe Buonaparté's prohibitions will not operate with the success he expects, yet as we have done all we could to help him in this plan by restoring to him and Holland the West-India islands so highly improved, their East-India possessions, and as the French and Dutch will no longer be impeded by war in the prosecution of commerce, we may reasonably expect not ruin to our trade (which Lord Hawkesbury is so earnest to disprove though it was never alledged), but a considerable diminution of it, and accession to that of France and her dependencies; a double loss, by which what we lose is not only to be deducted from ours, but added to our rival's prosperity. This might have been prevented by preserving our conquests to counterbalance the French acquisitions, and by insisting on a commercial treaty.

His lordship also urges, that the carrying trade will revert to us. But such has been the nature of this war, and such our superiority at sea, that we have had it in a great measure, and by the peace shall only find a new rival in the Dutch. He also urges the capital and enterprize of this country, and these certainly are the best antidotes to defeat the effect of his measures, but are not for that a justification of them. These are all we preserve, for our ministers could not lavish them away, though to do them justice, in Demerara they have contrived to part with some millions of capital. But still our trade, in consequence of no commercial treaty being concluded, stands on sufferance every where; and as France possesses or has influence over most of the great ports of Europe, we cannot long expect to be indulged.

Our inability to attack the French empire is another argument in support of our concessions. But is it necessary, because we cannot hurt France, to injure ourselves? But were the Mauritius inaccessible? Or might we not have continued a defensive war since there was so little more to conquer? As we have no expeditions to Holland or Egypt, might we not have reduced our vast army with as much security as at present, or kept up a force hardly more numerous? The peace is so expensive, that such a war would have been little more so, and we should have retained that wealth we have now thrown into the balance of our rivals. *If we take into the account the wealth we should have retained*, perhaps such a war would not have been more expensive than such a peace as this, certainly it would have been more advantageous.

But, Sir, the last excuse of ministers is the pacific disposition of Buonaparté.

The *conduct* however of ministers denies this. Even in debate they find it necessary at times to desert it. Even their own address betrays the insecurity of the peace. Nevertheless they urge, to comfort us, that the spirit of Jacobinism is expiring in France. If by this, Sir, they mean that there is not a Republican government in France, I agree with them. A military Turkish despotism has succeeded. But if they would say, that the spirit of ambition, of public robbery, or even the meaner arts of political swindling, is no more in that country—I deny it, and I appeal to the history of the last seven months. Try the French by their own actions, and judge of their future pacific intentions, not from their conduct during the war, but since the signature of the preliminaries. Do they not already persecute our commerce? Have they not during the negotiations made further acquisitions by fraudulent means? Even when they pay a debt, they do it like a swindler, for they pay it with the property of others. In recompense to the King of Etruria for seizing Elba, they give him Piombino, belonging, as the treaty candidly states, to Naples. Pending the negotiations, has not Buonaparté, without communication

with us, stepped into the throne of Italy? By another secret negotiation, has he not acquired Louisiana? And all this too at the risk, if our ministers had had any spirit, of losing the vast advantages of the treaty, and of sacrificing his army in the West-Indies. Does he not also stipulate for the restoration of Cochin, a place only valuable to annoy us in India? And is he not that man who planned and commanded the expedition to Egypt? Artifices so gross, hostility so inveterate, and ambition so hot, cannot but be seen and dreaded by every body. Lords Hawkesbury and Castlereagh acknowledge the insecurity of the peace, and yet the former still justifies it, because if it last it will be good for the country he thinks, and this might be true, if we retained our conquests; but look at the vast price we pay for this *armed truce*.

The peace of Amiens is big with future war, and every friend to real peace must look at it with alarm. By the cessions it makes also how much must every considerate man dread this war, in which, as Lord Grenville observed, three successive brilliant campaigns would hardly bring us to that *point where we now are*. In this treaty we have so totally relinquished all attempts to preserve any balance against the French greatness, that no man dares look forward to the consequences. We look at the treaty, and are astonished. As Lord Grenville urged it, it has been concluded on two principles *directly opposite*, and on *each* in *opposition to our own interest*. France has been allowed to treat on the *uti possidetis*, while Great-Britain has been content to negotiate on the *statu quo ante bellum*. On either principle the balance of power might have been preserved.

Not a century ago, Sir, a woman with a hand *as firm* as the Romans of old, drew the line of demarkation, and told the Antiochus of France, "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther."—From the inflammatory influence of the revolutionary mania, it is true we could not act thus; yet we might have preserved those conquests, which France was unable *even to reach*, as a counterbalance to her power in Europe. But, Sir, we have not acted thus. We have surrendered our own and confirmed the empire of the Consul. Buonaparté, alas!

> "Doth bestride this narrow world
> Like a Colossus; and we petty men
> Walk under his huge legs, and peep about
> To find ourselves dishonorable graves."

But, Sir, let us hear the ministry. To the rehearsal of this long list of prodigal cessions, what do they oppose? They reply, we have Trinidad and Ceylon. These are possessions of great value without doubt, but my Lord Hawkesbury was too prudent to state the case exactly in all its circumstances. He was a *better disputant* than to say, "We do make acquisitions to balance the power of France. We acquire Trinidad and Ceylon to weigh against the colonies we have restored. St. Domingo and the West-India islands, Pondicherry and the East-India settlements, Malta and the Cape, the gateway to the east, Trinidad and Ceylon too, to counterbalance the new acquisitions of France, the river Amazons and the Mississippi, her indirect dominion over Spain and Holland, her union of the Netherlands and great part of Germany, her absolute despotism in Italy, her king-making in Etruria." His lordship was too prudent, in his very eloquent and *argumentative* speech as it was called, ever to strike the balance between the French and English acquisitions confirmed by this treaty—a balance by which our future relative power is decided, a balance on which the merits of the treaty depend.

This *omission*, Sir, in a speech pronounced by the Minister for Foreign Affairs who concluded the treaty, applauded by the advocates for the treaty as eloquent and *argumentative*, and, in the words of Mr. Pitt, as leaving nothing new to be urged in support of the measure, is, I think, to every impartial observer, as decided a condemnation of the peace as a vote of censure in both Houses could have been.—I will add *more* decided, because such a vote might be called in question for its motives; whereas this is self-conviction, is open confession from the first authority.

And with this, Sir, I will conclude my Review, apologizing for the unavoidable length into which I have been drawn by the multifarious nature of the subject and the important consequences we must look to.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient
humble Servant,
X.

CRITICAL NOTICE OF NEW BOOKS.

30. A COMPENDIUM OF THE LAW OF NATIONS, *founded on the Treaties and Cus-*

toms of the modern nations of Europe; to which is added, a complete List of all the Treaties, Conventions, and other Public Acts, from 1731 *to* 1788, *indicating the works in which they are to be found. By* G. F. Von Martens, *Professor of Public Law in the University of Gottingen—Translated, and the List of Treaties, &c. brought down to June* 1802, *by* William Cobbett.—The introduction of this work contains a definition of the Law of Nations, a history of that law and of its science, together with an account of the books necessary to its study. Book I. treats, 1. of Europe, as divided into states; 2. of these states according to their dignity, power, &c.; 3. of forms of government; 4. of the religion of European nations. Book II. of the basis of the positive law of nations, and 1. of treaties; 2. of tacit convention, custom, and analogy; 3. of prescription. Book III. of the internal constitution of a state, as far as it relates to foreign powers and their subjects; 1. of the rights of a nation with respect to its own territory; 2. of the rights and obligations of a nation with respect to its internal government and constitution; 3. of the different rights of sovereignty belonging to the internal government, and their effect on foreign powers and their subjects. Book IV. treats of transactions with foreign nations, and the rights relative thereto; 1. of the liberty and security of nations; 2. of the equality and dignity of nations; 3. of commerce; 4. of the rights of nations upon the seas. Book V. of the rights and customs which relate to the persons and families of sovereigns. Book VI. of the different instruments, and acts in writing, used in diplomatic affairs. Book VII. of embassies; 1. of the rights of embassy; 2. of the different orders of ministers; 3. of the formalities necessary to a minister's being received at a foreign court; 4. of ceremony with respect to ministers; 5. of the inviolability and independence of ministers; 6. of the rights of ministers in religious matters; 7. of immunities granted to ministers; 8. of the manner of conducting a negociation; 9. of the retinue of a minister; 10. of the means of ending an embassy; 11, of the rights of ministers with respect to states to which they are not sent as ministers; 12. of secret embassies; 13. of state messengers. Book VIII. treats of the forcible means employed by a nation in the defence or the pursuit of its rights; 1. of retaliation and reprisals; 2. of the commencement of war; 3. of the manner of making war; 4. of conventions with the enemy; 5. of allies, subsidies, and auxiliaries; 6. of neutrality; 7. of making peace. Book IX. treats of the several means by which rights may cease.——Such being the contents of one volume in octavo, it is hardly necessary to observe, that the author has studied brevity; but he has, in no one point, neglected to refer, in the margin, to almost all, if not to all, those writers and those public acts that serve to illustrate his positions; and in this respect, the work is of very great utility.—The list of treaties, conventions, &c. &c. at the close of the volume, is, perhaps, as complete as any thing of the kind ever was. To those who have frequent occasion to refer to diplomatic instruments, it will be found very convenient, more especially as we have not any work or works in our language, worthy of the name of a collection of treaties, a circumstance extremely disgraceful to the government and the country. We have nothing like a diplomatic code; nothing that can lead men to suppose that we understand this the most important of all earthly sciences. The truth is, the Parliament House swallows up all the talent and all the ambition of the brightest men in the kingdom; whence it is, that we are for ever out-witted, that we are for ever losing in the cabinet the advantage and the honour which we gain in the field.—As to the translation, it seems proper to observe, that it was originally done at Philadelphia, at the request, and, in some sort, at the expense, of the government. The President, the Vice President, and every member of the Congress had a copy of the work, which is now to be found in most of the law-libraries in the United States. In the revision, for which the present re-publication has furnished an opportunity, the translator has made some addition to the authorities referred to in the marginal notes, and has been particularly careful to notice all the tracts, to which the late dispute with the Northern Powers gave rise.

31. *Advice to a young Clergyman in the United Church of England and Ireland. By* John Napleton, D. D. *Canon Residentiary of Hereford, Chancellor of the Diocese, Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Hereford.*—This excellent pamphlet is divided into seven chapters, the contents of the first of which only it falls within our plan to notice. This chapter is almost wholly taken up with observations on the duty of Residence, which is enforced by arguments so clear, so cogent, and so persuasive, that we cannot

help recommending a perusal of it to every clergyman in the kingdom. We know, what, indeed, is here acknowledged, that, in certain cases, it is impoſſible to yield implicit obedience to the laws of residence; but if the sentiments of this author were generally adopted by the clergy, we are sure that non-residence would be much less frequent than it is, that the schism-shops of the Puritans would gradually diminish, and that true religion and loyalty would greatly increase. Far be it from us to regard the church merely as an engine of the state; but experience, the surest of all guides, has taught us, that the church and monarchy of this country must stand or fall together; and, that the church cannot long stand without residence, and without residence, too, in a greater degree than at present prevails, we are fully convinced. When, from the top of any hill in this happy little island, we behold the numerous churches, which, by the wisdom, the liberality and piety of our forefathers, have been scattered around, we are naturally astonished, not that puritanism, and its inseparable concomitant, disloyalty, should not be destroyed, but that it should ever, for a moment, have existed.

32. *Public Credit in Danger; or, Frauds on the Revenue, Private wrongs, and Public Ruin. To which are added, Hints on the best Means to provide for a Peace Establishment, without increasing the National Burthens. By a* MEMBER OF THE INNER TEMPLE.—— The author of this pamphlet entertains some political opinions, to which we cannot subscribe; but, with his sentiments respecting the dilapidations on the revenue we most heartily concur. He has clearly made out his position, that frauds on the revenue become private wrongs, and, we think with him, that, unless they are put a stop to, or, at least, diminished, they must eventually produce public ruin. In this enumeration, however, of these wrongs, he appears to have confined himself to smugglers and the minor race of dilapidators, while the huge contractors and jobbers seem to have escaped his attention. He sees the little hillocks that lie scattered through the prospect, while the mountain, on the side of which he stands, is too big for his eye.—— His "hints on the best means of providing "for a peace establishment," (which he justly observes should be large,) "without "increasing the national burthens," will not, we imagine, be of much use to the minister, to whom they are more particularly addressed. Mr. Addington's courage and firmness nobody will doubt, who looks at the terms of the peace, or who recollects the modifications of the newly imposed taxes; but, though a bold man, we are fully persuaded, that he will think twice before he *taxes the funds*; a measure, however, which this adventurous blade of the Inner Temple scruples not to recommend, without recollecting, doubtless, that it would only be disguising the *sponge* under a different name.——"Such a *tax*" (for so he chooses to call it) "would have one ad-"vantage over all others; it would reach "*foreigners* as well as natives." But, without troubling ourselves with the logic, by which the *juſtice* of this is attempted to be maintained, we may safely aver, that, in one week, nay in one hour, after this "tax" should be proposed by the minister, there would be neither foreign nor native to tax, unless it were the unfortunate few who should not be able to dispose of their stock.—Away with such "hints!" which one certainly would not have expected from a writer, whose professed object it is to prevent "private wrongs."

33. *A ſhort View of the Administrations of the Government of America, &c. &c. By* GEORGE ANDERSON, *Esq.*—The writer of this pamphlet discovers a mind accustomed to observation, and throws some light on a subject at all times interesting to the people of England; but his plan is too confined, and his materials appear to have been too scanty, to afford any thing like a satisfactory account of the measures and the motives of the rulers of the United States. With the commercial habits, views, and interests of the Union he appears to be tolerably conversant; but, as to the nature and effects of its political and judicial institutions, he conveys little information, and that little is not very correct.

34. *The Spirit of Anti-Jacobiniſm*, &c. &c. This is a duodecimo volume, consisting of essays in prose and verse, partly original and partly collected from the daily and other publications. These essays, some of which have very great merit, are, for the most part, of a political nature, and all have the recommendation of loyalty.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

Nothing particular occurred in the Houſe of Lords last week, until Wednesday (June 2). Some conversation, indeed, took place on Monday (May 31)

on some points in the Militia Regulation Bill, which terminated in two divisions. The one motion was to transfer the payment of some expenses from the treasurers of counties to the receivers of the land-tax; the other, that the time of exercising the men should be twenty-eight instead of twenty-one days. They were both negatived.

On Wednesday, the *Earl of Suffolk* gave notice that he should take the opportunity of the House being summoned on that day week to call their lordship's attention to two points of public importance—the poor's rate and the affairs of India. To the latter he should only advert generally, as a noble lord had given notice of a motion. The *Earl of Moira*, upon this, rose, and declared that his motion had only been deferred in expectation of some important information from India. Admitting to a certain degree the weight of the reason urged by the noble earl, the *Earl of Suffolk* pressed the period of the session, and the debts of India, as loudly calling upon the House to turn its attention to that quarter. The situation of our affairs in India was such as might eventually affect England in the most injurious manner. *Lord Grenville* agreed with the noble lord on the magnitude of the object, but was decidedly against any discussion till the necessary and expected information arrived.—After some routine business had been gone through, *Lord Grenville* rose and apologizing for the irregularity of noticing what passed in the other House, adverted to the Clergy Non-residence Bill, to which he declared his wish of calling the attention of their lordships. That bill would come up to their lordships at a time when nearly the whole of the prelacy would be absent on indispensable duty, and in their absence it would be a manifest impropriety to discuss such a bill. It was, he believed, the wish of the respectable gentleman who brought forward the bill, that it should have a full and deliberate discussion. For that purpose, it might, perhaps, be proper to let the bill lie over during the recess that the public opinion might be better understood upon it. This proposition proceeded from no motive of hostility. In the late administration, a plan of a more broad and comprehensive principle had been in contemplation to regulate these matters. That plan not only regulated the affair of residence, but provided an adequate augmentation to the salaries of the lower orders of the clergy, which indeed were much in want of it, as not half the parochial clergy were in the enjoyment of more than £50 per annum, and the average income of the curates was only between £20 and £30 a year. He hoped the attention of the legislature would be turned to this question on broad and general grounds. Such a measure should have the support of government, and, to be effectual, should augment the income of the lower clergy.

The Report on the Militia Bill gave rise, the next day (Thursday, June 3), to a long conversation. The bill was objected to by *Lords Caernarvon*, *Romney* and *Fitzwilliam*, and defended by the *Lord Chancellor*, *Lord Pelham*, and *Lord Hobart*. Some amendments were received, and the bill was ordered to be read a third time on Wednesday.

In the House of Commons, *Mr. Canning*, on Thursday (May 27), brought forward his motion relative to the cultivation of Trinidad. He concluded a speech, delivered with his accustomed facility and eloquence, by moving, "That an humble address be presented to His Majesty, humbly requesting, that, in order to prevent any importation of negroes into Trinidad, under colour or pretext of new grants, which might obstruct any future restrictions on such importation, His Majesty would be graciously pleased to direct that no new grants or sales be made without the express stipulation, confirmed by a bond, not to employ in their cultivation any negroes imported from Africa, until a report has been made to Parliament of the circumstances of the island, and Parliament shall have, in consequence, adopted certain regulations; and further, humbly requesting that His Majesty would be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before the House an account of all the sales and grants made in the mean time, and also a plan of such regulations as government may think proper to adopt for the cultivation of the Island of Trinidad, in the manner most likely to prevent the increase of the slave trade, and to promote the stability, integrity, and security of our colonial establishments."

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, in reply, objected to partial discussions like the present, and declared, that, with respect to grants, none had been made, and that His Majesty's Ministers meant to advise that none should be made, until after the return of commissioners, who had been sent out to examine the Island. After some conversation, the previous question was put and carried.

Nothing particular was done in the House on Friday (May 28)

On Monday (May 31), the Scotch Militia Bill was reported. On the motion that it be read a third time on Wednesday next, *Mr. Elliot* said, that partly in consequence of the multiplicity of business before the House, and partly owing to his own neglect of his parliamentary duty, for which he took much shame to himself, this bill had been upon the table for a considerable time without his knowledge, otherwise he should have troubled the House with a few words on it on the second reading, in preference to its present stage. A part of the bill, he thought, contributed to the improvement of the utility of the institution, to which it related, by extending the service of the Scotch militia to England; for he confessed, the establishment of a new force with the view of confining it in a remote quarter of the kingdom, had never appeared to him to be a measure reconcileable with any principle of public expediency. He perceived, however, a clause in the bill, which in case of imminent danger of invasion, or *other great emergency* (a pretty wide and general description), vested in His Majesty the power of increasing the Scotch militia in the proportion of one half. He assured the House, that it was not without much regret that he found himself in the predicament of appearing even to object to any arrangement connected with the defence and security of the kingdom, but he should really not act in conformity with the views he entertained of his own duty, if he permitted the bill, with the clause to which he had alluded, to pass totally without observation. He was not unapprised that the opinion he entertained, in respect to the general principle of adding to the number of the militia, would not be very popular either within or without those walls, and he was afraid that he had the misfortune to differ on this subject from some persons with whom he was much in the habit both of thinking and acting, and for whose judgement on all occasions he had the greatest deference and respect. Nevertheless, he could not persuade himself that the augmentation of the *local* force of the country was, in the present political circumstances of the world, a provident system of military policy. He was anxious to be correctly understood, and trusted it would not be imputed to him that he meant to speak with disparage-

ment of the militia service. No one held that service in higher estimation than he did, and no one could more cordially join in that tribute of applause and gratitude, which was due to the unexampled proof of zeal, alacrity, and personal and private sacrifice for the public advantage, which that branch of the military establishment had exhibited in the course of the late war; and he could not help adding, because the circumstance had fallen within his own observation, that in those exertions, the right hon. gentleman who had brought in the bill, and the corps with which he was connected, had a distinguished and conspicuous share. But although he was among the persons who were most solicitous to preserve and cherish the institution, on the footing and on the establishment on which it lately stood, yet, looking to the general complexion of the affairs of Europe, the relative situation of this country, and its widely scattered possessions, he did feel the strongest conviction that it ought to be the careful policy of Great-Britain to reserve all the additional resources of her population for the provision of a formidable *disposable* force—a force which might be directed, as future exigencies might require, either to the aggression of an enemy, or to the protection of the distant parts of the empire; and it was obvious, that, by the adoption of the system for augmenting the *local* force of the country, the means of recruiting the regular army would be very materially diminished. He knew that it was very currently argued, that the local force had, in the late war, proved the great recruiting fund of the army. The fact was indubitable, but he should refer to it as illustrating the proposition he was maintaining. At a period in the late war, there was a great deficiency of the regular army in comparison with the local force of the country. The ministers came to Parliament, and represented that the recruiting service was stagnant, not on account of any failure of population, (for it was now clearly proved, by the documents on the table, that it had not diminished) but because a large proportion of the population was locked up in *defensive* corps. There was then a great force in the country, but it was suited only to a passive and inert system of defence. It was not applicable to an offensive enterprise; it could not be employed in one aggressive or active operation of hostility. We had a numerous garrison, but it was, by its very frame and constitution, deprived of the means of making a sally even for its own protection. What was the expedient resorted to in this embarrassment? The Militia Reduction Bill. The dissolution of a considerable proportion of the *local* force of the kingdom, for the supply of the regular army. A strong measure, but in his opinion, fully justified by the emergency. From that measure, the country had derived the most solid and substantial benefits. To that measure was to be attributed one of the most splendid and valuable achievements ever accomplished by the British army, to that measure we owed the rescue of Egypt from the hands of France, and the preservation of a large portion of the western continent of Asia. He wished to be considered as ascribing every merit that was due to the wisdom and energy of the councils which devised that arrangement, and to the patriotic zeal of those militia officers who facilitated its execution; but it must be universally felt, that these experiments were not to be repeated. The right hon. gentleman disclaimed the measure as a *system*. It could not be adopted as such. The country gentlemen could not reasonably be expected to consent to the conversion of the regiments of militia into recruiting battalions for the line. It could not be resorted to as an established principle of policy, without risking the exclusion from the militia of that description of officers, which it was not only desirable to retain in it, but constituted the very vital principle and essence of the institution. However, whatever difference of sentiment might prevail, in regard to the exercise of the English militia, he had conceived there could have been no diversity of opinion in respect to the inexpediency of augmenting the Scotch. It must be well known to every gentleman in the House, that Scotland was, for its size, a singularly productive recruiting field of the British army. From that part of the United Kingdom were drawn many of the best, strongest, hardiest recruits. There was in the character of the nation a strong propensity to military habits; the people were well suited to bear the hardships of war; and, by the sobriety and regularity of their manners, they were peculiarly adapted for the constraint and subordination of military discipline. In the northern part of that country too, through the spirit of clanship, and the hereditary attachment which prevailed there to particular families, there were means of recruiting which existed in no other parts of the Empire. The establishment, therefore, of a large local force within so contracted a space was, he maintained, to cut up by the roots the recruiting service of the army. It was absolutely to frustrate and nullify the military resources of the country. The attempt to combine a considerable augmentation of the local force with the recruiting service of the army was, he asserted, an incongruous system. It was to present inducements to men to stay at home, at the same time that invitations were held out to them for enlistment for general service. A premium was offered with one hand against the bounty which was tendered with the other. For these reasons, he had always thought the original institution of the Scotch militia an injudicious arrangement; and he was sure its augmentation would be a perseverance in a very injurious error. It might, perhaps, be said, that the number of men proposed to be added was not large. For the extent of the country, however, he alleged, it was not inconsiderable. It might probably be stated, that the measure was not to be carried into effect, unless in case of the danger of invasion, or some pressing emergency. To that he should answer, that it was not evident that it would be necessary, even in the event of invasion, to increase the militia; for if a considerable portion of transferable force was in the kingdom in such an exigency, it would be as applicable for the purpose of defence as a local force. But if such a measure should prove requisite, the intervention of Parliament might then be used; and if it was not sitting, it could be convened soon enough to give its sanction to the measure. The bill, however, did not limit the measure to the event of invasion, but extended it to *any other great emergency*, which words vested in the government a complete discretion on the subject. A *great emergency* might, for instance, be the commencement of a war, the very conjuncture at which he should most deprecate such a measure. In short, he desired to be understood as objecting to the *principle* of the arrangement, since it led to a system, which was fundamentally vicious, and which appeared to him to be directly the reverse of that which in the event of a war, it would be expedient for this country to adopt. As there was other business of moment awaiting the attention of the House, he should not trouble it further on the subject, though he should otherwise have been disposed

to have gone into it more at length, as it was a topick on which he had always felt much interest and solicitude.

Mr. Windham concurring in opinion with his hon. friend, declared that he thought he had not gone far enough. He himself disapproved entirely of the defensive system; and though he did not wish to see the militia extinguished, thought it ought to be reduced far below even the old establishment. By the militia system, the bounty given for recruits had been raised from one guinea to fifteen. He considered a regular army as the proper and the best defence of the country. The *Secretary at War* made some remarks in reply. The bill was then ordered to be read a third time on Wednesday. The order of the day being read, for taking into consideration the Report on the Clergy Residence Bill, *Mr. Simeon* rose to oppose the *Speaker* leaving the chair. He was supported in his opposition by *Mr. M. A. Taylor*. It was said, that the present bill not only destroyed all former statutes, but changed the constitution of the church, by lodging an enormous power in the hands of the bishops; that as to the rigour of the statute of Henry VIII. it had by the lapse of time been completely done away; that this bill would subject the inferior clergy to something very like slavery; that to give a greater degree of latitude in farming to clergymen, secularized their character, and altered their situation in society; that the clause, allowing non-residence, could be no effectual relief to the distresses of the poorer clergy; that their salaries ought rather to be increased; that it was more proper to give the judgment as to residence into the hands of a jury than a bishop; and that the present bill, though said to be a *bonus* to the clergy, was, in reality, unpopular among that body. To this, it was replied by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* and the *Master of the Rolls*, that a great part of the reasoning used against the bill was inapplicable to the motion; that the present bill was introduced, not because non-residence had increased, but because informers had shewn a disposition to enforce the statute of Henry VIII.; that the conduct of the clergy had been of such an exemplary nature as to call for particular favour; that the statute was particularly oppressive to the inferior clergy; that the present bill ought not to be objected to because it did not go far enough, because it made no pecuniary provision for the clergy; that it was far better to submit the clergy to the discretion of their bishops, than to that of an informer; that it was unjust that the one minister should be subject to the temporal courts for not sleeping in a parsonage-house, and should suffer ruinous penalties; while another, who merely complied with the statute, but was of a bad moral character, was left untouched by them; that it was degrading the character of a clergyman to sue him in a court of law for penalties; and that the object of this bill, was only to try if the discipline of the church could be carried on by means of the constitutions of the church. It was, therefore, urged that the bill ought to go into a committee. The *Attorney General*, though agreeing in many points with the opposers of the bill, declared that he could not concur in their vote, as many of the objections started by them might be removed in a committee. He would, therefore, vote for the bill going into the committee, though he disapproved of many of its parts. *Mr. Windham* spoke strongly in favour of the bill; the only objection to which was, in his mind, that it did not wholly repeal the statute of Henry VIII. The present bill, he thought, placed the power of the church in those hands where it ought to be placed. The discretionary power to be exercised by the superior over the inferior clergy, was of the least objectionable kind; it was in the nature of that possessed by a parent over his child. It was a policy wise in itself and moderate in its principles, that the church should not be under the necessity of recurring to civil tribunals for the determination or preservation of its discipline. It was also desirable, that the church should not be made that species of democratic body, which a repeated reference to courts of law, to enforce rights without rank, necessarily tended to create.—The question was now called for, and strangers withdrew, but no division took place. The bill then went into a committee of the whole House, in which several clauses were agreed to, after much discussion; but many provisions of the bill remaining to be considered, the chairman reported progress, and asked leave to sit again, and the House adjourned.

On Wednesday (June 2), the House being resolved into a committee of supply, *Admiral Berkeley* called the attention of the committee to the report on Dr. Jenner's petition, and concluded by moving that the sum of £ 10,000 should be granted to Dr. Jenner, for his discovery of vaccine inoculation. After considerable debate, in which it was proposed by *Sir H. Mildmay* to vote the sum of £ 20,000, the original sum was put and carried.—The sum of £ 1,200 was also granted to Mr. Greathead, for his discovery of a life-boat.—In a committee it was resolved, that the rate of postage from France should be the same as to that country (10d.); that the postage to and from Holland should be equalized (12d.); that there should be four post-days instead of two; and that the tonnage-duty should be taken off the packets going between Dover and Calais.

On Thursday (June 2), *Mr. Corry* moved in a committee of the House, for leave to bring in a bill to relieve the Irish retailers from the duty of 6 per cent. After some opposition from *Mr. Beresford* and *Mr. Foster*, which occasioned a division, leave was granted. *General Gascoyne* having, on account of the lateness of the session, withdrawn his motion on the slave-trade, the House resolved itself into a committee on the sinking fund. The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* having moved to fill up the blanks, *Mr. Bankes* rose to express his disapprobation of the measure before the House. No advantage would, he said, arise from the plan, except the 1 per cent. on the last loan, but its disadvantages were greater than the public imagined. Till 1808, the two plans bore no comparison in point of advantage. Taking stocks at par, no advantage would be derived from this plan in less than 38 years. It was of consequence to alleviate taxes, though in ever so small a degree. By the old plan, this alleviation would have commenced six years hence. Such an immediate operation was felt and acknowledged, but people were little affected by calculations of distant advantages, which they did not understand. The measure was also opposed by *Mr. Tierney*, who contended that, by the present plan, the public faith was broken, the immediate consequences of which would be distrust in monied men, and disadvantageous terms on future loans. *Mr. Thornton* also objected to the measure before the House, on the ground that it only postponed our difficulties, and postponed them to the probable period of another war. The plan was defended by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, *Mr. Boyd*, and *Mr. N. Vansittart*. It was contended in its favour, that by the adoption of it, the public was spared the burthen of taxes to the amount of £ 900,000, which must otherwise have been imposed. This was an immediate advantage. Its remote ones were of great consideration. By this new plan, the whole

of the national debt would be redeemed in four years ess than by the old. In the year 1808, there would be a relief of £ 512,000, and in that year or the next a further relief of £ 1,500,000, by paying off the 4 and 5 per cents. By the old plan, a relief of only £ 120,000 would be obtained at the same period. That the monied interest were not adverse to the present measure, was obvious from the terms of the last loan, which were the most advantageous that had ever been procured. - After some explanations from *Mr. Bankes* and *Mr. Tierney*, the resolutions were agreed to, and the report was ordered to be received on Wednesday.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

St. Domingo, March 30.—News, of this date, received through the American papers, represent the difficulties of the French as increasing; but, the relations of the different American captains, who are all enraged at the conduct of Leclerc, disagree materially, and seem to contain but one fact, which rests on any solid foundation, viz. that RIGAUD, the former rival of TOUISSANT, who, with the remnant of his army, had been brought from Cuba, had, in consequence of his beginning to correspond with one of the black generals, been sent on board the fleet by Leclerc, with an order to send him to France by the first opportunity. The black to whom he had written was, indeed, one of those who had come over to Leclerc, nor does the letter (which is published) contain a single sentiment hostile to the cause of France; but Leclerc seems very properly resolved not to suffer these sable auxiliaries to assume any consequence in the colony. The American papers contain horrid accounts of the cruelties committed by Touissant and his followers. They may be exaggerated; but the reality can in no respect surpass what was committed by the same ferocious wretches in the years 1792, 1793 and 1794, when they literally drank the blood and ate the flesh of several white women and children in the northern and middle part of St. Domingo.

Barbadoes, April 24.—Under this date there is a letter from Dominica, dated April 14, giving an account of the revolt of the Negro Corps, in the latter island, in substance as follows:

On the 9th, the 8th West-India regiment, composed of blacks, mutinied, and in a most barbarous manner put to death captain Cameron, lieutenant Mackay, lieutenant Wastnays, commissary Laing, and quarter and barrack-master-serjeant M'Kay, Clerk of the cheque Barron, and quarter-master-serjeant Young, were both wounded, the former dangerously. His excellency the Hon. A. Cochrane Johnstone, who is colonel of the 8th West-India regiment, and governor of the Island of *Dominica*, immediately collected all the troops, militia, and other European force he could muster, and embarked for Prince Rupert's, where the black regiment was stationed, and where they had committed the atrocities above recited. Fortunately some ships of war were in the Bay, the marines of which were landed, and assisted in the reduction of the mutineers. The governor found them drawn up in their usual place of parade, with two of their officers, whom they had spared, in their front. They refused to obey the governor's order to ground their arms, and were immediately fired upon with such effect, that those who did not fall, attempted to save themselves by flying to the hills. The excellent disposition, however, made by the governor of his force, frustrated their designs, and the whole were exterminated, excepting about 130, who were secured, and sent as prisoners on board the ships of war. The people of *Dominica* were at a loss to account for the commission of so horrid an outrage. We can suppose it might have originated in the apprehension of being disarmed, disbanded, and returned to a state of labour.

Genoa, May 22.—On the 19th in the morning 550 French troops, of the 3d light demi-brigade, embarked from hence on board three Polacres, escorted by the Aviso, which arrived here some days since. The Captains are ordered to proceed to Cape Spartel, where they are to open the sealed orders they have received, and learn their ulterior destination.

Paris, May 31.—M. Coquebert Montbert is appointed Consul for England; that is, Commercial Agent.

From the tenor of the several communications made by Chaptal, the minister, it is evident, that great alarm and some discontent prevail in France, on account of the scarcity of bread-corn, and the high price of bread, which is one-fourth dearer than in England.

Ghalib Effendi, Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary from the Sublime Porte, arrived in Paris the day before yesterday, at five in the evening.

The Paris papers contain, under this date, a note from the Minister of Police, assuring the public, that all the reports about plots against the life of the First Consul are totally void of foundation.

The following epigram, by Le Brun, the poet, on Carnot's vote, has been the subject of much amusement in Paris. It alludes to Carnot having been of Robespierre's committee during the reign of terror:

Vous dites oui, moi, je dis non,
Messieurs je ne suis pas des vôtres,
Je signe ma proscription;
J'avais ma foi signé bien d'autres.

The following articles, which are translated from the MONITEUR, *are worth attention, as they tend to throw much light on the views of Buonaparté and his agents with respect to political parties in this country.*

June 1.—"The English Journals of the 28th of May have come to hand. They are full of tragical events. According to them, General Berthier has been killed in a duel, an aid-de-camp of the Chief Consul has been killed on the parade, and the Chief Consul has been dangerously wounded. In a word, they talk of nothing but assassinations and divisions among the principal citizens of the Republic. Letters have been distributed by two row-boats all over Morbihan, written by the *ci-devant* bishops of St. Paul de Leon and Noyon against the Concordat, the Republic, and the Pope. The *ci-devant* archbishop of Montpelier is now printing a long letter to the Pope, to prove that he is justified in preferring to his apostolical career a comfortable retirement in England, and the quiet enjoyment of the fortune conferred upon him by his nephew, whom he had twenty-five years ago the good sense to make an apostate from the Catholic religion, to qualify him for the succession to estates and dignities in Ireland. Other small vessels have inundated Britany with a great variety of placards in the jacobin style. The most moderate epithet they apply to the Chief Consul is that of *poisoner*. These hand bills have been sent to many individuals in St. Maloes, Dinan, and St. Servan. At a dinner to which citizen Otto was invited, and at which the heir apparent of the English monarchy was present, the sons of the prince Egalité were among the guests, and wore the stars, crosses, and insignia of the Bourbons.—A conduct so contrary to the conditions of peace, to the daily declarations of ministers, to the decorum which every government ought to observe, can only be explained by the existence of parties and factions who labour in a contrary direction.—Let the speech of citizen Gallois be compared with those of Mr. Windham and lord Grenville; let the circumspect and measured language of all the French writers be compared with the furious, disgusting, and malignant tone assumed by the greatest number of the English journals, and it will be seen that while the former express the sentiments of a people who love and cherish peace, and who are anxious to second the intentions of their government, the latter abet a party hostile to the peace of the world, and to every benevolent, charitable, and generous feeling.

June 3.—Under this date, and under the head of "DEBATES IN THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT," we find the Moniteur, after throwing the blame of a continuation of the war on Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham, making the following remarks:

"In a word, it was not till after the treaty of Luneville, and until the new ministers had taken the helm of the state, that England opened serious negociations; there was then an end of the business of interfering with the affairs of the continent. The peace of the continent was made without their concurrence. The ill temper and hostile sentiments *(la roideur et la malveillance)* of Lord Grenville, had rejected every opportunity of contributing to that object, and dissipated every chance of renewing the coalition against France. In these circumstances what could the English nation expect from the new ministry? That they should preserve for their country in India the inestimable one of Ceylon, which cannot be reckoned too high. In the West-Indies, the most important and well situated of the islands they had conquered.

"It is possible for us to refute sentence for sentence the whole speech of Lord Grenville. It is not necessary to show that *he* is alone responsible for whatever he objects against the *ancient* ministers. If Italy is under the influence of France, *he* alone is to blame? If Naples has recovered its political independence, it is due to the ability of his successor. If Hanover was taken possession of by the King of Prussia, and on the point of being occupied by France, it was the fault of the old ministry. If the King of England has recovered his electorate, it is owing to the prudence and wisdom of his new ministers. If Portugal saw her frontiers overrun, and in danger of being blotted out of the list of European powers, it was the fault of the old ministry. If she has been saved and lost nothing in Europe, it is to the prudence of the new ministry that she is indebted for the obligation.

"Although England may have brave sailors, like those whom she undoubtedly possesses; admirals like Lord St. Vincent's, worthy to command them; officers intelligent and active, like Sir Sydney Smith; negociators candid *(loyaux,)* firm, conciliating, like Lord Cornwallis and Lord St. Helens; able financiers, like Mr. Pitt.....All these distinguished men, however, would be unable to maintain her in the rank she is destined to occupy, if at the head of her cabinet she had hot-headed men *(des hommes passionnés)* like Lord Grenville, or ministers like Mr. Windham, whose violence would lead to the same consequences as incapacity."

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

On Tuesday, June 1, being the day appointed for the general thanksgiving, the House of Lords attended at Wesminster Abbey, when a sermon was preached by the Bishop of Chichester from the 22d chapter of the First Book of Chronicles, the 18th and 19th verses.

There were present the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Rochester, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Ellenborough, Lord Alvanley, and a number of other Peers.

The House of Commons attended at St. Margaret's Church, where a sermon was preached by Dr. Vincent, from the 58th Psalm, and 10th verse. The speaker took possession of a new pew, constructed in the Gothic style in the gallery under the organ on the rebuilding of the church.

The Members present were the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Richard Hill, Sir Charles Morgan, Sir Edward Knatchbull, Sir William Dolben, Colonel Phipps, and Messrs. Martin, Bond, Lefevre, Steele, and about *twenty* other members.

On Wednesday the 2d of June the Count de Lally Talendal had the honour to kiss the hand of his Majesty, and to take leave on going abroad.

Sir Alexander Ball has departed for Malta, where he is to reside as Minister Plenipotentiary from his Majesty.

Robert Liston, Esq. late minister in America, is to go, in that capacity, to the Hague.

Mr. Merry, who is now at Paris, is intended to supply the place of Mr. Liston in America, after his return from Spain, whither he is about to proceed in the hope of being able to accomplish some sort of a commercial arrangement with the Court of Madrid.

On the 2d inst. the ceremony triennial montem took place at Salt Hill, and was honoured with the presence of their Majesties, four of the Princesses, and the Duke of Cumberland.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge arrived at Ritzebuttel on the 30th of May, and set off in the afternoon of the same day for Hanover.

The subscribers to Mr. Pitt's statue have (by public advertisement) rescinded the former resolution, that the money should accumulate till Mr. Pitt's death. The subscription is to be kept open long enough to give "every individual in the British Empire an opportunity of subscribing." A meeting is to be held in May 1808, to nominate a committee to carry into effect the object of the subscription.

General Andreossi is mentioned as the Ambassador to the Court of London.

A most shocking affair has happened at Aberdeen. Some of the Officers of the regiment lying there having been insulted, as they assert, by the populace, on the night of the King's Birth Day, called out their men, and, as it is stated, ordered them to fire on the people, several of whom were killed. Some of the officers are in prison, and others are said to have escaped.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The Clergy Non-residence Bill has, upon the motion of the right hon. framer, been postponed 'till next session. Our subsequent Parliamentary Report will contain the reasons at length, which induced Sir William Scott to make this motion; but, in the mean time, every one must perceive the impropriety of passing a bill of this nature with the House so very thin as it is at present. Indeed, the question respecting the Peace Establishment has been decided with benches almost bare; and, though Sir Henry Mildmay's Black Game Bill is of less importance, we have no scruple in expressing our wish, that it may be postponed 'till next session. Whether the game laws are not already sufficiently numerous, complicated and severe, may be a question admitting of some doubt. It may, when the subject is well examined, be found proper to make some regulation "for the better preservation of the Heath Fowl, in the New Forest." We, for our parts, are the very last persons in the world to wish to see the rights and privileges of the nobility and gentry encroached upon by their inferiors; but we cannot see with satisfaction the great increase of penal laws; such laws never should be passed without due deliberation, and, if possible, without being amply discussed. The multiplicity of penal laws tends to weaken, and not to strengthen, the authority of government; because they are but too often liable, in inferior hands, to become a source of that vexation and oppression, which necessarily alienate the affections of the people.

The funds still continue in a state of depression; but we do not therein perceive any danger to the credit of the country. The loan may probably take away a few of those millions, which the lenders have heretofore gained, and in this we see nothing to lament. "We squeeze you, sponge, and you are dry again."

Bread will rise next week, and will, probably, get up to a shilling the quartern loaf, before harvest. This, however, is a symptom by no means alarming. Wages are already high enough to meet a considerable rise in the price of provisions; and, as to scarcity, thank God, there is no fear of it in this country, while, in France, it presents an aspect, which evidently terrifies the all-powerful Corsican. Bread is there at six sous a pound, which, in proportion to the price of labour, is four times as dear as it is in England. The ensuing crop is said to promise uncommon abundance; but it is yet too early to ascertain that point, with any degree of precision. Misery is said to abound to an extent unparalleled, and, we know by experience, that scarcity is less fearful from the real sufferings that it causes, than from the pretext with which it furnishes the idle and the disaffected. Importations will not flow into France as they did into England, and, should the next crop fail, let Buonaparté look to himself. The present price of bread in France settles the dispute with respect to the effect which *war* has on the price of bread-corn. "*Peace* and *plenty*" was the cry at Paris as well as in London, and

we now see what sort of plenty peace has brought in both places. With us nothing has fallen in price but bread, which fall is to be entirely attributed to the fine harvest and the abundant crop, and, in no degree whatever, to the peace.

By a reference to our Foreign Intelligence, it will be perceived, that the MONITEUR has been instructed to lend a helping hand to defend his Majesty's ministers against the dreadful "*conspiracy*" which Mr. Dundas stated to be formed against them. We lament that Mr. Pitt should have furnished a ground for those infamous commendations, which the French official paper has so liberally conferred on Mr. Addington and Lord Hawkesbury, and, we believe, every honest and honourable man in the nation, would gladly share in the abuse bestowed on Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham. The offence which these great and upright statesmen have committed against France, is, their having roused Englishmen to a sense of their danger; having put them upon their guard; having compelled the ministers themselves to promise by a vote of Parliament, that they "will defend, *against every encroach-*" "*ment*, the great sources of wealth, com-" "merce, and naval power of the empire." This resolution was to be attributed solely to the opposers of the peace, and it constitutes an offence, which the ambitious foe will never forgive.

The news from Dominica is of a most melancholy nature. A letter from ROSEAU, printed in the Barbadoes papers, states, that the black corps had revolted, and killed their officers, but that tranquillity had been restored. It is hardly fair for those, who have silently seen the establishment of the black corps, *now* to find fault with that establishment; but, for us, who have uniformly insisted, that negroes never ought to have been thus put upon a level with white men, even as musicians or drummers, we may with great propriety, cite the events in Dominica in confirmation of our opinion. The introduction of negroes into the army, the clothing of them in regimentals, necessarily degrades the profession of the soldier; it sinks him in the eyes of the world, and, which is much worse, in his own estimation. We hope that those corps will be disbanded with all convenient speed, and that the peace and security of our colonies will be committed exclusively to the arms of Britain.

Other details, besides those to be found in the papers from Barbadoes, have reached London—from which it appears, that the revolted Blacks acted with the most horrid brutality towards the *wives* and *daughters* of their officers, most of whom actually expired upon the spot, under the violence of these loathsome and savage monsters! And, are we to be called upon to grant money, are our countrymen to be sent to Sierra Leone, to cultivate the acquaintance of this black, and brutal, and bloody race? Is it for the benefit of wretches like these, that an *academy* is to be supported at Clapham? Are they to officiate in our churches, and marry our daughters? It is time the nation should be roused from its philanthropic dream; that it should see this matter in the true light; and that some means should be taken to put a stop to the increase of Blacks in this country, at any rate, where they have made no little progress in changing the colour of the inhabitants. It is truly shocking to see the number of English women, who are married to Negroes: our streets and public walks are continually disgraced by the disgusting spectacle; and whom are we to blame but ourselves for foolishly yielding to the importunities of those who have the address to make us pay for the *genteel* education of these sable intruders?

By advices just received from Sierra Leone, it appears that the philanthropic colony had been again attacked by the natives on the 11th of April last. More fighting! more bloodshed! Where and when will this Negromania end? More Africans have been killed, absolutely put to death by the halter and the sword, in this humanity colony, every year since its establishment, than in all the West-Indies put together, previous to the year 1786, that is, previous to the clamours about the slave trade.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

Whitehall, March 20, 1802.

The King has been pleased to give and grant unto the Right Honourable Horatio Viscount and Baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe in the County of Norfolk, Knight of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, and Vice-Admiral of the Blue Squadron of His Majesty's Fleet, (also Duke of Bronte, in Sicily, and Grand Cross of the Order of St. Ferdinand and of Merit,) his Royal License and Permission to receive and wear the Insignia of the Order of the Crescent, which the Grand Signior hath transmitted to him: and also to command, that this

his Majesty's Concession and Declaration, together with the relative Documents, be registered in his College of Arms.

Whitehall, June 5, 1802.

The King has been pleased to give and grant unto Major-General Sir Eyre Coote, Knight of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, his Royal License and Permission to receive and wear the Insignia of the Order of the Crescent, which the Grand Signior hath transmitted to him: and also to command, that this his Majesty's Concession and Declaration, together with the relative Documents, be registered in his College of Arms.

Downing-Street, June 5, 1802.

His Majesty has been pleased to appoint Lieutenant-General William Grinfield to be Commander of all his Majesty's Land Forces serving in the Leeward and Windward Charibbee Islands, and in the Island of Trinidad.

Whitehall, June 5, 1802.

The King has been pleased to order a Congé d'Elire to pass the Great Seal, empowering the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Gloucester to elect a Bishop to that see, void by the translation of the Right Reverend Father in God Doctor Richard Beadon, late Bishop thereof, to the see of Bath and Wells; and his Majesty has also been pleased to recommend George Isaac Huntingford, Doctor in Divinity, to be Bishop of that See.

The King has been pleased to grant to the Reverend William Busby, Clerk, Master of Arts, the place and dignity of a Canon or Prebendary of his Majesty's Metropolitical Church of Canterbury, void by the death of Doctor Heneage Dering, late one of the Prebendaries thereof.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

Births.—Wednesday morning, at half past six o'clock, her Grace the Duchess of Dorset, of a son, at Dorset House, Whitehall. On Saturday morning, in Grafton Street, the Right Hon. Lady Charlotte Duncombe, of a daughter. In Gloucester-place, Portman-square, the Lady of Sir Grenville Temple, Bart. of a daughter. On Saturday evening, in Park-place, the Right Hon. Lady Caroline Stuart Wortley, of a son. On the 2d. inst. at Hampton-Court Palace, Lady Ann Culling Smith, of a son. On Friday last, the Right Hon. the Countess of Cassilis, at his Lordship's house in Cavendish-square, of a son.

Marriages.—On Thursday, at St. James's Church, Colonel Bayley Wallis, M. P. for Ilchester, to Mrs. Bosville, widow of the late Colonel Bosville of the Guards.

Deaths.—On Wednesday night, in Berkeley-square, Mrs. Jane Mainwaring, a maiden Lady, sister of William Mainwaring, Esq. M. P. The Bishop of St. Asaph, on the 4th inst. at his house in Oxford-street. Sunday the 23d ult. at St. Omer's, on his road to Paris, the Right Rev. Gregory Stapleton, Catholic Bishop of the Middle District, and brother to T. Stapleton, Esq. of Carlton, Yorkshire. At Berhampore in India, Major-General Robert Rawstorne. The 26th ult. at his house on Croom's Hill, Greenwich, Christopher Mason, Esq. Vice-Admiral of the White, in the 58th year of his age. Friday last, at his seat at Fulbeck, in Lincolnshire, the Hon. Henry Fane, M. P. for Lyme-Regis, in Dorsetshire, brother to the late, and uncle to the present Earl of Westmorcland.

PRICES OF THE PUBLIC FUNDS.

	SAT.	MON	TUE.	WED	THU.	FRI.
Bank Stock . . .	—	—	—	—	181	—
3 pr Cent. Red. An.	71⅜	—	—	71¾	71⅞	—
3 per Cent. Cons.	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 per Cent. Cons.	85¾	—	—	86¼	86½	—
5 per Cent. Ann.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bank Long Ann.	20⅛	—	—	20½	20⅝	—
Do. Short 1778-79	5	—	—	5	5	—
Imp. 3 per Cent.	—	—	—	70⅜	71	—
Do. Ann.	11¾	—	—	—	12	—
5 per Cent. 1797	102⅞	—	—	102¾	102⅞	—
Omnium	2½	—	—	1½	1	—
India Stock . . .	—	—	—	—	111	—
Do. Bonds	—	—	—	—	—	—
South Sea Stock	—	—	—	—	—	—
Do. Old Ann. . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
Do. New	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 per Cent. 1751	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Navy Bills	—	—	—	—	—	—
Exchequer do. .	—	—	—	—	—	—
Irish 5 per Cent.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Irish Debentures	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lottery Tickets	—	—	—	—	—	—

AMERICAN STOCKS.—Eight per C. 111¼.
FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 55 f. 60 c.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C. F.	10 16 us.	LEGHORN	51¼
Do. at sight	10 12	NAPLES	44
ROTTERDAM	10 17 us.	GENOA	47
HAMBURGH	33 12½us.	VENICE, 59¾ livres piccole effective pr. £. ster.	
ALTONA. . .	33 22½us.		
PARIS 1 day	23 13	LISBON	67½
BOURDEAUX	23 19	OPORTO	67
CADIZ . . 34	in paper	DUBLIN	12
DITTO . . 35¾	effective	BILBOA	36 Do.
Madrid . 34	in paper	PALERMO	
DITTO . . 36½	effective	AGIO, bank on Hol. p.	

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s. s.		s. s.
Eng. Wheat pr. q.	64 to 76	Hops per cwt.	80 to 140
Foreign	54—70	Hay per load	80—95
Rye	30—34	Beef per stone . 4s. od. to 5s. od.	
Barley	30—34		
Malt	44—51	Mutton . . 5s. 6d. to 6s.	
Oats	14—25	Veal . 4s. od. to 5s. 6d.	
Pease (white) .	35—39	Pork . 4s. 6d. to 5s. 4d.	
Beans (horse) .	31—35	Tallow . . . . . 3s. 9d.	
Flour per sack	55—60	Average of Sugar per cwt. . . 34s. 1¼d.	
Seconds	45—50		
Coals per chal. .	38—43	Salt per bushel . . 14s.	

Bread *Ten Pence* the Quartern Loaf.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER, *near Guildford, in Surry, for the month of June* 1802.

Days.	M's Age.	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barometer. Inches. M.	Barometer. Inches. A.	Therm. Deg. M	Therm. Deg. A.
3		Fine-Th.	S	S	29,7	29,63	65	72,5
4		Fair.	SW	SW	29,56	29,54	67	67
5		Fine.	SW	SW	29,47	29,46	66	65
6		Showery.	SW	SW	29,6	29,6	60	62,5
7		Rain.	NW	NW	29,53	29,52	55	57,5
8		Fair.	NW	W	29,53	29,54	61	62
9		Rain.	SW	SW	29,57	29,58	58	60

● *New Moon.* ☾ *1st Quar.* ○ *F. Moon.* ☽ *last Quar.*

LONDON,

LONDON, June 12 to June 19, 1802.

THE ALARMIST. NO. 1.

In vain may heroes fight, and patriots rave;
If secret gold sap on from knave to knave.
POPE.

The name of Alarmist has been used, (for what good reason, it would puzzle even a minister to satisfy the House of Commons) as a term of political opprobrium, and has of late been applied with more than usual acrimony to those who disapprove of the late measures of government: but those men who have raised their voices in this cause have minds too great and too generous to desert their country and withdraw from her their salutary counsel, because they encounter abuse instead of receiving those thanks which are due to their endeavours, to shew our situation in its true light. They lack something of that milky kindness, that parental fondness of Mr. Addington which would leave poor John Bull to be butchered in his sleep, lest the *alarm* which the warning of his danger would occasion, should affect the old gentleman's delicate nerves: John sleeps quietly in his bed whilst his house is beset with robbers; his real friend will not be deterred from waking him, because John (who is a great lover of ease) if he does not immediately see a piſtol at his head, will give him a hearty execration, for disturbing him at so unseasonable an hour: but the treacherous pretended friend who has betrayed him to these robbers, protests againſt *alarming* the dear man, till the villains themselves wake him by bursting into his very chamber. Let the public thus learn to appreciate the merits of the alarmist, and the blind follower of ministers, with whom power is always right, and who can never perceive any possibility of the driver of the state-coach (let him be who he will) erring an angle of one single second from the path of rectitude.

Were it to be asserted that every capital measure of the present ministry has been fundamentally wrong, the author of such a sentiment would immediately be proclaimed by the myrmidons of the treasury, as a man actuated by the worst motives of envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness. Such would be the language of those shallow men who trumpet forth the praises of government, with the battle of Copenhagen and the conquest of Egypt, flowing unmeaningly from their mouths. Let us look to the causes of these events, and the use which has been made of them; and we shall see how much we are indebted to Mr. Addington and Lord Hawkesbury. The causes may be discovered by the most ignorant and superficial observer: the plan in the late ministry, the success in the valour of our soldiers and sailors: but here the discernment of these sapient admirers of ministers is at an end; that we have made peace with the northern powers, and that the French are driven out of Egypt, is quite sufficient for them; they look no farther. The alarmist looks to the terms of our treaties with the northern powers, and therein perceives ample subject for dissatisfaction, as well as in the protraction of the negociation: peace ought to have been dictated the day after the battle to the insolent Danes, who taking advantage of the tameness and imbecility of our government, to this day boaſt of having beaten us; and indeed any one who judged merely from the conduct of both parties since that day must arrive at the same conclusion. But wherefore dwell upon such antiquated topics, on subjects of regret a year old, when

That of an hour's age doth hiss the speaker:
Each minute teems new grief——

on subjects too, whose importance shrinks to an almost imperceptible point, compared with recent events.

But Egypt is too nearly connected with our present circumstances to be so slightly dismissed. To what purpose have our brave countrymen laid down their lives amidst the burning sands, to what purpose have they so liberally shed their blood, and plucked the palm from the banks of the Nile, to adorn the grave of Abercromby, and rival the laurel which nods over the tomb of the immortal Marlborough; when Mr. Addington assumes to himself and his pacific coadjutors, all the glory of this miraculous conquest, and boldly asserts in the House of Commons, *that the evacuation of Egypt was obtained by negociation!* It is to

be hoped that no one will deny the negotiators that credit which they so well merit, for obtaining leave of Buonaparté for our troops to evacuate Egypt; but if the world is not mistaken, the words "*evacuation of* "*Egypt*" were by Mr. Addington meant to apply to the French army; every individual of which French army was at that time a prisoner of war. Prodigious statesman! After General Menou had stipulated with Lord Hutchinson, for the *favour* of being sent to France, Mr. Addington goes crawling on his knees to Buonaparté, beseeching him that the French army may *evacuate Egypt*; which the First Consul seeing that a French army in Egypt was of little use without arms, and in the custody of a British army, was graciously pleased to grant, provided the British army did the like, and this was the *evacuation of Egypt* obtained by the immortal Addington. Shame on such ministers, such a negociation, but above all on such an impudent assertion!

Hitherto the present Chancellor of the Exchequer has been considered as a man, though simple, yet well-meaning; as one who would not wilfully set fire to the Thames, or connive at the destruction of our fleet by submarine explosions; even the ruinous measures which he has taken since his entry into office, have been ascribed by many who disapprove of them to mere weakness; it has been said, "He is a "mighty good sort of man, and knows no "better." But from the means he has used to defend those measures, the alarmist forms a very different idea of the principles and motives which have actuated his conduct: whence otherwise that boastful empty panegyrick on himself and his associates on the discussion of this most disgraceful treaty? Would a man of candour, of manly feeling, have arrogated to himself the merit of expelling the French from Egypt?* Would he have called the peace *glorious*, or told us that he had every reason to believe that it will be as lasting as any peace between the two countries can be or ever has been? Mean as is the opinion which many men have formed of his abilities, let it not for the honour of the British nation be thought, that he is so consummately ignorant as to believe any such thing. Lastly, would he, if a spark of generosity was lodged in his bosom, or if he thought his conduct by fair means defensible, have recurred to the expedient of mean, vile aspersions, on the motives and character of those who reprobate it? Such was that most unwarrantable assertion, "that Mr. Windham was adverse "to peace generally, and had determined "to raise an outcry against it, before he "knew a single article of the terms." But this calumny leads whither Mr. Addington perhaps would not wish it. The fact seems to have been, that he was determined to have peace, let the terms be what they might. Conscious of their own inability, the ministry staked their credit upon making peace, as the only means of preserving for a few months longer their short-lived popularity: they well knew, that if this endeavour failed, they must cede the reins of government into more able hands; and to the preservation of their places they have sacrificed the security of their country. Even when this resolution was made, the smallest degree of prudence and political knowledge would have obtained better terms, than those to which they have subscribed: was there any necessity for making it so publicly known that they had determined to have peace? They have shewn less care in managing the interests of their country, than they must necessarily use in their own private daily concerns. Would Mr. Addington, upon going into a shop to make a purchase, point to the article which he wanted, telling the owner that he was determined to have it let the price be what it might? Does he not know that the natural consequence would be, (if the fellow had any thing of the Jew in him, which I am sorry to say is the case with our new friends,) that he would pay double for the commodity? Would it not be absurd, after such a declaration, to stand disputing about shillings and six-pences? Yet such has been his proceeding in buying peace of Buonaparté; for a purchase on our part it certainly has been; we have laid down our hard cash, our *terra firma*, and our live and dead stock, for which we have got peace: our ministers seem to have forgot that we gave France peace too. To those who regard peace as being to the full as valuable and desirable to France as to us, amongst whom the alarmist is one, this purchase appears a very extraordinary bargain.

* See his Speech.

Advertisement.

The Alarmist will sound his trumpet once a week, to inform his old friend John Bull of the enemy's approach. John is particularly requested to be on his guard against all impostors and pretended friends, who will slander his true friend the

Alarmist, and would persuade him to hang up his arms till they grow rusty: but he is advised to keep them scoured and in good order, and never to go abroad without a pistol in his pocket; also to keep himself in the habit of fighting, by the exercise of manly sports, such as singlestics, boxing, and *bull-baiting;* as he will shortly be called upon to fight a more desperate battle than ever, compared with which all his former bouts will seem to have been mere play. Above all things, he is earnestly entreated to avoid the *methodist conventicle, a place which is found woefully to debase all the nobler passions of the mind.*

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,

From your patriotic sentiments, the general tenour of your writings, and the laudable zeal with which you have so successfully laboured to develop the dishonourable nature and ruinous tendency of the peace, which has been made with Buonaparté, I certainly expected that you would *not* merely point our danger, but that you would, at the same time, endeavour to suggest such measures as might possibly avert the evil. Hitherto, however, your exertions, although I am confident of their proceeding from the best of motives, are, I fear, in no very essential degree calculated to extricate your country from the perilous situation in which she is placed. Nay, indeed, does not the general strain of your strictures on the peace tend rather to produce *despondency*, which, when predominant in a state, may, in like manner, as when indulged by an individual, be considered as a prelude to inevitable destruction? It is true, by shewing the bad effects which have resulted, and must still necessarily result, from the abject conduct of the present administration, you have so far acted the part of a *surgeon* who probes the wound of his patient. But *he* does so only with a view of ascertaining the remedy which it may be necessary to apply; and when he is acquainted with the depth and nature of the wound, a skilful surgeon no longer deems expedient a repetition of the operation by which he acquired that knowledge, because such a procedure would tend greatly to retard the cure, if not to render it totally impracticable. Ought you not, Sir, to advert to this in your animadversions *on the dangerous wound which our country has received?* You have certainly now fully ascertained the extent of it; you have proven —ably proven, to the conviction of every unprejudiced lover of his country, that the peace of Amiens is the most unpropitious one for this country that ever was made. What advantage, then, can possibly accrue from a further discussion of the subject? *None*, I apprehend; for, those who obstinately withhold their assent from the facts which you have stated, you may rest assured, will continue to resist all the arguments that can be made use of.

When I consider the deleterious nature of the dart which the weakness of ministers has allowed to penetrate so near the vitals of the country, I cannot help admitting that there is *apparently* no probability of its not being attended with fatal effects. But, upon more mature reflection, I am well convinced that, although the danger is great indeed, our case is not yet altogether desperate. We cannot, I fear, expect ever to regain that state of prosperity as a nation which we lately enjoyed; but we certainly still have it in our power to meliorate our situation, or, at least, to prevent it from becoming worse than it really is. Let us not, then, give way to despair; let us rather endeavour to bring to our aid that which can alone prove an efficacious antidote; let us strive to rouse our statesmen from that apathy into which they seem to have fallen; let us display the genuine characteristics of Britons——loyalty, patriotism, and firmness.

In a future letter, I shall make a few observations on what I conceive to be the source of our present misfortunes, and what has doubtless produced that apparent dereliction of principle and indifference with respect to the honour of the nation, without the admission of which, the circumstance of the terms of the peace having met with the approbation of Parliament would be totally inexplicable by any maxims of reason.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient
And very humble Servant,
Philo-Misogalli.

Sharny-hillock, June 10, 1802.

TO THE EDITOR.

Gum Trade.

Sir,

I should not have troubled you again upon this subject, if I had not observed a mis-

representation, which must have escaped you inadvertently. You say (p. 597) concerning the negociators at Versailles, that, "if they had meant treaties existing at the "moment when they were speaking, to "talk of the necessity of *renewing* them, "&c. would have been a downright absur- "dity." There is no mention in their declaration of the necessity of *renewing* treaties, but there is of the inconvenience of *abrogating* them; which expression militates directly against your argument. I may perhaps be allowed this opportunity of observing, that the new grounds of argument in your last letter appear to me very insufficient. I conceive, that "when the conqueror obtains a cession of his conquests," his former title is not annulled, but confirmed; that the cession is little more than an acknowledgement of the enemy, that he will not disturb the enjoyment of that title, which during the war he continued to dispute. It is a renunciation of his pretensions, strengthening, not cancelling, the title of the conqueror. I think also, that you will not easily establish, that "the right "of conquest," (by which you mean all the rights arising from conquest,) "must "be abandoned the moment the territory "is, no matter by what means, in posses- "sion of another;" notwithstanding any reservation of particular rights, or qualification of the new possession. The following passage in Vattel (b. ii. § 89) may tend to throw some light upon the subject. "We "may grant the right of fishing in a river, "or on the coast, that of hunting in the "forests, &c. and when once these rights "have been validly ceded, they constitute "a part of the possessions of him who has "acquired them, and ought to be respected "in the same manner, as his former posses- "sions. *A fortiori* they must be so considered, if, instead of being held by grant upon foreign soil, they have been reserved upon his former territory. I shall not prolong this discussion, which might become tedious; and shall take my leave of the subject, hoping, that, if ministers did not intend the abandonment of this trade, they will not complete the restitution of Senegal, till the right shall have been acknowledged by France.

"Viribus utendum est, quas fecimus; arma tenenti
"Omnia dat, qui justa negat: neque numina deerunt,
"Nam nec præda meis, neque regnum quæritur armis;
"Detrahimus dominos urbi."—

I wish that truth did not compel me to add "servire paratæ."

I remain, Sir,
Your obedient humble Servant,
W——H——.

May 23, 1802.

Extract from the Report of the Select Committee of the Directors of the East-India Company.

(Continued from p. 624.)

"If objections are made against this comparison, there can be none when a comparison is made between different periods of Mr. Dundas's own administration. In 1793, on the renewal of the Charter, the Directors estimated the final surplus in India, as applicable to investment, to be..... £1,409,127
Deduct the proceeds of the Europe exports..... 350,000

Remains a political surplus of £1,159,127

"It is true that Mr. Dundas objected to this estimate, which in his opinion was much too low; but if to that sum shall be added the present deficiency of ..... £417,807 there will appear against the Company, in their annual political income, a difference of a million and a half, which may be easily swelled to two millions sterling annually, when the arrears of debt are funded, and bear an interest.*

"The differences of opinion which *may* arise on the question of income, in consequence of the numberless details necessary for the purpose of forming an estimate, cannot exist on the subject of debts which are comprised within a few lines. By the returns alluded to before, the debts at the three Presidencies were stated, the 23d of January 1784, at £4,521,685.

"At that time there was a large arrear not known in Europe; the exact amount of which it is difficult to ascertain; but suppose that it swelled the debt to £10,000,000

"In the letter from Mr. Dundas, and in the budget which he delivered in the House, the debt in India is admitted to be £14,432,717

"A very considerable augmentation has been ascertained by the advices received by the Georgina Packet; and if there was an arrear of five millions and a half upon a debt of four millions and a half, in 1783-4, the apprehensions of your Committee cannot be considered as overstrained. The more so, as we find that the Treasury, for want of money, has been obliged to issue notes, payable nine months after date, with an interest of twelve per cent. In such a predicament, the aid of the fortunes of individuals to be remitted to Europe, and which are intercepted by the private traders, would have been of great public utility.

* The advices received by the Georgina mention that the investment from Bengal for the Company will be reduced to £294,000; the funds usually applied for that purpose must therefore have been absorbed by political expenses, and to private traders, for rice and indigo, whilst the fortunes of individuals are intercepted by the same persons, instead of aiding the Company's investment.

" In contemplating the real situation of the Company in the year 1783-4, we find one source of revenue created, and another improved by the superior talents and profound local knowledge of Mr. Hastings, which have more than compensated for the whole of the expenses of the war under his administration. In twenty years (including the estimate for 1800-1801,) the duty on salt has produced net £14,143,400
The profit on opium 2,577,800

Total £16,721,200

" We have, unfortunately, no sources of this description to look to at present. The subsidies, and general improvements, have been absorbed in extensive additional establishments.

" When Marquis Cornwallis, with that wisdom and magnanimity which have distinguished his conduct through life, stopped short under the walls of Seringapatam, the consequences were comparative ease, security, and prosperity to the affairs of the Company and to the empire in India; whilst the brilliant destruction of a formidable rival, under the administration of Marquis Wellesley, has been followed by circumstances of difficulty and distress.

" These discussions and comparisons are painful in the extreme; but when the Company find that attempts are made, and supported by such powerful interest, to deprive them of the only means to restore their affairs, under unfounded pretences, it is indispensable for your Committee and for the Court, to divest themselves of their private feelings, in order to do justice to the Company and to the Public. Every person must, however, admit the extreme patience and forbearance of the Court of Directors, who have used every endeavour to obtain time, for the sole purpose of conciliation. They cannot yet persuade themselves that their rights will be destroyed, as every assurance, and every disposition which your Committee can reasonably expect, they have experienced from his Majesty's present Ministers.

" In this situation, which Mr. Dundas represents as prosperous, he thinks that, with the assistance, and through the medium of her commerce, the Company will surmount every difficulty in the course of a few years; but instead of being relieved by delaying the payment of about a million sterling due to Government for duties, as was done in 1783-4, he is aware that much more substantial means are necessary. Without the benefit of the growing produce of the revenue from salt and opium, or any thing similar thereto, with more than double the amount of political debts to discharge, and groaning under the enormous increase of military expence and establishments, he proposes to call on the Proprietors of East India Stock, to raise no less a sum than four millions sterling, for what he calls commercial purposes, but which, in truth, is to discharge political debts. Your Committee humbly conceive that, before the Court of Directors can consent to recommend such a measure to their constituents, they will satisfy themselves, not only about the propriety and correctness of the proposal, but that it will produce the effect intended; and that the subject may appear more distinctly before the Court, your Committee submit the following state of the present capital of the Company:—

		Per cent.	
Original capital . .	£3,200,000 -	87½ . .	£2,800,000
Additional 1786 . .	800,000 -	155 . .	1,240,000
Ditto . . . . 1789 . .	1,000,000 -	174 . .	1,740,000
Ditto . . . . 1793 . .	1,000,000 -	200 . .	2,000,000

" The first, or original capital, was sufficient to enable the Company to carry on their trade, when it was truly exclusive for near a century; the three last sums have been added, during the administration of Mr. Dundas, for commercial purposes.

" The proposition will appear still more extraordinary, when it is considered that the Company are called on to raise four millions, and at the same time to admit the Indian agents to a participation, indeed to the essence of their exclusive trade: for it never can be denied that the four millions are to be raised, for the express purpose of discharging *political* debts. It would, therefore, have been more equitable and just to have called on the second Company, the Indian Agents and Traders, to have raised the four millions in question. Hitherto, the commercial profits of the Company have been more than sufficient to pay the dividends to the Proprietors; a considerable surplus has arisen from the commerce, although that surplus has not appeared so large as it ought to have been, from the Company's adherence to the old forms of making up their accounts; and every rupee which has been received from that source, as well as from the Revenue, has been applied towards the expense of the war in India. Will the Indian Agents and Traders submit to a limitation of their profit, in the same manner as the Company? Will they pay what they get over and above 5 per cent. (for the Proprietors, upon the price they have paid for their stock, divide little more) into the public Treasury, for the benefit of the State? And what is more extraordinary, whilst every subject of his Majesty may participate in the commercial stock of the Company, if he has the means, the object of the private traders is to preserve the privilege and preference which they solicit, entirely to themselves. If, however, the State participates in the profit, a trade so carried on, is more truly beneficial to the Public in their collective capacity, than if it were abandoned to individuals, even in the event of their success; for though individuals might be enriched, Government would suffer.

" These advantages, and many others which the Public enjoy at present, will vanish when private traders are admitted to exclusive privileges. Much may be done, and the Company are ready to exert every endeavour, and to employ every means for that purpose; but if success is expected from them, they desire, in return, that such resources and powers as they now possess, shall remain unimpaired—that the exclusive trade to India, under the regulations of the Act of 1793, shall be maintained, and that the conduct and management of their commercial concerns shall rest with the executive body of the East-India Company.

" The prospect of peace gives a new turn, and a much greater degree of importance to the whole of this question; whilst the enemies of the Company will press with more than usual earnestness, and exert every nerve for a speedy decision, under a pretence that delay is dangerous.

" There can be no difficulty to assert, that delay will be dangerous, nay, fatal to their cause; for the experience of one, or at most two seasons, will refute every argument they have used, and destroy those fallacious, chimerical plans and estimates, by means of which they have obtained so much credit.

" The foreign trade must revive, and there are good reasons to think will increase, which is much to be desired, so long as foreigners pay for the manufactures and produce of India in silver, or in such a manner as shall not interfere materially with the avowed policy of this country. And your Com-

mittee have no doubt that if the private traders were compelled to export British manufactures, and restrained in their exportation of silver, that their imports in India will be greatly reduced.

"Every nation will endeavour to employ their own ships; in addition to which, foreign ships can be navigated cheaper than those built either in India or Great-Britain.

"These two points are decisive against the Indian Agents. It is impossible to bring the whole of the foreign trade to the River Thames under such circumstances, or to prevent a considerable diminution of the foreign trade which has been brought to the River Thames during the war; in which case, the Indian Agents cannot increase their own trade, but at the expense of the Company. And as the Indian trade to the River Thames must be considerably diminished in the event of peace, whether that reduction falls on the Company or on private individuals, it must operate to lessen the means of employing those British ships which are already in the service."

(To be continued.)

SHIP-OWNERS' PETITION.

In the House of Commons, on the 17th instant, Mr Alderman Lushington presented a petition from the ship-owners resident within the limits of the Port of London, setting forth, That during the present session of parliament an act having passed, wherein certain duties were charged on the tonnage of "ships and vessels entering outwards or inwards (except in ballast) in any port of Great-Britain, to or from foreign parts;" and also certain duties "on oil and strins the produce of the British Fisheries;" and that the said duties would be extremely oppressive on them and all other persons who were engaged in British shipping.

That they begged leave to represent, with the deepest regret, that British shipping, from many causes, independent of the before-mentioned duties, laboured under great depression, so that the most injurious consequences to the kingdom might be feared, if the additional burthen of those duties was continued to be imposed upon the tonnage of its shipping.

That the principle on which the said act was founded, militated against the spirit of the various statutes, which, for a course of centuries, had from time to time been enacted by the legislature of this country for the increase and encouragement of its shipping and navigation, and which had uniformly produced the most beneficial effects; and that these effects had lately been conspicuous to the whole world, in the strength of our navy, the number of our mercantile shipping, and in the spirit and enterprize of the persons interested in them.

They submitted to the house, that the strength of the British navy, the true source of the security and glory of the country, must ever depend upon the number, dexterity, courage, and loyalty of her seamen, who could only be preserved for the services of war by their finding constant employment in the merchants' service and fisheries during the time of peace; and that they most seriously apprehended that the inevitable consequences of the operation of the before-mentioned duties would not only be the still further depression of what remained of the British shipping employed in the commerce of the country; but would likewise greatly tend to weaken the means of its maritime defence, and accelerate the departure of multitudes of British seamen from their native land, driven to gain subsistence, and perhaps imbibe foreign affections and habits, in foreign and rival states.

That they most humbly trusted those considerations would appear of still greater importance, when it was recollected, that all the other maritime powers of Europe are at this time sedulously employed in adopting measures for the increase of their shipping, the encouragement of their fisheries, and the augmentation of their navies, and that at a time, when, from the general state of Europe, the shipping of Great-Britain had fallen in their value from 30 to 40 per cent. and when numbers of British vessels lay unemployed, and many of them engaged on voyages that would turn out unproductive; and when numbers of British seamen were emigrating to France, under the assurances which were made to them, of being employed in the fisheries and merchant's service of that country.

They therefore humbly hoped the House would counteract the injurious effects which would be produced by the continuance of a tax that would prove at once dangerous to the shipping and naval interests of Great-Britain, and oppressive and ruinous to those individuals who had embarked their property in British bottoms; and prayed, that so much of the act, as imposed the duties on the tonnage "of ships and vessels," and also the duties on the importation "of oil and strins, the produce of the British fisheries," might be repealed.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

In the House of Lords, (Wednesday June 9) the *Earl of Suffolk* on the third reading of the Militia Augmentation Bill, made some observations on that clause of the Bill which limited to twenty-one days yearly the time of exercise. Thirty-eight days would, in his opinion, have been barely sufficient. After some of the business before the house had been dispatched, the order of the day was proceeded to, for going into a committee on the County Bridges Bill. It was opposed by the *Duke of Norfolk*, *the Earl of Suffolk*, and other noble lords. The question for going into a committee was negatived, and a second being put that the bill should be committed that day two months, was carried without a division.

The next day, (Thursday June 10,) *Lord Moira* stated to the house, that from the difficulty of procuring proper information, and the judges wanting more time to consider the subject, he should postpone bringing forward his intended bill on the subject of imprisonment for debt till early the next session.

Nothing particular occurred in the house on the following days.

On Monday, (June 14,) a conversation of some length arose between the *Earl of Suffolk*, and *Lords Pelham*, *Holland*, and the

Lord Chancellor, in consequence of the *Earl of Suffolk* calling the attention of the house to an account which had been laid on the table of the amount of the proceeds on the sale of old naval stores. It concluded by a motion for papers illustrative of the subject, which was agreed to.

The house was chiefly occupied the next day, (Tuesday June 15,) with the Scotch Militia Bill; which, after some considerable discussion, and the insertion of many amendments, was gone through, and the report ordered to be received the next day.

In the House of Commons, on Wednesday (June 9,) *Sir William Scott*, on moving the order of the day on the Clergy Bill to be read, thus addressed the chair: Mr. Speaker, I beg to be indulged with a few words on the subject to which this order applies. When I undertook this bill, it was not without a full knowledge, and, I must add, not without a painful sense of the difficulties that would present themselves in the execution of the task. The bill was to operate upon a subject involved in many questions, and leading to many consequences of great public importance, and directly affecting the rights and duties of a very numerous class of persons. Persons entitled, according to my consideration of them, to be treated with great kindness and respect; with us much of both as is consistent with the nature, the *comparative* nature (for such it necessarily is) of an act of legislation. Having undertaken the task at the request of those whose requests have the authority of commands with me in all matters that do not affect the proper independence of my public conduct, I cannot tax myself with negligence in the prosecution of it; I have given it as much attention as was consistent with the attention due to other public duties which have their demands upon me. But the matter has been unavoidably protracted from various causes, from which I can neither take blame to myself nor at all impute it to others—but principally from an anxious desire of collecting the opinions of other men on a subject on which I know that an infinite diversity of opinions prevailed; opinions which I fear cannot be united, but which it was highly desirable to approximate to each other as far as was possible, in the construction of any bill that could be proposed with the hope of final effect. But, Sir, I am under the necessity of looking at the advanced stage of the session; I look at the probable thinness of attendance in the house; I look at the importunity of other calls of public business which press upon the attention of parliament. And when I look at these, I cannot but fear that this bill will not receive the discussion which a bill of such importance ought to receive, and which no man wishes more sincerely it should receive than myself; for no man can be more adverse to its being hurried through the house without due deliberation. If it will not stand the test of a careful inquiry, I shall be the first to say peace to its manes! That test cannot be applied at present; and therefore, I think, I shall best discharge my duty to the public by forbearing to press it upon the house this session, under the hope and expectation, that it will be revived in a very early period of the next, when I trust it will be adopted with very beneficial results both to the clergy and the public. The house will probably agree with me, that a continuance of the suspending bill will be no more than a just protection to the clergy in the interim; that is a measure which I leave in other hands; my duty is performed by declaring that I do not press the progress of this bill any further this season.

After some other business before the house had been gone through, the house resolved itself into a committee of supply, to which the army and ordnance estimates, and the accounts of the unfunded debt, and the charge of the yeomanry corps in Ireland, were referred. *Mr. Eliot* then moved for a vote of 70,000 men for the sea service, for seven lunar months, commencing the 18th June 1802, including 14,000 marines. In answer to a question of *Mr. Tierney* relative to the permanent peace establishment, the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* replied, that he thought 30,000 men would be sufficient for it, but would not pledge himself to that number. The motion was agreed to, and the committee then voted

For wages for the said 70,000 men for the same period, at 37s. per man per month - - - - -	£.906,500	0	0
For victuals for the said men for the same period, at 38s. per man per month - - - - - - - - -	931,000	0	0
For wear and tear of the ships in which the said men are employed, at 3l. per man per month	1,470,000	0	0
For ordnance for the sea service, at 5s. per month - - - - -	122,500	0	0

The *Secretary at War* then rose and stated to the committee the army services for the remainder of the year, and the difference between the proposed establishment, and

the war establishment as voted from the 25th of December to the 24th of March. In that view the account would be as follows:

	Men	Expence
Guards, Garrisons, and Plantations:		£.
War Establishment -	161,364	5,432,000
Proposed Establishment -	95,793	3,104,000
Difference - - - - -	65,571	2,328,000
General and Staff Officers:		
War Establishment - - -		140,700
Proposed Establishment - -		50,000
Difference - - - - -		90,400
Militia and Fencible Infantry:		
War Establishment -	103,925	2,941,800

The whole expence under this head would be saved for the remainder of the year.

Offices - - - - - £.117,350

In the war office the expence was very considerable, but it was hoped that the time would soon arrive when it might be reduced. The Right Hon. Gentleman next laid before the committee the following items.

War Establishment.	
Allowance to Inn-keepers - -	£.537,000
Proposed Establishment - - -	232,000
Difference - - - - -	305,000
War Establishment—Half Pay -	£.225,000
Proposed Establishment - - -	403,000
Excess - - - - -	178,000
War Establishment—Volunteer Corps taking the proportion of the last five months - - - - -	£.1,154,000
War Establishment—Barracks -	940,000
Proposed Establishment - - -	740,000
Difference - - - - -	200,000

In the first, the third, and the fourth of these items, considerable reductions might be hoped. That the half-pay list must increase was sufficiently obvious. The Right Hon. Gentleman then proceeded to state more particularly the intended reduction. It was, he said, proposed to reduce

6 Regiments of Dragoons -	5,093 men.	£.262,334
17 Additional Battalions of old Regiments of Foot, and 4 young Regiments to be disbanded -	20,862 men.	£.580,443

Some of these, however, it would be necessary to keep on foot till the troops now on foreign service return from abroad. It was also intended to reduce the royal garrison battalion, and six West-India regiments. The individuals likewise would be reduced altogether.

Number of Invalids 7,806 men. -		£.197,005
Foot Guards, a reduction of -	5,475 men. -	£.156,335

The Cavalry which it was proposed to have in service for the remainder of the year were three regiments of horse guards, seven of the dragoon guards, and twenty of dragoons. Each regiment was to consist of eight troops of sixty men in a troop. The foot guards would remain the same as the last peace. The regiments of foot it was proposed to number from one to eighty-nine. The whole number of infantry would be 48,051. The regiment of riflemen, the waggon corps, and the staff corps, it was intended to keep up. Three regiments only of foreign corps were to be retained. With respect to those foreign corps which were to be disbanded, he trusted that a liberal compensation would be made to their officers. He should propose a vote of £.321,000 for that purpose, and for the maintenance of the corps retained. The royal military college also, upon an economical scale, would have been an expense of £.6,369 per annum. It was proposed likewise to keep up the royal military asylum.

He concluded by moving his first resolution, for providing 70,299 land forces, including officers, for the service of Great-Britain and Ireland, from the 25th of June 1802, to the 24th of December following.

This statement was animadverted upon by *Mr. Banks*, who contended against a peace establishment of such magnitude, as no less dangerous than expensive. He contrasted our present situation with that in which we stood in the year 1791, and urged that we were at that period in a more advantageous state with regard to our revenues than we now are. Mr. *Banks* was replied to by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* and *Mr. Vansittart*. The resolution was agreed to. The *Secretary at War* then moved the following sums:

Pay, &c. of Army for Great Britain -	£.770,391
Ditto for Ireland - - - -	439,000
Ditto Plantations - - - -	315,852
Cavalry - - - - - -	17,919
Recruiting - - - - -	130,000
Irish Cavalry, Watch Coats, &c. -	474,000
Staff Officers in Great Britain - -	13,868
Ditto in Ireland - - - -	13,868
Commissioned Officers in Ireland -	7,084
Supernumerary Officers in Great Britain -	27,754
Ditto in Ireland - - - -	1,200
Quartermasters, Agents, Controllers, &c. &c.	10,855
Ditto in Ireland - - - -	5,194
Allowance for Small-Beer, - -	140,000
Ditto for Ireland - - - -	60,315
Half-pay in Great Britain - - -	35,035
Ditto for Ireland - - - -	6,212
Marines, &c. Half-pay in Great Britain -	144,400
Ditto in Ireland - - - -	26,161
Half-pay to reduced Officers - -	45,205

Several Officers, formerly in the Service of the States-General	753
Chelsea Hospital	126,511
Kilmainham Hospital	27,953
Volunteer Corps in Great Britain	72,000
Ditto Ireland	68,000
Barracks in Great-Britain	297,982
Ditto Ireland	136,990
Foreign Corps	321,800

After some observations from *Mr. Robson*, the motion was agreed to, as were also three other motions for granting £6,369 for the military college, £13,000 to the Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea, and £16,191 for medicines, bedding, and hospital contingencies in Ireland. *Mr. Sargent* then moved the sum of £272,266 for the service of the ordnance, which was granted.

For the ordnance of Ireland not provided for	£17,088
For the ordnance service not provided for in 1801.	102,119

The Irish supplies were brought forward by *Mr. Corry*, who moved that the sum of £372,158, be granted for the payment of treasury bills due within the year 1802.

For printing and binding the Journals of the Irish Parliament	£2,325
For printing and binding the Irish Statutes	6,951
For Persons employed in making Indexes, &c. to ditto	2,584
For certain Officers employed in making up Public Accounts	2,243

These several resolutions were agreed to, and the report was ordered to be received the next day.

The House now resolved itself into a committee on a proposition for augmenting the salary of the Lord High Chancellor of Ireland. *Mr. Corry* moved that the salary should be augmented to £10,000. After some debate the motion was agreed to.

On the report of the committee of supply on the peace establishment being brought up the next day, (Thursday, June 10,) *Mr. Fox* objected to the large military force which was to be kept up, and which, in his mind, could only be rendered necessary by improper measures. It ought not, he urged, at the utmost to be larger than the establishment of 1793. In reply, it was contended by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, that it was impossible not to acknowledge that, from the present state of Europe, a much larger force was necessary now than in the year 1793, and that such an enlarged establishment was not inconsistent with the truest principles of economy. After some business had been gone through, the question was put that the House should resolve itself into a committee on the Irish controverted election bill. It was strongly opposed by *Mr. Foster*, *Lord Temple*, and *Sir James Erskine*. *Mr. Lee*, *Colonel Bagwell*, and *Mr. Corry*, defended the principle of the bill. The question for going into a committee was carried by 58 votes against 11.

On Friday June 11, after some accounts had been presented, and motions made, *Mr. Dickinson* brought up a bill for the further suspension of the act of Henry VIII. respecting the residence of the clergy. It was read a first time. *Mr. Nicholls* moved for certain papers relative to the affairs of the Carnatic, which were ordered. The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then moved, that the account of the bounties on corn and rice imported into Scotland—of Exchequer Bills issued on the credit of aids by Parliament not provided for, &c. for the year 1800—of bills drawn on New South Wales, becoming due in the present year—of the estimate of expences for the repair of roads and bridges, &c. in Scotland—of the expense of the board of agriculture—of the Veterinary College—of the Sierra Leona Company Establishment, &c. now before the House, be referred to a committee of supply,—which being ordered accordingly, he moved the order of the day for the House resolving itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider further of a supply to be granted to his Majesty.

The House having resolved itself into a committee, the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* proceeded to state the deficiencies of the consolidated fund, which it would be necessary to make good, and also several other items which remained to be granted. He concluded by moving, that a sum not exceeding £2,076,600 should be granted to make good deficiencies of the consolidated fund. This resolution was put and carried, as were also the following sums:

	£.	s.	d.
For the Payment of Exchequer Bills for the year 1800, by way of Aid for Foreign Subsidies, &c.	1,066,493	7	1¾
For the Amount of Bills drawn on account of New South Wales, to become due in 1802.	30,000	0	0
For the Importation of Corn, Meal, Flour, and Rice, into Scotland, in the year 1802.	22,082	9	8
For repairing Military Roads, Bridges, &c. in North Britain, for the year 1802.	6,012	14	1
For the Expence of the Board of Agriculture, for 1802.	300	0	0
For the Support of the Veterinary College, for 1802.	1,500	0	0
For the Support of the British Museum, for 1802.	3,000	0	0
For the Support of the Levant Trade, for 1802.	5,000	0	0
To pay Mr. Edwards money ad-			

vanced by him on the Loan of 1795, and forfeited for want of future Payments.	1,108 o o

The attention of the committee was next called to the Sierra Leona Company, by *Lord Castlereagh*. His lordship contended, that the object of the company was a most meritorious one; that the natives of the country had proved themselves capable of cultivation and improvement; that the effect of this would be beneficial to Europe, and to this country in particular; and that the original object of the company having in a great measure failed, it was necessary to cultivate the country. The noble Lord then stated, that an expence of £10,000 had been incurred, in removing the Maroons and Nova Scotia Blacks to Sierra Leona, which it was necessary to provide for. He concluded by moving the sum of £10,000 for the purpose of defraying the expences of the civil establishment of the Sierra Leona Company. The utility of the colony was denied by *General Gascoyne*, *Mr. Dent*, and *Mr. Law*, and asserted by *Mr. Thornton*, and the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*. It was said, by those who opposed the motion, that the Timmanays, instead of being docile and tractable, were ferocious and bloody; and that under the pretence of propagating the christian religion, the missionaries carried on a traffic in British spirits with the inhabitants. To the first charge no answer was made; but, to the second, it was replied, that not brandy, but baize formed the medium of traffic. The sum moved was granted. The House having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved several resolutions relative to the surplus of the consolidated fund, the raising a loan of £1,500,000 on exchequer bills, the payment of the remaining £100,000 of the Queen of Portugal's subsidy, and the issuing a sum of £114,000, being the surplus of grants of 1801. The resolutions were agreed to. In the course of his statement the right hon. gentleman adverted to the imperial annuities, on the subject of which he read part of a letter from the minister of his Imperial Majesty in answer to a strong representation made on the part of the English government. In that letter the imperial court promised to use every means for the liquidation of the debt.

Nothing of much moment occurred in the House on Saturday (June 12.) An annuity of £2,000 a year, to commence from the 2d of September 1801, was granted to *Lord Hutchinson*. After some conversation, *Lord Sheffield* withdrew a motion which he had made for leave to bring in a bill to direct parish officers to make a return of the amount of the poor's rates raised in the years 1800, 1801, and 1802.

On Monday (June 14th,) *Mr. Forster* rose to make a motion relative to the general orders issued from the adjutant general's office in May last. In these orders it was stated, that it discharged those who had engaged to serve in the militia. This was an act for which there was no authority, as by the Militia Bill, neither the adjutant general, nor the government, had the power of issuing such orders. After some further observations, the hon. gentleman concluded by moving an address, for a copy of the order. A conversation took place, and the motion was dropped by *Mr. Forster*, on his being assured that it was intended to bring forward the papers next day. The House then went into a committee of supply, in which the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved the following sums, which were agreed to.

The Ordinances of the Navy.	£657,216
The Extraordinaries of the Navy. . . .	360,233
Transport Service and Prisoners of War	608,500
Sick Prisoners of War.	12,000
Valuation of Dutch Ships.	199,212
Foreign and Secret Service.	90,000
Increase of Pay to Naval Officers. . . .	30,000
Police Offices.	1,290
Trial of George Stratton, Esq.	1,184
Expences of Commissions for carrying into Execution the 6th and 7th Articles of the Treaty with America.	11,948
Republishing the Journals of the House of Commons.	4,065
Keeping the Journals of ditto during the present Session.	12,000
Expences of collecting the Population of the Country.	612
Repairing the House of Commons. . . .	19,991
New Office for the Duchy of Cornwall	698
State Prisoners.	333
Army Extraordinaries.	1,000,000

The sum of £50,000 for the army extraordinaries of Ireland was then moved by *Mr. Corry*, and agreed to, after some observations from *Mr. Tierney*. The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* now rose for the purpose of recapitulating the various heads of supply, and ways and means, and of making a comparison between the supplies of the present year and the last.

WAYS AND MEANS.

Duty on Pensions, Offices, personal Estates, &c.	£2,000,000
Duty on Malt	750,000
Lottery	370,000
Surplus Subscription on Exchequer Bills funded	180,874
Surplus Grants, 1801	114,000
Surplus Grants for Portugal	99,886

Surplus Consolidated Fund		4,500,000
Exchequer Bills on Aids, 1803	5,000,000	6,500,000
Ditto for Bank ditto .	1,500,000	
Loan		23,000,000
		37,514,760
To be provided for by Ireland		3,815,718
		41,330,478

SUPPLIES, 1801.

Navy (including Ordnance Sea Service)	£15,857,037	
Vote of Credit . . .	1,000,000	
Paid out of Supplies 1802	2,155,190	
		£19,012,227
Army	9,617,039	
Extraordinaries . . .	2,500,000	
Paid out of Supplies 1802	1,945,554	
Vote of Credit . . .	1,000,000	
On account of Ireland .	3,935,017	
		18,997,610
Ordnance	1,639,055	
On account of Ireland .	299,907	
		1,938,962
Miscellaneous	637,876	
On account of Ireland .	212,391	
		850,267
		£40,799,066

SUPPLIES, 1802.

Navy (including Ordnance Sea Service)	£11,833,573	
Towards discharging Debt . .	2,000,000	
	13,833,573	
Deduct paid for Services 1801	2,155,190	
		11,678,383
Army	6,764,621	
Extraordinaries . . .	1,600,000	
Do. unprovided for in 1801	1,847,174	
On account of Ireland .	2,640,173	
	12,851,968	
Deduct paid for Services 1801	1,945,554	
		10,906,414
Ordnance	1,192,274	
On account of Ireland .	203,076	
		1,395,350
Miscellaneous	921,861	
On account of Ireland .	273,119	
		1,194,980
		25,175,127
Less than in 1801 . . .		15,623,939
		£40,799,066

He would not, the right hon. gentleman said, pledge himself that such would be the exact difference, but the saving would certainly be great. It might perhaps be asked, why he then contracted for so large a loan? To this he would, in reply, state, the sums belonging to the supplies of 1802, for which provision had been made from grants of the present session. The following sums were included in the supplies of 1802, though not a part of the services of that year.

Deficiency Malt Duty, 1800	£429,774
To pay off Exchequer Bills on Aids, 1800	1,066,493
Navy for Services, 1801	2,155,190
Army ditto	1,945,554
Civil List Debt	990,053
To pay off Ex. Bills in possession of Bank	1,500,000
Deficiency Goods and Shipping, granted for 1801	410,000
To make good deficiency of 3,100,000 Surplus Consolidated Fund, granted for 1801	2,676,080
Bounties on Rice and Corn to 5th Jan. 1802	1,275,544
Amount of Ex. Bills funded, including Interest thereon	8,729,576
	21,178,264
Deduct new Ex. Bills on Aids, 1803	5,000,000
	16,178,264

That a difference of opinion was entertained respecting the effect of peace on the revenue, he knew, but was convinced, from every thing he had observed, that the taxes would not fall short of what they were in 1799. He would, however, take the year 1801 as a standard. On that calculation there would be the sum of £9,832,999 applicable to the public service. The right hon. gentleman concluded by moving, that a supply of £5,000,000, to be raised on Exchequer Bills, and charged on the first aids to be granted next session, should be granted to his Majesty. He also moved the sum of £114,000, being the surplus of grants for the year 1801. Both motions were put and carried. *Mr. Corry*, in a very able speech, then brought forward the details relative to the finances of Ireland. He commenced by stating some items which belonged to the services of last year, but were to be provided for in this; they amounted to 406,934. The charges of Ireland he divided into two parts; those chargeable on Ireland alone, and those borne by England and Ireland conjointly; the first amounting to £.3,298,555, and the latter to £4,129,000. The right hon. gentleman then entered into a minute account of the Irish taxes, and maintained that an increase of £.800,000 might be reasonably expected. With regard to the trade of Ireland, it was true that the exports had diminished, and the imports increased, but this arose from various circumstances not likely to occur again. He concluded by moving resolutions, for a tax upon exports and imports, similar to that paid in England. The statements of the right hon. gentleman were controverted by *Mr. For-*

ster and *Mr. Tierney*. *Mr. Forster, Mr. Wickham, Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Archdall, and Lord Castlereagh* replied. A conversation was continued for some time, which ended in the resolutions, moved by *Mr. Corry*, being put and carried. Some business before the house was then forwarded, and the house adjourned till the next day.

The next day (Tuesday, June 15) little business of consequence came before the house. Several bills were read a first and second time, some reports were received, and the Foreign Offence Trial Bill, and the Election Ballot Bill, read a third time and passed.

Nothing occurred of importance the ensuing day, (Wednesday, June 16.) Some resolutions were agreed to, and some bills forwarded in their respective stages. No debate took place.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Paris, June 13.

The General in Chief of the Army of St. Domingo to the Minister of the Marine and Colonies.

"*Head-Quarters at the Cape, May 8, 1802.*

"Citizen Minister,

"I hasten to send to you Citizen Bruyeres, my Aid-du-Camp, to inform you of the happy event of the re-establishment of tranquillity in this immense and beautiful colony.

"You have received dispatches containing the details of the military events which took place during the latter end of March and the beginning of April. Beaten every where, and dispersed, terror established itself in the camps of the rebels, who were without magazines, almost without powder, and who were reduced to live upon Bananas.

"The arrival of the squadrons from Flushing and Havre gave the last blow to the rebel power.

"Christophe informed me that he had always been a friend to the whites, whom he admired; that all the Europeans who had been at St. Domingo could attest his principles and his conduct; that imperious circumstances, which often decide the conduct of public men, had not left him at liberty to pursue that line of conduct which he wished; and, lastly, he desired to know if there was still any safety for him?—I replied, that with the French people there was always a door open to repentance; that it was the constant habit of the First Consul to weigh the actions of men, and that one crime alone, whatever might be its consequences, would never efface from his mind, services performed; that it was true, that the instructions I had received previous to my departure, were personally favourable to him; and lastly, that if he chose to place himself at my discretion, he should have reason to be satisfied.

"He still hesitated: several columns were ready to attack him; and some slight rencontres took place. At length, Christophe informed me that I had not sent to him any orders. I directed him to repair alone to the Cape; to send thither all the cultivators who were still with him, and to assemble all the troops who were under his orders. All this he punctually executed. More than 2000 inhabitants of the Cape, who were in the most distant hills, have returned. His magazines and artillery are in our possession, and about 1200 soldiers who were under his command, are united to our troops. A part of them have been disarmed, and sent back to culture; and the remainder I propose to incorporate with the colonial troops.

"The submission of Christophe completed the consternation of Toussaint. He employed every means to inform me of the unfortunate situation in which he found himself, and how much he saw with pain, that he was continuing a war without object, and without end. He added, that circumstances the most unfortunate, had already occasioned many evils, but that notwithstanding the force of the French army, he was still strong enough to ravage and destroy the country, and to sell dearly a life, which had been sometimes useful to the mother country.

"These communications, frequently reiterated, gave rise to the most serious reflections in my mind.

"Three-fourths of the colony had still escaped the miseries of desolation; and Toussaint and the blacks, although they had ravaged a part of the country, and carried on the war with extreme barbarity, had never seen France, had never received, during twelve years, any other than false ideas of our strength and our character.

"I informed Toussaint, that if he would repair to the Cape, pardon might yet be extended to him.

"Toussaint did not hesitate to profit by the permission I had given to him: he came to me, solicited for pardon, and swore to be faithful to France. I accepted his submission, and ordered him to repair to a plantation near Gonaïves, and not to depart from it without my permission.

"I have placed Dessalines in a plantation near Saint Marc.

"All the cultivators who had been carried off, have returned. I have incorporated with the colonial troops, as many of the black soldiers as I thought might be allowed to continue under arms.

"The magazines, and the pieces of artillery which had been drawn up steep rocks, and hidden in the most secret places, are daily delivered up to us: there are still more than an hundred remaining.

"A new epoch commences: you will see by the arretté, and the measures which I have taken, that we are occupied with activity in organizing the administration of the country.

"The bad season has commenced, but the repose which our troops will now experience, will enable us to go through it with the least possible loss. We have abundance of provisions, thanks to your care.

"Health and respect,

(Signed) "LECLERC."

The same to the same.

Cape, May 8, 1802.

"We are labouring to re-establish the Cape, with an activity which it is difficult to conceive. This town is rising out of its ashes.

"I cannot dissemble the mischief which has been done in several cantons of the colony; but having now, however, received the different accounts, I am convinced that more than three-fourths of the colony are untouched. The quarters of l'Artibonite, all the south part, the Mole, and Fort Liberté, are entirely preserved.

"American vessels arrive in crowds, in our ports, laden with flour, with deals, and other materials for building. Citizen Pichon writes me, that the Ame-

ricans are much discontented at the measure which I took at the moment of my arrival; but I think they are wrong. Agents of the American government were with Toussaint, who did not always suggest to him the best opinions.

" Muskets, powder, and cannon, were furnished with a renewed activity from the United States, as soon as the preliminary treaty was known there. It was natural, therefore, that I should take measures to prevent that communication with the rebels. Our commissaries in America were not sufficiently alive to the interests of the public purse. An unfortunate little brig which you sent thither cost 28,000 francs (£1,166 : 13 : 4). Citizen Pichon ought to have known that the brig was not worth half that sum.

" The National Commerce begins also to send out some vessels. I have given orders to place the colonial system in a state of activity as speedily as possible. Vessels coming from France pay no duty whatever on importation. They pay ten per cent. on exportation, but it may be found suitable to exact only five. As to the rest, I expect your directions forthwith. This can do no injury to commerce, as you can proportionably diminish the duties on West India produce.

" The colony, otherwise, is in a situation to receive such commercial regulations as you may make; and if the great commercial towns prepare to furnish us with what we want, there will be little difficulty in reviving the edicts of 1784, respecting the customs.

" For the rest, Citizen Ministers, assure the First Consul that I shall not lose an instant in considering the instructions given to me, in every point of view, political and commercial; and that I shall regard the day when the national commerce will be alone sufficient for St. Domingo, as a happy day for myself and the army, as a colonial war ought to have for its result the triumph of commerce.

" I have sent General Dugua into the south part: General Rochambeau is on the side of St. Marc.

" I can only pronounce an eulogy on the whole army; but I must make particular mention of the zeal and services of General Rochambeau.

" I must also praise the activity of the Chief Commissary Daure.

" Health and respect,
(Signed) " LECLERC."

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Parliament is still detained by a long list of most momentous affairs. The important bill about *Ashes* and *Pidgeon's dung*," and the no less important bill about *Bull-baiting*, are, indeed, happily disposed of; but, there remain for discussion, or at least for passing, the *Heath Fowl* Bill, the *Deer-stealing* Bill, the *Scotch Schoolmaster's* Bill, the *Hydrometre* (alias *Proof-glass* Bill,) the *Little Goes* Bill, and many others too tedious to mention. After the Parliament is dissolved, we shall probably find leisure to make a review of its proceedings. Rousseau says, that Englishmen are free only forty days in seven years, and that, the use they then make of their liberty, proves that they deserve to be slaves. What degree of truth there may be in this remark, it is not in our power to determine: but we shall endeavour, by our conduct, during the approaching forty days, to wipe off from ourselves, at any rate, the barge which this hireling Swiss has brought against our country.

The bill for granting money to the Colony of Sierra Leona, has passed the House of Commons, but will, very probably, be stopped in the Lords. The *sum* is not the object to be considered; though, when *poverty* obliges us to make a disgraceful peace, *ten thousand pounds* is, one would think, a sum worthy the attention of the *guardians* of the people's money. But, it is the principle, which this grant sanctions, that we regard as objectionable; and, we hall, in a short time, endeavour to convince the public, that every object, which the planners and supporters of this colony have in view, tend to the injury of Great-Britain.

In another part of the Register, we have continued our extract from the report of the Special Committee of the Court of East-India Directors, which extract we beg leave to recommend to the perusal of all those who may not have an opportunity of seeing the report itself. We cannot but consider the subjects, to which this extract relates, as of very great importance. The question between Mr. Dundas and the East-India Company is no longer a thing to be decided by argument and calculation, but by *parliamentary force*. Both parties have thrown away the scabbard; but the hardy Thane, clad in the impenetrable armour which nature has given him, and surrounded by his numerous and trusty clan, will, we fear, find little difficulty in discomfiting the fat and timid squadrons of Leadenhall Street. By those who wish to possess correct information on political matters, great care should be taken to gather up, *now*, every thing relating to this dispute, which we cannot help regarding as the commencement of a struggle, which will finally end in the independence of " our Eastern Em-" pire." Mr. Dundas has resolved to rule that empire; and who shall say him nay? We shall, as we promised, offer our opinion on the subject of this dispute, when we have closed our extracts from the report of the Special Committee. We wish to think and to speak correctly; and, though we do certainly look with a suspicious eye on the projects of the minister, who lost ten thousand men and twenty millions of money in St. Domingo, we shall hear him with patience, and decide on his statements with impartiality.

It appears from the Dutch papers, that a proposition has been made to permit the

transit of British goods, in the same way as *during the war*, not as *before* the war, as it has been erroneously stated. A commercial arrangement with France will, probably, be the result of the negociation now said to be begun in Downing Street; but, we have no scruple in predicting, that, for us, not one single advantage will be obtained, except by the sacrifice of some portion of our navigation laws. The ship-owners, who do, indeed, appear to be awake at last, will do well to watch the progress of the negociation; for, they have recently seen, that when the mischief is done, it is too late to complain. But, why should the ship-owners alone be looked to for resistance? Why should we not hope, that the whole nation would unite in opposing, inch by inch, any compact which should tend to the destruction of our naval power? Alas! there is no foundation for such hope. A people base enough to rejoice at the peace of Amiens, would give up their last cannon for the sake of selling a single bale of cottons or a crate of crockery.

The news from St. Domingo has, we understand, filled Downing-Street with consternation; and well it may; for Leclerc will now have time to *look about* him, and woe be unto the island on which he shall fix his affection. While we sincerely lament that any thing should happen favourable to the views of France, we cannot, however, totally suppress that satisfaction, which merely as politicians we may be allowed to feel at the accomplishment of a prediction, in which we have, during several months, persisted, in opposition to the opinions of ninety-nine hundredths of the people, not excepting our own readers. We shall indulge ourselves here, in quoting one of the prognostications relative to this subject, from Cobbett's Letters to Lord Hawkesbury, on the Preliminaries of Peace, 2d edition, p. 64.

"It is absolutely impossible but Tous-"saint must fall in a struggle against the "French Government, disengaged from "every embarrassment, and having at her "nod thousands and tens of thousands "of soldiers, officers, and generals, inured "to all the fatigues and dangers of war, "and emboldened by victory. For some "time, perhaps, the mountains in the cen-"tre of the island may shelter the strug-"gling remnant of the sable battalions, a "tribe of savage maroons may thus be "formed, to live upon wild fruits, terrify "the settlers in the vicinity of the moun-"tains, and steal their hogs and poultry; "but, destitute of arms and ammunition, "what can they do against a colony, pow-"erful in itself, and supported by a mother "country which has given law to all "Europe? In short, it would be totally "impossible for these wandering fugitives "to exist long in time of peace. The "rigour of the republican measures, and the "dispatch with which they are executed, "are well known. Buonaparté would "only have to say, as in the case of the "unfortunate Chouans, "*qu'on me dise, "avant six jours*, QU'ILS ONT VECU!"

"In answer to this, my lord, your parti-"zans, will cry '*so much the better!*' Nay, "these sapient politicians go so far as to "assert, that by a secret article of your "treaty, Great-Britain is to assist Buona-"parté in re-establishing the colonial sys-"tem of the island, and, of course, in mak-"ing war against its present ruler, whose "title is much better than that of Buona-"parte's, and with whom, be it remember-"ed, my lord, Great-Britain *has at this "moment a treaty of amity and commerce!* "However, since we happened to come "too late to preserve this island in a flou-"rishing state for our enemy, the only "way of obtaining pardon for our negligence "is to lend a hand in repairing the inju-"ries which have arisen therefrom.

"But, my lord, be assured that Buona-"parté will find a way of doing this with-"out our aid; I will venture to foretell "the destiny of the negro army, which "amounts to from 30 to 40,000 men, and "the existence of which you regard as in-"compatible with that of the colonial sys-"tem, not only of St. Domingo, but of our "islands also. This army, my lord, divid-"ed in its councils, corrupted or intimidat-"ed, will be very soon beaten, and in "great part *destroyed*; for, to conquer and "to spare, is by no means a republican "maxim. Those who escape the lead and "the steel will not amount to many thou-"sands; and, lest they should again trou-"ble the tranquillity of the island, they "will be employed, together with the very "army by whom they have been con-"quered, to invade, to subdue, to lay "waste, and destroy our island of Jamai-"ca, which is separated from them by a "distance of not many hours sail. Spanish "America will be their next prey; a prey "which they will very quietly seize on, in "spite of our island of Trinidada, which "is doubtless a second Garden of Eden, "since we have given up the wide world to "obtain it."

Now, we beg the reader to compare the opinions given in this passage, with the

events, as related in Leclerc's dispatches. The negro army *have* been divided in their councils, they *have* been corrupted or intimidated; one after another the black generals have deserted Toussaint; they *have* been driven into the centre of the island, their ammunition and provisions *have* been cut off; they *have* been soon beaten, and the remnant of the sable battalions *have* been formed into legions, and are now prepared to fight under the banners of their conqueror.

The infatuation which has prevailed here, respecting the result of the French expedition to St. Domingo, will, unless we explain the cause of it, be totally unaccountable to those of our readers who may happen to reside in foreign countries. What men ardently *desire*, they are very apt to *believe*; and, from a singular combination of motives, almost every man in the kingdom, ardently desired, that the French might be defeated in St. Domingo; or, at least, that the war might be of very long duration. The ministerialists desired it, as a justification of their conduct in permitting the armament to sail, and as a diversion of the power of France, which, however great their ignorance and indifference, they must view with some degree of apprehension. They hoped, that the French army would be commanded by a second General Maitland; that it would perish, some how or other; that another would be sent; that that would perish also; and so on, for ten or a dozen years. The ministerial writers, therefore, constantly affected to dread the failure of the expedition, but, at the same time, used every art to persuade their readers, that such failure was inevitable.—The democratic papers, of which there are no small number, wished success to Toussaint, merely upon a levelling principle; merely because he was, in name, at least, a rebel.—The Puritans and Philanthropists (who are very nearly related) prayed and sighed for the negro, the former regarding him as one of the elect (for the *blacker* the sinner the brighter the saint), and the latter as a "fellow man", a brother citizen of the world.—Then, as to the gentlemen of the army, whose opinions must, on such a subject, have much weight with the public, the reputation of their body in no small degree depended upon the complete success of Toussaint. *They* had tried their skill and courage against him, and they had failed: it was, therefore, impossible for them not to desire, that the French should also fail; because they must have anticipated, in the contrary event, the *comparison* which the world would draw between French and British officers; a comparison which ought to be drawn, and at which, in an address to that gallant officer, General Maitland, we shall next week make an humble attempt.—Besides these particular causes of infatuation, there was one more general, and more honourable to the parties; we mean, a hatred of France, and a wish to see her fail in every thing that might, either directly or indirectly, tend to the extension of her power, or the increase of her riches.—The channels, too, through which we received our intelligence, were well calculated to distort and disguise every thing. The people of Jamaica were by no means desirous to see the lands of St. Domingo restored to cultivation, nor to see the army of Leclerc at leisure to step across to their little island; all news from that quarter, therefore, was sure to be rendered as gloomy as possible; and, if we recollect right, the very last letters from Jamaica, affect to regard the expedition as "hopeless." From the United States of America more truth might have been expected, had not Leclerc seized on the American cargoes, and sent home the captains full of bitterness against him. Thus was that source poisoned; and the credit, which might have been paid to the official dispatches, was constantly impaired, or destroyed, by the insinuations contained in our prints (particularly the *ministerial* ones), of *private* letters from Leclerc, contradicting the public ones, and of the prohibition which was laid on the prints at Paris, not to circulate the knowledge of certain disastrous events, which were, from time to time, said to have happened to the French army.

Owing to all these causes, it is, that this nation has been completely deceived with respect to one of the most interesting and important events that ever took place in any part of the world; an event which, at once, gives to France a decided superiority in the West Indies, lays the sure and certain foundation for a revival of her commercial and naval greatness, at the same time that it exposes our most valuable colonies to be attacked at her pleasure, and, of course, diminishes the value of those colonies, while it increases the expense of maintaining them. In fact, it lays the axe to the root of our West-India system, and we shall be very much surprized, if England should hold an island in those seas, ten years from this day, "Then farewell, a long farewell, to all our greatness!"

The Negro-loving philanthropists affect

to believe, that Toussaint has ended the war "*honourably*;" that he has obtained "*terms*;" that the French have been compelled to "*respect*" him. The *terms* he and his two Lieutenant-Generals have obtained, are, to come instantly in, alone and unarmed, and to submit to the *discretion* of Leclerc, who did not promise to spare even their *lives*. He has sent them to three different plantations; that is to say, to be shut up in three houses, which are on those plantations; and if he does not hang them (which we hope will be the case, he will crown his most brilliant campaign by an act of generosity worthy of a conqueror. As Henry VII. placed Perkin Warbeck in his kitchen, so Leclerc would do well to place Toussaint on the box of his carriage, an office which he formerly filled with great reputation.

Much pains will be taken to disfigure the history of this war, of which we shall, therefore, take an early opportunity to give a succinct account, in two or three letters addressed to General Maitland; and, in the mean time, we beg of our readers, to give no credit to the numerous tales, which will be invented with a view to diminish, in the eyes of the people of this country, the value, the fearful importance, of that immense colony, of which our enemy has, by the remissness of His Majesty's Ministers, in so short a space of time, obtained a complete possession.

The mouth of the Mississippi presents a scene by no means uninteresting. Some of the London papers have lately stated, that Gen. Bowles, the Indian Chief, or rather the Chief of the Chiefs, has been defeated and taken prisoner by the Spaniards. We do not believe this. Letters from Nassau, of the 14th of April, speak of no such event; but, on the contrary, represent Gen. Bowles as presenting a very formidable aspect to his foes. Some time after his return from this country, he was chosen Director General of the nations inhabiting the territory of West and great part of East Florida. His principal station is at Espiritu Santo Bay, where he has established a Court of Admiralty, and granted commissions to cruize against the Spaniards, with whom he is at war. He had, previous to the 14th of April, made several prizes, one of which had been seized at Nassau (New Providence), and a suit had been commenced respecting it, in the Admiralty Court at that place. He acknowledges no allegiance to this country, nor to any other. He is the lawful sovereign of the territory which he inhabits, and is perfectly independent of all nations; an independence which, we trust, he will be able for ever to maintain. He has skill and courage; all that he wants is, *powder* and *lead*; and, well supplied with these, as we hope he will be, he will give some annoyance to the legions of Buonaparté, who will find in him a foe very different indeed from the silly, wavering, cowardly Toussaint.

PRICES OF THE PUBLIC FUNDS.

	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.
Bank Stock . . .	—	—	183	184	184	—
3 pr Cent. Red. An.	72½	72½	72½	72⅞	73⅜	73¾
3 per Cent. Cons.	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 per Cent. Cons.	87½	87⅞	87½	88	88⅛	89⅛
5 per Cent. Ann.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bank Long Ann.	20⅝	20⅝	20⅝	20¾	21	21
Do. Short 1778-79	5	4 7/32	5	5	5	5
Imp. 3 per Cent.	—	70⅞	71	71¾	71¼	72 3/32
Do. Ann.	12	—	12	12⅛	12¼	12⅛
5 per Cent. 1797	103	103⅜	103¼	103 5/32	104 3/32	104⅛
Omnium (disc.)	1	1¼	1	⅜	¼	¼
India Stock . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
Do. Bonds	—	—	—	—	—	—
South Sea Stock	—	—	—	—	—	—
Do. Old Ann. . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
Do. New	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 per Cent. 1751	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Navy Bills	—	—	—	—	—	—
Exchequer do. .	—	—	—	—	—	—
Irish 5 per Cent.	99	—	99½	100	100¼	100½
Irish Debentures	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lottery Tickets	—	—	—	—	—	—

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 55 f. 60 c.

Bread *Ten Pence Farthing* the Quartern Loaf.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. c. f.	10 17 us.	LEGHORN	51
Do. at sight	10 13	NAPLES	44
ROTTERDAM	10 18 us.	GENOA	47
HAMBURGH	33 4 2½ us.	VENICE, 59¾ livres piccole effective pr. £. ster.	
ALTONA. . .	33 5 2½ us.		
PARIS 1 day	23 15	LISBON	67
BOURDEAUX	24 1	OPORTO	67¼
CADIZ . . 34	in paper	DUBLIN	12½
DITTO . . 35½	effective	BILBOA 36	Do.
Madrid . 34	in paper	PALERMO	
DITTO . . 36½	effective	AGIO, bank on Hol.	p.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER, *near Guildford, in Surry, for the month of June* 1802.

Days.	M's ☌ ☉	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barometer. Inches. M.	Barometer. Inches. A.	Thermometer. Degrees. M.	Thermometer. Degrees. A.
10		Rain.	sw	sw	29,5	29,55	55,5	58
11		Fine.	sw	sw	29,6	29,6	59	62,5
12		Sho. Fair.	sw	sw	29,73	29,75	59,8	63
13		Sho. Fair.	sw	sw	29,81	29,84	60	63
14		Fine.	sw	sw	29,99	29,9	61	65
15	☉	Fine.	NW	NW	30,03	30,01	69	69
16		Fine.	WNW	WNW	30,03	30	68	71

● *New Moon.* ☾ *1st Quar.* ○ *F. Moon.* ☽ *last Quar.*

LONDON,

LONDON, June 19 to June 26, 1802.

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,

Agreeably to the promise which I made in the conclusion of my last letter, (Register, p. 709) I now proceed to make some observations with a view of pointing out the cause to which, in my opinion, the present perilous situation of this country can alone be attributed.

One of the most important advantages to be derived from the study of history, is, that, by being made acquainted with the foundation and rise of states and empires, we are led to an admiration of the patriotism, and hence perhaps to an imitation of the exertions, which conduced to their true glory and prosperity. For, that man must be destitute of every noble principle who can read of the exploits of an Athenian, a Lacedæmonian, or a Roman patriot, without being in some degree inspired with the same feelings—with the same *amor patriæ*, which were so eminently possessed by the heroes of antiquity, and to which their admirable historians have done so much justice. But, as the glory of the Grecian states has long since vanished, and as the vast empires of the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Medes and Persians, the Macedonians, and the Romans, with others of later date, have likewise disappeared, we ought not merely to advert to those circumstances which constituted their greatness; but we ought also to endeavour to become acquainted with the causes of their declension and fall. To statesmen, indeed, this knowledge is of primary importance, and a due attention to it appears indispensably necessary for the preservation of a state; for, as similar causes may always naturally be expected to produce similar effects, there is certainly great reason to apprehend, that bad consequences will ensue to any country in which the evils that have been generally observed to occasion the ruin of empires are known to prevail. Of those evils, LUXURY has always proved the most fatal, and indeed it alone may be considered as the great cause of the fall of the once flourishing and powerful states which we read of in history. I would ask, then, does this pernicious evil at present exist in *this* country? And, I am confident, every attentive observer of the manners of the age must answer in the affirmative.

If, Sir, we be warranted in forming an opinion on the subject from the conduct of the greater number of our statesmen, and particularly from what it has been since the conclusion of the late disgraceful negotiation for peace, I trust you will agree with me, that "the dereliction of principle and "indifference with respect to the honour of "the nation," the effects of which we have so great cause to lament, may, with truth, be said to proceed, in a great degree, from that *lethargic sloth and effeminacy* into which our statesmen, with a few exceptions, seem to have sunk. That this, indeed, is the case, appears to me so evident as not even to admit of a doubt; for it is a fact which observation and experience unfortunately confirm, that the love of ease and pleasure has a most direct tendency to extinguish that of glory, liberty, and independence; and, to prove the lamentable prevalence of this love of pleasure at the present moment, it is only necessary to peruse our daily prints, several of which contain little else than accounts of routs, masquerades, balls, midnight revels, *private* theatrical performances, &c.

But it may be alleged, as an excuse for indulging in the effeminate irregularities above-mentioned, that they have in former times been as prevalent as at present, without being attended with any bad effect to the country. This, however, cannot be considered as an argument in their favour; for, as it is true that every vapour or "fume doth not turn into a storm, so it is "nevertheless true, that storms, though "they blow over divers times, yet may "fall at last:" and we have seen, in the present instance, that the evil in question has been productive of the most direful effects; that it has reduced the majority of our statesmen to such an abject condition, that a peace made on dishonourable terms, has met with the approbation of Parliament, at a time when the country was in a prosperous and flourishing state, nay, even when

her arms were triumphant!!! Thus it appears but too evident, that "our arch of "empire" may, alas! now be called "a "mutilated structure;" but I still trust, it is not "soon to fall." Great efforts, however, are necessary to counteract the evils which exist; and, as I flatter myself that the exertions which you, Mr. Editor, have already evinced your ability and willingness to use, will *not* ultimately fail to rouse the latent energies of the country, I shall have fully attained the object of this letter, if what I have stated be the means of directing your serious attention to this momentous subject.

I would now proceed to suggest the only remedy that, in my opinion, can prove effectual for the removal of the evils abovementioned; but, as, I suspect, my ideas of that matter do not entirely coincide with yours, I shall defer communicating them for the present.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient
and very humble Servant,
Philo-Misogalli.

Skarny-hillock, June 19, 1802.

TO PHILO-MISOGALLI.

Sir,

Your former letter, notwithstanding I could but regard it as a sort of reproof, I hesitated not to insert, in the hope of thereby encouraging you to communicate to my readers, that *consolation* which, I confess, it is not in my power to offer them. You have kept your promise with respect to the primary cause of our present degradation; but, alas! I find, in your letter, no means pointed out for averting its final and fatal consequences. You have blamed me for having probed the wound, for having ascertained its depth and its deadly state, without having made an attempt to heal it: you yourself have only added to the alarm which I have excited, by showing that the evil is to be attributed to a cause, which, it is greatly to be feared, will never cease to operate, till total ruin shall have overtaken us. The lethargy and effeminacy which characterize the rich, and the total want of patriotism and love of glory which prevails amongst *all* ranks of the people, are evils not to be cured but by those great national calamities, which, in the end, they never fail to produce, and which are neither to be hastened nor retarded by any effort of mine or yours.

I am, Sir,
Your most humble
and obedient Servant,
Wm. Cobbett.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

On Thursday (June 17) no debate of consequence took place in the House of Lords. After some business before the House had been gone through, the order of the day for their lordships to go into a committee on the Debtors' Relief Bill was read. The bill was opposed by *Lord Alvanley*, who thought it highly objectionable, as it would go to place an unfortunate debtor in the worst situation of a bankrupt, without affording him the benefit of the bankrupt laws, and as it likewise affected the leading provisions of the Act of the 32d Geo. II. His lordship also stated various other grounds of objection, and concluded by moving that "the bill should "be committed this day three months." The bill was defended by the *Lord Chancellor*, and the *Earl of Carysfort*, who were, however, of opinion with Lord Alvanley, that from the lateness of the session and the thinness of the House it would be better to postpone the consideration of the bill. It was, therefore, ordered to be committed that day three months.

Some debate took place the next day (June 18) on the consideration of a motion for the repeal of the 129th standing order of the House, which relates to the pedigree of peers. The motion was opposed by the *Earl of Suffolk*, and the *Duke of Norfolk*, who contended that the order was of long standing, and had been productive of the best consequences. It was supported by *Lord Thurlow*, the *Lord Chancellor*, and other noble lords. An amendment, modifying the motion, was proposed by *Lord Auckland*, and negatived. The subject was, at last, postponed till next session.

Nothing particular occurred on Saturday (June 19). On Monday (June 21) the consideration of Glenken's Canal Bill produced a debate of some length and no little interest. *Lord Thurlow*, the *Lord Chancellor*, *Lord Alvanley*, and the *Lord Chief Justice* disapproved of the principle of the bill, particularly of those parts of it, which, in order to purchase shares in this canal, authorized the sale of *entailed estates*. A motion was

finally made for the omission of these clauses, which was carried 16 to 8. The further consideration of the bill was deferred till the next day. On the question for the commitment of the Foreign Letters' Postage Bill, the *Earl of Suffolk* called the attention of the House to some grievances which the inhabitants of Dover would be under by those provisions of the bill which went to exempt French packets from tonnage, by which means those vessels would be enabled to take over passengers much cheaper than the Dover Packet Owners could afford to do. It was the intention of the inhabitants to instruct their representative on the occasion. He knew not whether it was regular on such a bill as that in question for petitions to be heard by counsel against it, in the same session, but if it were, he would suggest the propriety of such a proceeding. *Lord Auckland* in a statement of some length, and which included some official details, replied to the objections urged by the noble earl, in the course of which he stated that the return of peace joined to considerations of commercial convenience, rendered it advisable to equalize the rates of postage on letters to France, Holland, and Hamburgh, which now were fixed at 10d. 12d. and 16d. From this arrangement, however apparently disadvantageous, he was confident the post revenues would not eventually suffer. With respect to the alleged grievances stated by the noble earl, he argued that the regulation could have no such effect. The tonnage duty was taken off from packets coming with the mails, and which was done from the considerations he had stated, and also in consideration of the duty of 7*l.* for every packet, which the French government had during the war laid on English vessels being taken off; in regulating those matters he observed the French government manifested every friendly symptom. The tonnage duty to which, so we understand his lordship, the Dover packets were liable, was only 1s. per ton, and these vessels ran to no more than from 35 to 50 tons; but the regulation did not affect them at all, as eventually the difference would be made good to them.

Little was done in the House of Commons on Thursday (June 17). Some conversation took place on the third reading of the Irish Controverted Election Bill. On the question being put for the passing of the bill, it was opposed by *Mr. Dawson*, and defended by *Mr. Leigh*. The bill passed. A petition was presented by *Mr. Lushington* from the Ship Owners of London against the Tonnage Bill. *Mr. Lushington* stated that as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had declared to the deputation of ship owners that he believed they were able to pay the tax, but if he found they were not, it should be altered, no objection could be made to having the petition and facts, on a future occasion, taken into serious consideration. *Mr. Tierney* moved his resolutions on finances, and the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* gave notice that he should move his counter resolutions on Monday. Some other business was then gone through, and the House adjourned.

No debate took place in the House on the two following days (Friday 18 and Saturday 19). The National Debt Bill, the Little Goes Bill, the 1,500,000*l.* Exchequer Bills Bill, the Land Tax Redemption Bill, the Irish Uncertificated Bankrupt Bill, the Deer Stealing Bill, Lord Hutchinson's Annuity Bill, the Hydrometer Bill, the Isle of Man Bill, and the Milford Haven Bill, were read a third time and passed. Several reports were received, and several bills forwarded.

Extract from the Report of the Select Committee of the Directors of the East-India Company.

(Continued from p. 712.)

"On many occasions, the Indian Agents appear to overrate their knowledge of foreigners and foreign trade; their principles and arguments are often purely theoretical, contradicted by facts and the experience of practical merchants. They cannot abandon the idea, that, if they can deprive the Company of any part of their rights, the whole of what is so taken must fall *exclusively* to themselves. It is for this reason that, whilst they are struggling to wrest the whole monopoly from the Company, they are equally anxious and clamorous to preserve inviolate what they call the name, and consequently the *odium* of *monopoly*, to the Company;—whilst themselves, their Indian ships, and Lascars, must (as they pretend) enjoy every advantage, they are strong advocates for every other description of exclusion; that they will not suffer any other British merchant, British ship, or British seamen to interfere with what they are pleased to call the *exclusive* trade of the Company. They contend, that the commerce of India cannot be carried on under the restrictions imposed by the Company; they propose, therefore, to free themselves from those restrictions, whilst they would leave them imposed on those who, they think, might be their competitors in turn. But they are not aware, that, whilst they contend to destroy the part of an ancient, firm, extensive fabric, over which they have no legal right or claim whatever, the ancient, real proprietors, finding themselves deprived of that broad shield, which has hitherto protected and pre-

served inviolate, under the British Constitution, all Corporate Bodies may spurn at the ruin which will remain.

" During a war of about nine years, the commerce of the world has flowed into the lap of Great-Britain, in consequence of the seas having been covered with her fleets. The Indian Agents have blinded the eyes of superficial observers, by proposing to substitute their *enterprise* after the peace, in order to produce the same effect which the British cannon has done during the war. If it shall be thought right to destroy a Corporate Body, and a system held sacred above two centuries, it surely merits due consideration, and ought not to be the work of a moment of delirium; for the Company will venture to assert, that the increased trade has not been in consequence of the enterprise of indivials alone, but may be attributed distinctly to British valour and unprecedented naval success.

" Two years (a very short period indeed, when compared with the importance of the subject) is fully sufficient to convict the Indian Agents of error and fallacy in every point which they have advanced on their side of the question; for it is supposed that Foreigners cannot immediately take advantage of the peace, and therefore it may require that time to judge of the effect which will be produced by their appearing once more as free traders and navigators in the Indian seas. But every motive and every reason calls on his Majesty's Ministers to pause before they destroy the chartered rights and ancient system of the East-India Company. When it was proposed in the General Court to refer this question to opinions of high authority, it was declined in the then state of the question, as not consistent with the dignity of the Company; at the same time that it would have proved extremely invidious to the great and respectable characters whose names were mentioned on the occasion. If the business shall again be brought into Parliament, this circumstance will give it a complexion totally different; and your Committee hope, therefore, that before any decisive measure shall be adopted, his Majesty's ministers and the public may be aided by the opinions of Marquis Cornwallis, Lord Teignmouth, and Mr. Hastings, relative to the views and conduct of private traders; as their profound knowledge and extensive experience of the past will enable them to form a more competent judgment how far the pretensions of those traders are consistent with the rights of the Company, and more particularly with the safety of the British Empire in India.

" The concessions made in the year 1793, are the source from whence the present claims spring. If those claims are granted, they will serve as the means to introduce others hereafter—if they do not, at an early period, substitute a few favoured individuals on the ruin of the Company: it is therefore incumbent on the Court of Directors, when they find the danger inevitable, to declare to their constituents and to the public, that it is preferable to open the trade with India to every British ship, and every British subject, rather than suffer the Company to remain as a flimsy veil, to reward the intrigues, and to gratify the avarice of a few Indian Agents and Traders. Your Committee must insist, that the *real* enemy of the Company is the private trader, when he steps beyond the bound prescribed by law. Foreigners have a *bonâ fide* trade:—almost the whole of their exports are paid for in silver, which contributes to the prosperity of the empire in India, without prejudice to the mother country. On the other hand, private traders encroach every where on the Company: they absorb those funds, which are wanted for political as well as commercial purposes: their intercourse and connexions with the interior of India tend to shake, and must ultimately destroy, the authority of the British Government; whilst their attempt to introduce the ships of India, to the exclusion of the ships of Great-Britain and Ireland, crowns the whole.

" There appears to be an apprehension about the foreign trade, which no practical foreign merchant can understand. It is but fair to ask for a single instance, wherein it has succeeded? With regard to foreign Companies, they stood before the war in the following situation:

" That of Sweden traded to China only, and was almost annihilated by the Commutation Act."

" The Danish China Company nearly in the same predicament.

" The Danish India Company ruined.

" The Embden India Company was trifling, but ruined.

" The Dutch Company was in great distress; since ruined.

" The Trieste Company ruined, with the loss of almost the whole of her capital.

" Those of France have been numerous, but unfortunate.

" Portugal never had a regular Company, and those of Spain are not worth notice; except that no instance appears of success.

" All the maritime states of Europe have at times looked to India as a source of strength and riches. Only two nations, however, have been able for any long period to make their intercourse with India productive of great national benefit—Great-Britain and the late United Provinces: both have combined considerable territorial acquisitions, with exclusive commerce, and through the medium of an exclusive Company.

" Private merchants on the Continent were successful until the Presidencies in India were permitted to draw on the Company at home for the liquidation of the debts in India. Since that period, numerous failures have happened abroad, and those merchants who carried on the trade formerly, are at this time comparatively insignificant.—These observations apply much more pointedly, when it is considered that the private traders build the whole of their speculation on a *cheap rate of freight*; that the Company's rate of peace-freight (which was high before the war), has been considerably reduced, and that the rate of freight for Indian ships has been, on some occasions, very much increased.

" It is further remarkable that in France, where the Company was abolished, in consequence of the clamour of individuals, the government there, after having been witness to the ruin which followed, and after the most mature deliberation, determined to re-establish the Company. Amidst this wreck of general and individual enterprise, the English East-India Company alone was able to rear its broad front with a proud and envied preeminence; and although year after year she was threatened with incumbent ruin, yet every year seemed to add something to her strength and her power.

" Some time since an attempt was made to establish a rival Bank, under the specious pretence of the advantage which would result from competition. There could be no doubt about the additional facility which a few enterprizing men would derive for a short time, to assist their wild extensive projects;—the public immediately saw through the delusion, and the first attempt to bring the measure forward in

the House of Commons was instantly crushed. It is remarkable, however, that the attempt at that time to invade the Charter of the Bank of England, and that which is now making to destroy the East-India Company, spring from the same source.

" The monopoly of the exclusive trade has continued, since the year 1600, with slight variations. The exigencies of government, and that prudence, which sometimes prescribes a temporary sacrifice to popular prejudices, have at some periods seemed to favour the views of individual adventurers; but those appearances lasted no longer than the necessity which extorted them. It was rather a connivance than a license; nor does it appear that those individuals succeeded in their speculations. They bought, at a high price, from the poverty of the State, or the venality of its members, a permission to ruin themselves.

" There occurs only one instance that forms an exception to the uniform opinion of government on this great and important commercial point; it is the attempt of Oliver Cromwell, about the year 1655, to lay the trade open. This bold experiment terminated as might have been expected; it confirmed the Protector in the wisdom of that policy which he had doubted. The monopoly was re-established, and the Company's temporary abolition became, in its consequences, their triumph.

" Towards the close of the seventeenth century, two rival companies existed, (the object contended for at present by the private traders, who would enjoy every advantage, free from the restraints and the expense of a corporate body,) when it was found that the success of either was impossible, and the ruin of both was probable:—an union was therefore loudly called for, and accomplished, under the arbitration and award of Lord Godolphin. The Charter, which was passed on the 12th of April 1686, concludes with energetic words on the subject of the Company's exclusive trade; and with which your Committee will beg leave to terminate their labours, *viz.* " Be-" ing fully satisfied that the trade cannot be main-" tained and carried on to a national advantage, but " by one general joint stock; and that a loose and " general trade will be the ruin of the whole."

" Having thus brought to a conclusion the observations which your Committee have to offer to the Court, on the abstract questions of trade and ships, they beg leave to observe, that they have not discussed the fatal consequences which must arise from establishing the first and most dangerous principle of colonization; as they have demonstrated in their former reports, that the plans of the private traders (if admitted) must terminate in the destruction of the British Empire in India.

" Nor have they touched on the commercial rights of the Company to regulate and to transmit dispatches to India on this subject; for although the Commissioners have expressed their doubts, yet they do not deny the rights of the Company. But as a Proprietor in the General Court has manifested a disposition to agitate this question, your Committee have annexed extracts from two letters*, the one dated in 1787, not long after the establishment of the Board of Commissioners; the other dated so late as the 21st of March 1801; in both which the rights of the Company are expressly acknowledged.

Charles Mills, J. Roberts, F. Baring, Jacob Bosanquet, Hugh Inglis, Joseph Cotton, Abraham Robarts, Edw. Parry.

East-India House, 25th March 1802.

EAST-INDIA HOUSE.

On Wednesday, the 23d inst. a Quarterly General Court was held. After dis-

---

Extract of a Letter from the Commissioners for the Affairs of India to the Court of Directors, dated Whitehall, 27th January 1787.

" In the tenth paragraph of your Commercial Draft, No. 272, we have altered one word, by substituting *unwarrantable* in place of *shameful*. The sense is equally preserved, notwithstanding the alteration; and we are sure it must be your disposition, as much as ours, to treat the Members of your Supreme Government in India with every possible respect, for in preserving their dignity, you in truth are preserving your own. Where disapprobation of a measure is necessary, it must be conveyed to them pointedly and intelligibly; but unless you mean to recall them from your service, it will certainly be your disposition to apply no mode of expression to them, which almost renders it incompatible with their feelings as Gentlemen to remain in their situations. We are the more anxious that this dispatch should not contain one exceptionable word, because, having perused it with great attention, it is impossible for us not to feel the highest satisfaction from the attention and ability with which you have treated the subject: and we are persuaded that a continuance of the same attention to your commercial administration will redound greatly to your own honour, and the benefit of your constituents. We feel ourselves at liberty to say this with the more freedom, as we are speaking of a *department* of *your business* where the *administration*, and of course the credit resulting from it, is exclusively your own.

W. Pitt, Henry Dundas, Mulgrave.

Extract of a Letter from the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, to the Chairman, relative to the present question about Private Trade.—Dated Wimbledon, 21st March 1801.

" It is scarcely necessary for me to observe, that in all the discussions I have had on this subject with the Court of Directors, I have not been entitled to exercise any authority in the determination of the subject. *It is a subject over which the Commissioners for the Affairs of India have no controul*; and whatever I have stated, or now state, or may hereafter state, must be received from me in my individual capacity; and therefore, if either by reasoning and judgment, or the reasoning of your Government abroad, has not the effect of varying the opinion of the Court of Directors, I trust you will not delay acting upon the principles detailed in the resolutions you have done me the honour to communicate to me; for the worst result that can arise from the discussion, is any further delay in coming to a decision upon it.

---

* The Court of Directors having expressed themselves too strongly in a Dispatch to Bengal, in consequence of the Privilege Goods by the Winterton in the year 1785, received the following just observations from the Commissioners for the Affairs of India;

patching some business of routine a very interesting and important discussion took place relative to the *Private Trade*. The minutes of the Secret Committee stated, that conferences had been held between the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, and the Earl of Dartmouth, in the last of which that noble lord assured the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, in behalf of the Board of Commissioners and himself, "That they had no intention whatever of invading and destroying the commercial rights and privileges of the East-India Company."—The Secret Committee, therefore, recommend it to the Court of Directors, to annul every word in any of the Court's former Resolutions or Reports tending to convey any imputation that such had been the intention of the Board of Commissioners. The Court of Directors acted in conformity to such recommendation, and at the further conferences, mutual concessions were made by the Board of Commissioners; and the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, for the sake of conciliation, and of restoring that good understanding between the Board of Commissioners and the Directors, so essentially important and useful to the interests of the East-India Company, and such alterations had been made in the paragraphs formerly sent down from the Board of Commissioners, that the Court of Directors had unanimously come to a resolution of approving them, and sending them out to India forthwith, not doubting but their constituents, in General Court assembled, would think they did not sacrifice the true honour and interests of the Company. These minutes having been read, a copy of the paragraphs sent down to the Directors by the Board, and intended to be immediately sent out in their dispatch to India, as instructions to their Governor-General and Council at Calcutta, were read, and were of considerable length.

Mr. Huddlestone, at the close of a speech of some length, moved the following resolution, which was seconded by Mr. Chisholme.

"That this Court entirely approves the conduct of the Court of Directors in relation to the Private Trade with India, as stated in the proceedings that have now been read, and observe with the highest satisfaction that those proceedings have been in exact conformity with the spirit of the resolution of the last General Court, and that the result has been a re-establishment of that good understanding with the Board of Commissioners which is so essential to the interests both of the Company and the public."

The motion was opposed by Mr. Johnstone, who moved the previous question, and was seconded by Mr. Upp. Mr. Impey and Mr. Jackson supported this motion, and Messrs. Bosanquet and Moore spoke against it. The original motion was finally put and carried without a division.—The speeches of Messrs. Moore and Jackson are worthy of particular attention, as they, in some measure, convey the opinion of the Company, respecting *the conduct and projects of Mr. Dundas*.—Mr. Moore said, he hoped the spirit of concord would predominate, and he in a great measure ascribed the restoration of peace within those walls, to the happy circumstance of the pestiferous influence that obtained there for many years preceding the commencement of the year 1801, being no longer in operation. He held up a pamphlet written by he knew not whom, but the person who wrote it was evidently a quack: he said in the same breath that he had nothing to do with them, and yet desired to prescribe for them. They were on the recovery, and he begged them to return to the old system, and fall into a galloping consumption again. He knew not who the anonymous quack was, but he desired every proprietor to read the pamphlet with caution, assuring him that he would find a farrago as fully fraught with presumption and ignorance, as a certain letter written either in April or June last year, was with arrogance and folly. The one seemed to be the counterpart of the other: the second was the distant echo of the first*.—Mr. Jackson said, that he was not quite pleased with the conduct of the Directors; in his opinion they had conceded too much. He was persuaded they would always be well supported by the Proprietory, when they firmly stood up in

* Mr. Dundas addressed a letter to the Court of Directors, dated June 30, 1801, which letter he has since published in a pamphlet. The Special Committee of the Court of Directors having, in the report, from which we have made a copious extract (Vide Register, p. 622, 712, and 742), controverted the doctrines and statements of this letter, and having drawn certain comparisons, little flattering to Mr. Dundas, that gentleman, or some one of his friends, has, within these very few days, published the pamphlet, which Mr. Moore attributes to some: "*anonymous quack*," and which, under the title of a letter to the Proprietors of East-India Stock, professes to vindicate the past administration and the prospective plans of Mr. Dundas. That this pamphlet was actually written by Mr. Dundas, it would be too much for us to assert; but we are persuaded he will never deny being the author of it.

defence of the rights and privileges of the Company. They saw their commercial rights invaded. They refisted. They did well to resist. War was declared between them and the Board of Controul, and he was sorry to see the dignity of the Company degraded in the preliminary articles of peace between the Board of Commiffioners and the Directors. He did not like to see the annulling all the strong expressions in the Reports and Resolutions of the Court of Directors run before the negotiation. He thought there was humiliation in it. He felt the humiliation when he saw the Directors on their knees to the Board of Controul. With regard to the motions before the House, he certainly wished to see what the instructions read contained, before he expressed his high satisfaction on the occasion. It was discreditable to the Directors to receive the approbation of the Court without the Proprietors first knowing the grounds on which they were called upon to vote. He observed an hon. friend of his (Mr. Moore) had treated a right honourable gentleman, lately high in office, with levity and ridicule. He had charged the late President of the Board of Controul with being the author of a farrago of presumption and ignorance. He thought the hon. proprietor acted rashly in so treating a right hon. gentleman to whom the Company were so highly indebted. Had he forgot that he held up his hand, not many months since, for a vote of thanks, and a pension of 2,000*l.* a year, to that right hon. gentleman, for his eminent services to the Company? He certainly was a man of commanding talents. He had rendered the Company great and essential services. He understood all the concerns of India better than most men living. Mr. Jackson said, he did not mean to advocate Mr. Dundas's projects. He had often opposed him in that Court. He had opposed his Two Million Loan; his payment of the Debts of the Nabob of Arcot; his 500,000*l.* Surplus Scheme being annual and certain; his Depot; and various other of his favourite projects; but he bowed to his abilities, and would do him justice in or out of place. His hon. friend, behind him, was somewhat rash in thus early attacking the object of his former worship. He knew not how soon the right hon. gentleman's influence might be felt by the Company again. His hon. friend had best not be on the high ropes too soon.

APPOINTMENT AT OUDE.

Mr. Johnstone called the attention of the Court to a late appointment to a very high situation at Oude—an appointment which, Mr. Johnstone said, was directly contrary to the spirit of an Act of Parliament, and a most unwarrantable infringement of the undoubted rights of the Company's servants in India. He gave credit to the Directors for having, in the instance that had been the subject of that day's discussion, firmly and successfully stood up for what they conceived to be the commercial rights of the Company; and he hoped they would shew themselves equally ready and anxious to maintain and assert the rights of their servants in India. Mr. Johnstone said, he was not aware whether he was in order or not, but he thought he owed it to those who were employed in the Company's service abroad, to take the first opportunity that offered in a General Court to assert their rights, and call the attention of the Directors towards them.

Mr. Peter Moore said, since the subject had been opened, he begged leave to add, to what the hon. proprietor (Mr. Johnstone) had stated, that the appointment in question was considered, by all descriptions of men, as a gross libel on the whole service abroad—as a gross libel on the justice and dignity of the Company at home. He begged the Court would recollect, that it was the servants of the Company to whom they were indebted for this second world, then fraught with wealth and strength; and that they would compare the condition of India, under the management of the servants of the Company, with its reduced and embarrassed state under a different influence; and, above all, that they will never lose sight of one great and essential feature in the servants of the Company—*that they always knew how to obey.* (*Loud applause, and a general cry in the Court of:* We'll support you!)

The Chairman assured the hon. proprietor, that the subject of the recent appointment to Oude was at this time under the consideration of the Directors.

The following note was received on the 15th of this month, under cover, with a copy of a pamphlet, entitled, *A Letter to the Proprietors of East-India Stock, respecting the present situation of the Company's Affairs both abroad and at home; in answer*

to the statements given in the latter part of the Third Report of the Special Committee of the Court of Directors:

" Mr. Cobbett's notice of, and extracts " from, the Third Report of the Special " Committee of the Court of Directors, in " the Register of the 29th ult. induced the " author of the inclosed pamphlet to read " with attention that report, which he had, " till then, laid aside for a moment of more " leisure.

" As the pamphlet, therefore, may be said " to owe its existence to the Register, it " appears to the author but fair, and will " not, he trusts, be considered presumption, " to give Mr. Cobbett an early opportunity " of perusing it. As far as Mr. Dundas in- " dividually is concerned, it cannot be ex- " pected that Mr. Cobbett should agree with " the author; this might be too great an ef- " fort of impartiality, too wide a departure " from former assertions, and too great a " sacrifice of existing spleen; but, making " every allowance for these considerations, " Mr. Cobbett may, perhaps, from a sense " of justice to the proprietors of East India " stock, and from a regard to truth, think it " worth his while to look into the state- " ments of this letter, as far as facts and " figures are concerned, and to examine a " little closer into the records and authori- " ties from which they are derived, before " he commits his opinions any further in " support of the *mistakes* and *mis-statements*, " of which the authors of the Third Report, " by a *perversion of truth*, and a *violation of* " *their trust*, have been guilty, in the com- " parisons they have made of the financial " affairs of the Company in the years 1788, " 1793, and 1801."

To the Author of the " Letter to the Proprietors of East-India Stock, &c. &c."

Sir,

I have read your pamphlet with great attention, and shall not fail to give it its fair chance for producing effect on the opinions of my readers. I intend to take up this subject in the *Supplement* to the present volume of the Register (which volume closes with the month of June), where I shall endeavour, not so much to press my sentiments on my readers, as to enable them to form a judgment for themselves. The extracts from your letter will be long, and will derive a considerable advantage from being presented all together.

And now, Sir, give me leave to ask, what reason you had to suppose, that, as far as Mr. Dundas individually was concerned, I could not be expected to agree with the author? What reason you had to suppose, and even to assert, that " existing *spleen* " would prevent me from making an impartial decision? What dislike can I have to Mr. Dundas, other than that which his public conduct is calculated to excite? I never saw him, never wrote to him, never (except, perhaps, in the present instance,) heard from him. Never did he see my name on the list of the unhappy supplicants for his favour. He never gave me or refused me any thing. It is out of his power to add one tittle to the pleasures or the pains of my life. It is the public conduct and measures of Mr. Dundas that I have commented on, and that I shall comment on. Some persons will call this imprudent; they will shrug up their shoulders and thank their God, that they and theirs are not so fool-hardy. I envy them not their prudence and security. I shall, probably, live as long as they; and, as long as I do live, I shall enjoy something worthy the name of life.

But, Sir, the rudeness, not to say insolence, of your note to me, is far less offensive than the attempt which you have thought proper to make, to vilify the gentlemen composing the Special Committee of the Court of Directors. I know neither of those gentlemen; they are as perfect strangers to me as Mr. Dundas is; but I cannot help regarding your underhand accusation against them as a glaring proof of a want of candour and of justice. " A *perversion of truth*, and a *violation of trust*," are charges, which ought to be made against nobody without proof; and, give me leave to say, that such proof is not to be found in your pamphlet. Besides, you have preferred these charges *secretly*. You have taken good care not *openly* to accuse the East-India Directors with a *perversion of truth* and a *breach of trust*; but you have conveyed this accusation to me, with the hope, doubtless, that, through me, it would, in some way or other, find its way to the public.

I shall, as I before observed, endeavour to do justice to this subject, as soon as I can prepare the materials: in the mean time, as to the *origin* of the pamphlet in question, though I do not positively say it was written by Mr. Dundas, I shall believe it was, until I see an unequivocal contradiction of the paragraph which appeared in the True Briton on Saturday the 19th instant *.

Wm. Cobbett.

Pall-Mall, June 24, 1802.

* " We are happy to perceive that *Mr. Dundas* " has taken up the pen to remove the impression

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Constantinople, May 20.—The Porte has now acceded to the Definitive Treaty of Amiens, and has sent the act of accession to Paris. In this it is stated, that all the stipulations of this peace, relative to the Porte, shall be carried into execution, and that the friendly connections between the Porte and the French Republic shall be renewed.

Parma, May 28.—The French troops coming from Abbruzzo, began to pass through this city about ten days since. We have at present here 3,500 of them, and expect nearly the same number in about eight days.

Vienna, June 2.—The Queen of Naples is preparing for her departure, which will probably take place in the course of the present month. Her Majesty will make but a short stay at Naples, and proceed from thence to Barcelona, on board a Spanish frigate, with the Princess destined to espouse the Prince Royal of Spain. The King of Spain will also repair to the latter city, with the Princess destined to be the spouse of the Prince Royal of Naples. The Neapolitans, who preserve a great attachment to the court of Spain, rejoice at this double alliance, from which they hope great advantages will result.

Berne, June 6,—The Little Council has issued the following arrêté, dated the 1st instant:

1. The censurate of the press, established in pursuance of an arrêté of the Senate, dated the 12th of November 1801, is suppressed.

2. The national prefects shall keep a vigilant eye over those writings which treat of political subjects, and in case they shall find passages contrary to order, and calculated to disturb public tranquillity, they shall stop the circulation of such works, and bring the authors before the tribunals.

3. In such case the national prefects shall inform the government of the measures which they have taken.

4. The publisher or printer of every writing published without the name of the author, shall be responsible for its contents, and shall put his name to it, under the penalty of 100 francs.

A magnificent monument has been erected in the neighbourhood of Augsburg, in honour of the Archduke Charles, bearing the following inscription—"To the Saviour of Germany, erected by Germans."

June 10.—The separation of the Valais from the Helvetic Republic appears to be completely decided, and it is thought that an act of government will immediately issue, declaring officially its independence.

Nice, June 8.—A battalion of the 69th demi-brigade, which made part of the army of Naples, and which was stationed in Calabria, has arrived in this city.

Wezel, June 10. The Landgrave of Hesse Cassel is expected here in a few days, to review the troops.

The interchange of couriers between Berlin and Paris is more frequent than ever. It is asserted, as a thing certain, that after the Landgrave's review, the regiments will be appointed who are to be employed in taking possession of the indemnities.

Paris, June 11.—The Consuls, by virtue of the 1st article of the law of the 19th ult. authorising the government to regulate provisorily the duties of customs, have, by an arrêté of the 31st ult. imposed the following duties on sea-coal imported into France.

On sea-coal imported into the ports of the ocean, from Antwerp to the department of the Somme, a duty of 15 francs (12s. 6d.) per ton of 22 quintals. In the department of the Somme, and from Rhedon to Sables d'Olonne, and also in the ports of the Mediterranean, 10 francs (8s. 4d.); in other ports, 8 francs (6s. 8d.)

By an arrêté of the 6th inst. gold and silver, whether minted or not, dishes and plates of gold and silver, and vessels of gold or silver made for the purposes of religious worship, are permitted to be exported to foreign countries.

General VIAL is appointed minister plenipotentiary, on the part of France, to Malta.—Ships have arrived in France, from St. Domingo, loaded with colonial produce.

Copenhagen, June 12.—Prince William of Gloucester arrived this afternoon in our road, on board the Latona frigate: he will land this evening, and occupy the apartments of the Duchess of Augustenburg, in the palace Fredericksberg.

"which may have been made on the unwary, by the "bold and hazardous assertions of the Special Committee of the Court of Directors, a task which we "think he has most ably accomplished in *his letter, "just published, addressed to the Proprietors of East-"India Stock.*"

Bourdeaux, June 18.—A vessel arrived in this port yesterday, from Port Republican, the 14th of April.

At the departure of this vessel the colony was in a state of prosperity, greater than could be imagined, considering the cruel war by which many parts of it were ravaged. (They were ignorant at Port Republican, when the vessel quitted it, of the general pacification of the island.) The French army had very few sick, and enjoyed, upon the whole, the best health. The inhabitants were without the least alarm, in consequence of the care and activity of General Boudet, to whom, and to those under his orders, the preservation of that part of the island was to be attributed. Amongst many traits which distinguish the French soldiers, one was related of a handful of grenadiers, who rescued from the ferocity of an horde of Africans, 700 white women and children, whom the blacks were carrying to the hills. The commerce of the island presented, at that epoch, the most satisfactory results. Sugar was at 40 francs per quintal. They had there a very large quantity of colonial produce, which had been much augmented by the influx of what had been saved from the fury of the negroes in the northern part of the island, and which promised speedy and advantageous returns to those inclined to adventure thither.

Hamburgh, June 15.—The following is the order of march of the troops which are to take possession of the territories assigned for an indemnification to Prussia.

Under the immediate command of his excellency Count Schulenburg, commander in chief, one battalion of Gravenitz, two battalions of Steinwehr, three squadrons of Estorg hussars, two battalions of grenadiers of Braun, and 100 heavy cuirassiers of Quissow, to occupy the bishopric of Hildesheim.

Under the command of Lieutenant-General Count Wartensleben, 1 battalion of Wartensleben, 1 battalion of Renouard, 1 battalion of fusileers of Bila, 1 battalion of grenadiers of Sohde, 2 squadrons of l'Estocq hussars, 2 companies of fusileers, half a flying battery, 2 companies of foot chasseurs, 5 squadrons of Goeking hussars, which are already in Westphalia—to occupy Eichfeldt, the bishopric of Paderborn, and a part of Munster.

Under the command of Lieutenant-General Blucher, 5 squadrons of Blucher hussars, 5 battalions of fusileers, 1 battalion of grenadiers of Dressler, and a half-battery, to take possession of Erfurt, Goslar, Nordhausen, Muhlhausen, &c.

The Council of State, in Holland, has issued a proclamation, ordering the confiscation of all East-India goods imported into Holland by persons not authorised by the law, which establishes the right of the Dutch East-India Company.

Twenty-one of the Dutch fishery vessels employed in the North Seas, have already arrived at Vlaardingen, with 2255 tons of salt fish; and thirty-six more vessels are daily expected.

American papers are received to the 20th of May. A treaty between the United States of America and the Chickasaw nations of Indians was concluded and signed by the Commissioners of both nations on the 24th of last October. It was ratified by the President of the United States on the 1st day of May last.

By letters from New-York, dated the 19th ult. we are informed that the Batavian fleet, consisting of three ships of the line and a brig, viz. the Brutus, Neptune, and Jean de Witt, and brig Ajax, under command of Admiral Hartsinck, arrived in Hampton Road the 10th, from Cape Francois. It is said part of the squadron will go to Baltimore to refit.

America.—The following is an extract of the letter from Mr. Jefferson, President of the United States, to Thomas Paine, about which so much has been said:

"You expressed a wish in your letter to return to America by a national ship; Mr. Dawson, who brings over the treaty, and who will present you this letter, is charged with orders to the captain of the Maryland to receive and accommodate you back, if you can be ready to depart at such a short warning. You will in general find us returned to sentiments worthy of former times; in these it will be your glory to have steadily laboured, and with as much effect as any man living. That you may live long to continue your useful labours, and reap the reward in the thankfulness of nations, is my sincere prayer. Accept the assurances of my high esteem, and affectionate attachment.

"THOMAS JEFFERSON."

Genoa.—According to letters from Italy, the King of Sardinia arrived at Rome on the 22d of May, and proposes to remain there till the business of his indemnity shall be settled.

Sierra Leone.—The following is an extract of a letter from an officer in that colony:

"We arrived here from Goree on the 14th of January, and remained unmolested by the natives until the 11th of the present month (April), when they attacked us at five o'clock in the morning. Our force, then in the fort, was about 60 men, and we understood, from a prisoner, that the enemy were about 300. The rascals, elated at the numbers they killed on the 18th of November, thought that they could do what they pleased. Just after the morning gun fired, they fixed their flag on the east side of the fort, and, after shooting the patroling sentinel, they forced open a gate, and twelve or more had actually got in, when they were charged and forced to retreat. They rallied again and were beaten back; they then kept up a smart fire outside, for about twenty minutes, but being flanked by a bastion on one side, and a large block-house on the other, they were obliged to retreat, leaving 17 men dead under the fort. In the mean time a large party had kept up a heavy fire in the town, but when they perceived their friends running from the fort, they ran also, but were pursued for three miles, when several were shot. There were four-pound guns well loaded with grape, fired on them in their retreat from the block-house, where I commanded, which annoyed them not a little. We had no notice whatever of their coming; indeed I may safely say it was a surprise, as we conceived the dispute was settled, and every difference brought to a conclusion. They are treacherous villains, and would have put us all to death had they succeeded. We have found 31 of them dead, and suppose that, at least, that number or more of them have been killed or wounded, the bush being so thick we have not found any more. Our loss is not so great as might be expected from their numbers.

"African Corps—3 men killed; Captain Lloyd, 1 serjeant, and 6 men wounded."

"Settlers and Maroons in town—1 woman killed; 1 woman, 9 men wounded."

Copy of the Orders of the 12th April 1802.

"*Fort Thornton.*

"The governor feels extremely happy in congratulating the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the detachment of the African Corps, on the very complete defeat of the enemy in their attack yesterday, which, under Providence, he is sensible, is owing in great measure to their brave and gallant exertions. His most cordial acknowledgments are due to Captain Lloyd and Ensign Kingsley; to the first, for the very spirited manner in which he repeatedly charged and drove back the enemy, after they had forced open and entered the eastern gate; and to the latter for the very great and effectual annoyance he gave the enemy, from the block-house in which he commanded. The governor feels it a duty, which he will most cheerfully fulfil, to make known to his and their superiors in Europe, the high sense he entertains of these gentlemen in particular, and of the whole detachment in general; he requests the commanding officer will cause these orders to be read to the detachment at this evening's parade."

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

General Andreossi is appointed minister plenipotentiary to this court, on the part of France.

Mons. Coynebert Montbret, is arrived in London, on the part of the First Consul, as commercial agent.

The American Congress have passed an act for carrying into execution the convention lately formed here, for paying 600,000*l.* in lieu of all demands against the Americans, under the treaty of 1794.

Edinburgh, June 19.—On Thursday afternoon the following persons arrived in town from Aberdeen, under custody of Mr. Geo. Williamson, messenger, and were committed to prison, viz. ensign John Lanigan; Walter M'Kenzie, Hugh Mitchill, Andrew Mackay, Alex. Sutherland, serjeants; and Wm. Thomson, private; all belonging to the Ross and Cromarty Rangers. Their commitment is in consequence of the late unfortunate affair at Aberdeen, on His Majesty's birth-day. They were brought in a revenue cutter.

The petition of right of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has been indorsed by His Majesty into the Court of Chancery, and a speedy hearing upon it will take place.

Thursday the Earl of Galloway attended at St. James's as Lord in Waiting, in consequence of His Majesty having most graciously declined accepting his lordship's resignation.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge arrived at Hanover about mid-day on the 1st of June. The whole city was illu-

minated in the evening. A vast concourse of strangers had come to be present at the rejoicings.

The advices from Jamaica by the mail arrived yesterday brought accounts of a curious incident. The French, it seems, suspected that an illicit traffic in warlike stores might be carried on between Jamaica (individuals, no doubt) and St. Domingo. A vessel was found on the South part of the island of St. Domingo, supposed to have landed a cargo of stores for the use of Toussaint. She was brought down to Jamaica by a French frigate, and a strong remonstrance against such proceeding.

Our readers will recollect, that, in the Register, p. 314, we gave an account of the negro insurrection, in the Island of Tobago, which was suppressed by Brigadier-General Carmichael, who discovered, in that trying situation, a degree of prudence, resolution, and promptitude, rarely to be met with, and we are happy now to have it in our power to show, that his meritorious services have received a most honourable acknowledgment.

Tobago, Feb. 23, 1802.

Sir,

We take the earliest opportunity your return to this colony has afforded us, of conveying to you the resolutions of both Houses of the Legislature, and we avail ourselves of the opportunity it affords us, of assuring you of the high consideration with which we have the honour to be,

Sir,
Your most obedient
and humble Servants,

(Signed) JOHN BALFOUR,
President of the Council.

ROBERT PATERSON,
Speaker of the Assembly.

Brigadier General CARMICHAEL, Tobago.

Extract from the Minutes of the Council and Assembly of Tobago, February 4, 1802.

Resolved unanimously,—That the thanks of both Houses of Legislature, and a sword of the value of one hundred guineas, be presented to Brigadier General Carmichael, for the services he rendered this colony, on the discovery of the late intended insurrection; and that the President of the Council, and the Speaker of the Assembly, do transmit him a copy of this resolution.

(Signed) JOHN BALFOUR,
President of the Council.

ROBERT PATERSON,
Speaker of the Assembly.

Head Quarters, Scarborough, Feb. 26, 1802.

Gentlemen,

I am favoured with your letter conveying the very distinguished honour conferred upon me by the Legislature of Tobago.

I can assume no superior merit for any efforts attached to my official situation, in the conscientious and just discharge of which every officer is responsible to the Supreme Tribunal.

On that occasion, Gentlemen, my public duty and personal good wishes were congenial in any exertions that could tend to the benefit of the inhabitants of this island.

The humanity that has ever characterized the British proprietors of Tobago, was not less conspicuous, than their promptitude and energy, when decisive measures could alone rescue the community from a massacre, the most wanton and atrocious that ever revolted against nature.

It is but justice to observe, Gentlemen, that in the necessity of gaining immediate intelligence of the movements and designs of the conspirators, in the military examinations, not one of the many chiefs who confessed the intention of indiscriminate carnage, offered to palliate their turpitude by alleged ill usage, but their sole incitement was a delusive notion of liberty, and perverted idea of freedom, which dissolved all ties of gratitude, friendship, and consanguinity, as evinced in the avowal of their merciless designs against their own kindred and colour, who might feel the dictates of nature, for their indulgent masters, and the families where they had been nurtured with benevolence.

The fortitude of the inhabitants under afflictions succeeding each other at short intervals, is unexampled; in two calamities of sickness and rebellion, they participated with the garrison, and their own sufferings seemed absorbed in the solicitude to alleviate those of his Majesty's troops by every colonial aid and military co-operation.

The sword they have done me the honour to bestow, I shall retain as a sacred pledge of loyalty and affection to my KING and COUNTRY, and always hold it ready to serve in their cause; but it will not require any memento to animate the esteem and regard that will ever be lively in my breast for the Gentlemen of Tobago.

I entreat, Gentlemen, you will do me the favour to communicate those high sentiments, that can be but very feebly expressed by my words, and assure you that I will ever remain with sincerity,

Your faithful humble Servant,

(Signed) H. L. CARMICHAEL.
Brigadier General, Commanding his Majesty's Forces in Tobago.

The Hon. JOHN BALFOUR, Esq.
President of the Council.

The Hon. ROBERT PATERSON, Esq.
Speaker of the Assembly.

Mutiny in Dominica.—Letters from Antigua of the 22d April confirm the details we have already inserted respecting the mutiny of the 8th West-India

regiment. The former account stated that all the mutineers were in custody; that from Antigua says, "the number of mutineers killed has not been ascertained with accuracy, owing to several having been shot on the face of the Cabritt leading to the sea: about sixty were buried in one hole: it is supposed that more than one hundred were killed; and among the prisoners are forty wounded, some of them desperately. The corps consisted of nearly five hundred, of which there are said to be in close confinement or prisoners at large on the Upper Cabritt, 370 (including the forty wounded,) of whom it is proposed to try about fifteen. The causes assigned by the mutineers are various; but the having been obliged to work at the draining of the swamp for the two preceding days, seems to have been the principal; it is a work that would require a long time to complete."

Another letter which we have seen states, that the mutineers aimed particularly at General Johnston, who had a horse killed under him, and received a slight wound in the hand. Mr. Holmes, commanding the militia, had also a horse killed under him, and two of the militia men were killed. The mutineers had manned the several batteries commanding the approach to the port, and when the firing began fired grape shot, by which, and the fire of small arms, two of the Royals, and about 40 of that and the 68th regiment, were wounded. The mutineers fired from the fort on the men of war, but without effect, during which time many of themselves were blown up by explosions of cartridges. It continues,—". The cause assigned by the mutineers is, having been obliged to cut wood for their officers, which the latter sold; short weight of bread; no settlement of their accounts; and having been employed in draining a morass without being paid for it. The latter seems to have been the principal cause. They had only been at it two days, but it is a work that will take a long time to complete. Forty of the regiment are still unaccounted for; of which it is known that a corporal, and 25, chiefly grenadiers, are in the woods, with abundance of ammunition; when joined by the runaway negroes, they may give considerable molestation before they are subdued."

The following is the account of the loss sustained by his majesty's troops in quelling the mutiny in the 8th West-India Regiment:—

68th Regiment—3 men killed, 15 wounded.

Two Marines of the Magnificent, badly wounded.

Militia—1 man killed, 6 wounded.

One Volunteer Sailor, badly wounded.

The loss of the 8th West India Regiment is stated to be, at the least, 100 killed and wounded.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The proceedings in Parliament, during the last week, have embraced objects of considerable importance; but the attendance has been so very thin as to discourage all attempt at discussion. The Lords have assembled about 20, and the Commons about 40. The inclination to leave town at this time of the year, particularly upon the eve of a general election, is irresistible, and, were it only to save appearances, should have been provided for by a more early dispatch of business; for, to see laws passed by one-twentieth part of the members, cannot fail to have an injurious effect on the minds of the people, and of the world in general.

As to *parties*, the situation of those politicians, whether writers or talkers, who have no other object than the advancement or the securing of their private interests, is at this time truly pitiable; for, such is the state of parties, so uncertain is it what course things will take, who will be in power and who will be out of power, that those unhappy creatures know not which way to look, much less do they know what to say. Mr. Sheridan supposed the existence of *thirteen* parties. Bowing with submission to the acuteness and experience of Mr. Sheridan, we must, however, acknowledge, that we have been able to discover but *four*, unless the small splinter which came off in Messrs. Nicholls and Tierney, and which is not yet securely glued on to the old opposition, can be called a party. Of the four to which we think any importance can be attached, the *old opposition*, who call themselves the Whigs, appear to us to be in the most awkward situation. They approved of the peace, because the worse it was the better confirmation it gave of their arguments against the war, and the prolongation of the war; and, it must be allowed, that, if either the existence or the conduct of the war did really render such a peace necessary, if the situation of the country was (which *we* deny) such as, "upon the whole, and under all the circumstances of Europe," to render the peace of Amiens adviseable, then it must be allowed, that those who opposed, in all its stages, the prosecution of the war, were by far the wisest politicians. But, as the question of peace or war is now at an end, and as the old opposition do not stand committed on those other great objects of public consideration, which will hereafter present themselves, there are five modes of conduct, which lie open to their choice; first, they may act in a detached body, as they do at present; secondly, as the allies of some other party; thirdly, as neutrals; fourthly, they may set up a sort of armed neutrality; fifthly, they may divide, and, in the quality of mercenaries, be opposed to each other, without any diminution of that mutual regard, and that love of country, which the virtuous Swiss

are said to entertain, at the very moment when they are plunging the bayonet into each others breasts.—The grand question at present is, whether Mr. Pitt will come in again or not. Of this we *know* just as much as our neighbours; but, we *think*, that he will not, at least, for some time, because we cannot see how, and under what pretext, he *can* come in. If he consults his reputation, he never will be minister again. The career he would now have to run, would be so very different from that which he lately ran; the situation of the world, and of this country in particular, is so changed; the prospect is so disheartening, and the difficulties will be so great, that the friends of his fame will be very cautious how they advise him to re-assume the reins of government.

The affairs of India are in a state calculated to excite great anxiety, not to say alarm. Mr. Dundas lately represented our power in that quarter of the world as more secure than at any former period. We sincerely wish it may prove so; but, when we look at what is passing in India, in the Parliament, in Leadenhall Street, and in the closet of Mr. Dundas, we are compelled to believe that exactly the contrary is the fact. The difference between the late President of the Board of Controul and the Court of Directors is of a very serious nature, and has been, by the arrogance of the former, rendered irreconcileable. Yet, we imagine, Mr. Dundas will endeavour again to obtain the controul of the affairs of India; nor have we much doubt that he will succeed; and if so, the ruin of the Company is, we fear, at no very great distance. His projects are doubtless, in his opinion, calculated to promote the interests of his sovereign and his country; but, as far as we are able to judge, they contain the seeds of division and revolt, of the loss of commerce and the loss of empire.

It has been stated in some of the public prints, that ministers are about to recall the West-India fleet, *in consequence of the subjugation of Toussaint and his citizens!* This never can be true. Saint Domingo is at this moment ten thousand times more formidable to our colonies than ever France was to England or Ireland. It is by no means to be presumed, that the French will make any hostile attempt, till they have taken safe possession of all their own colonies, and have completely re-established slavery in them all; but, when those objects are once accomplished, of the day or hour when they will attack Jamaica no man knoweth or will know any thing. If the West-India islands are worth keeping, we must keep a fleet to defend them. The advocates for peace on any terms, exult in the *disappointment* of those who predicted the ruin of our colonies and commerce; as if the time were yet come to judge of the correctness of such predictions! An account of the expedition of Leclerc, compared with the wars of General Maitland, we find too long for insertion in the present sheet; but we beg our readers to be assured, that we will never quit that subject till we have done it ample justice. Were we not afraid of being too importunate, we would, too, remind Sir Frederick Morton Eden of his opinions and assertions respecting the "ruined and ravaged St. Domingo," *three fourths* of which, Leclerc tells us, has escaped untouched.

The *opening of the Scheldt* appears to be a measure about which politicians disagree in opinion. We know not what weight the interests of the *French* merchants may have in preventing the adoption of this measure; but this we do know, that the Scheldt is, in fact, already opened, and that several American vessels have arrived, and landed their cargoes at Antwerp. Several Danes and Swedes have also arrived at that port. Two of the Americans were laden with India and China goods, and found a very good market. We should imagine, that the great, and indeed the only obstacle, to the revival of the port of Antwerp, is the doubt which Buonaparté may, not without reason, entertain of the durability of the authority of France over the conquered countries. She, at present, holds them at the point of the bayonet, which seems to be a tenure too insecure to encourage her to transfer thither any considerable portion of her commerce. The Dutch will, too, endeavour to buy off the rivalship of the Scheldt; but, if France feels herself quite secure in the possession of her newly acquired territory and slaves, she will set all private considerations at defiance. On this subject, also, the advocates of the peace rejoice at the non-fulfilment of the predictions of their opponents; forgetting, or affecting to forget, that no one ever imagined that Antwerp would revive in a month. No; it is not *this year*, nor *next year*, that London will feel the effects of the opening o the Scheldt; but what are two, five, or ten, or even twenty years, in the life of a nation? Dean Tucker and his followers boasted of the accomplishment of their predictions, with respect to the loss of America.

Instead of ruining England, it extended her manufactures and her commerce. The event had no other effect for several years; but what effect has it now? What effect had it during our late war with France? What effect will it have during the next ten years? Where is the British statesman who can look without trembling at the *million tons of shipping* which America now has? Eighteen years ago America was a bankrupt, and had not a single ship in her harbours. She now exports to the amount of twenty millions sterling annually; she has a million tons of shipping, 60,000 sailors, and she is the first power that conveys the goods of India and China to Antwerp. Let those who count upon our enemy's want of ships and capital remember these facts, and look to some other source for consolation and security, for the preservation of our mercantile and naval preponderance.

The Americans are much offended at the conduct of France. By the Convention of 1800, Buonaparté got rid of their demand for spoliations; but he has now demanded payment for prizes made by the American vessels and carried into English ports. The contracts entered into by the republican government with the American merchants he refuses to make good; and he also refuses to pay for the merchandize lately seized in St. Domingo. The total loss to America, on these several accounts, amounts to about *fifty millions of dollars*, or about *eleven millions sterling*. Can such a man want *capital?* Credit and confidence he may want; but capital he will have as long as Peru and Mexico produce silver and gold. The whole world lies open before him. All nations are tributary to him. There is every where a disposition to hate, but no where the courage to resist him. If he lives twenty years, France will be the mistress of the civilized world, and England the basest of her vassals; that is, if we continue in our present temper; if we continue to set a value on nothing but our riches and our ease: our spirit must rise, or our country must fall for ever. In less than six years we must again be at war, or we shall quietly pass under the yoke. The French are at this moment preparing the means of our destruction. While we are lying down to enjoy a long and quiet repose, they are busily employed in planning the operations of another war, and in preparing the means of execution. We have now upon the table before us a book, just published at Paris, indicating the method of totally destroying, during another war, the naval power of "the tyrants of the seas." The malignity of our enemies has no bounds but those of their power. Their hatred of us is inextinguishable; nothing can abate it, no, not even the wretched state of debasement, into which we have fallen. It is not our humiliation, nor our ruin, that will content them: they aim at our extermination as an independent power, and to frustrate their views will require a spirit very different indeed from that which at present prevails.

Various reports have been circulated as to the time of the arrival of the French ambassador. Some expect him next week, and some even to-day; but we do not think it is likely that he will arrive before the month of August at soonest, and Lord Whitworth certainly will not set out 'till very near the time of M. Andreossi's arrival. We, for our parts, have no desire to see him. We have lately beheld humiliating scenes enough. The cup of disgrace must, indeed, be drunk to the dregs; but, who does not seek to put off the evil hour?

The scarcity in France is very great. Bread is sold at eight sous per pound. The publishers of news-papers dare not mention the price of Bread, or of provisions of any kind, in their publications. One of them was lately threatened with *deportation* for an offence of this sort! Well done, Corsican! Muzzle them, yoke them, ring them, tether them, clog them, whip them, and goad them! Lay on and spare not. You, and you alone, are capable of inflicting on them the punishment due to the murderers of a king.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

Whitehall, June 15, 1802.

The King has been pleased to grant the dignity of the Baroness of the United kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, to the Most Hon. Mary Marchioness of Downshire, Widow of the Most Hon. Arthur, late Marquis of Downshire, for and during her natural life, by the name, style, and title of Lady Sandys, Baroness of Ombersly, in the County of Worcester; and from and immediately after her decease, the dignity of a Baron of the said United Kingdom to the Right Honourable Arthur Moyses William Hill, (commonly called Lord Arthur Moyses William Hill,) second son of the said Arthur late Marquis of Downshire by the said Mary his wife, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, and in default of such issue, to the Right Honourable Arthur Marcus Cecil Hill, (commonly called Lord Arthur Marcus Cecil Hill,) third son of the said Arthur, late Marquis of Downshire, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten; and in default of such issue, to the Right Honourable Arthur Augustus Edwin Hill, (commonly called Lord Arthur Augustus Edwin Hill,) fourth son of the said Arthur late Marquis of Downshire, and the heirs male of his body

lawfully begotten; and in default of such issue, to the Right Honourable George Augusta Hill, (commonly called Lord George Augusta Hill,) fifth son to the said Arthur late Marquis of Downshire, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten; and in default of such issue, to the Most Honourable Arthur Blundell Sandys Trumbull Marquis of Downshire, eldest son of the said Arthur, late Marquis of Downshire, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten.

At the Court at St. James's, the 16th of June 1802, present the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

His Majesty having been pleased to appoint the Right Hon. William Lord Lowther to be Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, his Lordship this day took the oaths appointed to be taken thereupon, instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.

Council-Office, Whitehall, June 15, 1802.

His Majesty having been pleased to appoint his Grace Hugh Duke of Northumberland, K. G. to be Lord Lieutenant of and in the county of Northumberland, and of the town and county of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, a council was this day held at Northumberland-House, when his Grace took the oaths appointed to be taken thereupon, instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.

Downing-Street, June 18, 1802.

The King has been pleased to appoint the Right Hon. Lord Whitworth, K. B. to be His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the French Republic.

The King has also been pleased to appoint James Talbot, Esq. to be his Majesty's Secretary to that embassy.

Whitehall, June 22, 1802.

The King has been pleased to present the Rev. John Marshall, clerk, Master of Arts, to the Rectory of Orsett, in the county of Essex, and diocese of London, void by the translation of the Right Rev. Father in God Dr. Richard Beaden, Bishop of Gloucester, to the See of Bath and Wells.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

Births.—On Thursday at the house of the Speaker, in Palace-yard, Mrs. Abbot, of a son. On Tuesday, in Portland-place, the Lady of Sir John C. Musgrave, Bart. of a son. At Trentham, on the 17th instant, the Marchioness of Worcester, of a son.

Marriage.—On Saturday the 19th inst. Thomas Heneage, Esq. to the Hon. Arabella Pelham, daughter of the Right Hon. Lord Yarborough.

Deaths.—On the 1st inst. at Barrogill Castle, in the 13th year of his age, John Lord Berriedale, eldest son of the Right Hon. James Earl of Caithness. On Saturday last, in Baker-street, Portman-square, Mrs. De Chair, wife of the Rev. Dr. De Chair, and one of the daughters of the late Sir William Wentworth Bart. On Sunday last, in the 17th year of his age, of a decline, at Upper Dunstable-House, Richmond, the eldest son of Sir Robert Baker, Bart.

PRICES OF THE PUBLIC FUNDS.

	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.
Bank Stock . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 pr Cent. Red. An.	74⅜	74⅜	74⅝	74¾	—	74½
3 per Cent. Cons.	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 per Cent. Cons.	89½	—	90½	90⅝	—	90⅜
5 per Cent. Ann.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bank Long Ann.	21¼	21¼	21⅛	21¼	—	21¼
Do. Short 1778-79	5	4⅞	5	—	—	73¼
Imp. 3 per Cent.	—	70⅞	71	73⅝	—	12¼
Do. Ann.	12	—	12	12¼	—	105¼
5 per Cent. 1797	104⅞	105⅛	105⅝	105⅞	—	½
Omnium (disc.)	½	½	⅝	½	—	—
India Stock . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
Do. Bonds	—	—	—	—	—	—
South Sea Stock	—	—	—	—	—	—
Do. Old Ann. . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
Do. New	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 per Cent. 1751	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Navy Bills	—	—	—	—	—	—
Exchequer do. .	Par.	2 Pr.	2 Pr.	—	—	—
Irish 5 per Cent.	—	—	99½	102⅜	—	—
Irish Debentures	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lottery Tickets	—	—	—	—	—	—

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 55 f. c.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C. F.	10 17 us	LEGHORN	51
Do. at sight	10 14	NAPLES	44
ROTTERDAM	10 18 us.	GENOA	47
HAMBURGH	33 32½us.	VENICE, 59¾ livres piccole effective pr. £. ster.	
ALTONA. . .	33 42½us.		
PARIS 1 day	23 15	LISBON	67
PARIS . . .	2 us. 24 liv.	OPORTO	67¼
BOURDEAUX	24 1	DUBLIN	12
CADIZ . .	34 in paper	BILBOA	36 Do.
DITTO . .	35½ effective	PALERMO	
Madrid .	34 in paper	AGIO, bank on Hol.	p.
DITTO . .	36¼ effective		

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s. s.		s. s.
Eng. Wheat per q.	48 to 67	Hops per cwt .	81 to 141
Foreign	00 . . 00	Hay per load .	75 . . 90
Rye	31 . . 33	Beef, per ston .	4s. od to 5s. od.
Barley	27 . . 31		
Malt	45 . . 49	Mutton . .	5s 6d. to 6s 6d.
Oats	12 . . 21	Veal . .	4s. 6d. to 6s. od.
Pease (white) .	35 . . 37	Pork . .	5s. od. to 6s. od.
Beans (horse) .	30 . . 33	Tallow	3s. 8d.
Flour per sack	50 . . 53	Average of Sugar	
Seconds	45 . . 50	per cwt. . . .	35s. 7¾d.
Coals per chal .	37 . . 42	Salt, per Bushel .	14s. 3d.

Bread *Ten Pence Halfpenny* the Quartern Loaf.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER, *near Guildford, in Surry, for the month of June* 1802.

Days.	M's Age	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barometer Inches. M.	Barometer Inches. A.	Thermometer. Degrees. M.	Thermometer. Degrees. A.
17		Fair.	N	N	29,9	29,9	64	65
18		Fair.	N-E	NE	30,05	30,05	63	67
19		Fine.	NW	NW	30	29,92	65	69
20		Fair.	NE	NE	30,05	30,06	62	67
21		Fine.	NE	NE	30,2	30,2	60	65
22	☾	Fine.	W	W	30,04	29,94	66	70
23		Fair.	NW	NW	29,71	29,74	59	62

● *New Moon.* ☾ *1st Quar.* ○ *F. Moon.* ☽ *Last Quar.*

LONDON

LONDON, June 26 to June 30, 1802.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

On Tuesday (June 22d), in a committee on the Alien Bill, *Lord Holland* expressed his disapprobation of some of the leading clauses and provisions of the bill, and of so much of the principle of the measure as was connected with the same. He would avoid touching upon the general principle, as he despaired of convincing their lordships upon that head. With respect to the provisions of the bill, many of the leading clauses were, he contended, drawn up in a loose and bungling manner, and inefficient as to their professed objects. Could he obtain a modification of some of these, his present end would be answered. He disliked the provisions, as they went to entrust too much powers to individuals, particularly to justices of the peace, and above all those powers it vested in the Secretary of State. Under the late administration the principle of the bill was not adhered to; it was in fact converted in some measure into a Police Bill, and persons were sent out of the country for other reasons than those assigned in the bill. He animadverted in warm language on the conduct of, and alledged change of political principle in the noble duke lately at the head of the home department. The bill went to vest a power of perpetual imprisonment with the Secretary of State, inasmuch as it authorized the detention of the arrested alien until such time as he should be sent out of the kingdom. The language in which these powers were vested was vague and indefinite, particularly that which went to vest a power in the Secretary of State of acting on what he might "apprehend" to be just cause, &c. To do away these reprehensible provisions should, he said, be the object of his first amendment.—The preamble of the bill being postponed, and the clauses pointed out by Lord Holland come to, he accordingly moved an amendment with respect to these, to the general effect of providing, that the alien should, within a limited period, two months, for instance, have the cause of his detention investigated before a competent tribunal, and if found to be on just and adequate grounds, that he should be then sent out of the kingdom, &c.—Some conversation ensued, principally between Lord Holland and the Lord Chancellor, on the regular form of putting the amendments, or rather arranging the mode of the intended discussion; the noble lord preferring the mode of stating his objections generally in the first instance, and the nature of the amendments he should have to propose, to the more strict form of stating his objections to every clause in a set speech, which would, perhaps, detain their lordships longer than might be agreeable. To this the *Lord Chancellor* replied, that he was of late so much in the habit of listening to others, that it was a matter of indifference to him, personally, whether or not the noble lord spoke till seven o'clock in the morning.

The amendment of Lord Holland being then regularly proposed, the *Lord Chancellor* took the opportunity to make some general observations on the measure before the committee. In his opinion it was a difficult matter to say what, in sending aliens out of the kingdom, could, in strictness, be called a political purpose, as was alluded to by the noble lord; there were many cogent reasons to induce such a step, which may not, at first view, appear to be of that description. He would suppose the case of a people, let loose from all the principles of just or regular government, and who, with a determined profligacy, had endeavoured far and near to undermine the morals of the inhabitants of other countries, and to sap the foundations of social order therein. In such cases, would any man say, that a Secretary of State, or any other minister, when such principles were acted upon, who should not exercise the powers vested in him by the law, did not betray his trust? On this ground, with respect to what had been said relative to a noble duke not then in his place, he believed that minister would be found to have acted as a firm and honest man. With respect to the provisions so pointedly objected to by the noble lord, he certainly had no objection to their being softened, as far as was consistent with the

object; but he could not agree to the alteration specified by the noble lord, namely, to limit the period to two months. What he should propose on the occasion was, to apply such a clause as should obviate the leading objections, with reference however to the provisions of the treaty of peace with France, relative to the reciprocal delivering up to justice the description of persons therein mentioned—it would go generally to authorize, that when the persons should not be sent out of the kingdom within a given period, after an application made to the Secretary of State, an appeal, if such a step should be necessary, might be made to his Majesty's courts of law, in order that the cause of detention may be investigated, &c.—The *Earl of Suffolk* observed, he was happy at hearing the intention of the noble and learned lord to propose an amendment to that effect, as he knew that much injury, under the administration of the late Alien Acts, had been done to individuals. He particularly instanced the case of an old man, distantly related to his lordship's family, a native of France and who had instructed his children in the French language; he had known him for eighteen years, and at the period he alluded to, he was upwards of seventy years old; this person was, after a residence of eighteen years, commanded to depart the kingdom under an order from the late Secretary of State for the Home Department, at forty-eight hours notice. He was sent to France, and though he was connected with Rewbell, he was detained for more than twelve months at a sea port; the affair, upon the whole, broke his heart, and he died about twelve months ago.—*Lord Pelham* adverted to the obvious impropriety of bringing forward grave and weighty charges against noble peers in their absence. He knew not of the transaction alluded to, but from his knowledge of the character and principles of the noble duke, for whom no man could have a higher respect or attachment, he had little doubt of his having adequate reasons for his conduct, which the circumstance of the person being connected with Monsieur Rewbell the more inclined him to suppose him guilty.—After some further conversation, and the adoption of some slight alterations, the bill passed through the committee, *Lord Holland* having withdrawn his amendments.

On Wednesday (June 23) the *Earl of Suffolk*, in pursuance of his notice on a former day, rose to call the attention of the House to the financial situation of the East-India Company. He sets out with animadverting briefly on the late transactions in the Carnatic, and to posterior events relative to the dominions of the Nabob of Oude, both of which in his mind strongly called for legislative interference. He condemned the policy which led to this unjust usurpation of the territories of the native princes, and quoted the authority of the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Dundas), late President of the Board of Controul, in his farewel letter to the Directors, in which he reprobates the extension of dominion as inconsistent with true policy, and destructive of their best interests. He lamented that the right hon. gentleman had not yet taken his seat among their lordships, for the greater part of what he had to state, applied particularly to the view which he had given of the state of the Company's affairs. The flattering prospect which that right hon. gentleman held out of the financial resource of the Company was totally dissipated by experience and facts. The debt instead of being diminished had greatly increased, and so far was there from being any just ground of hope that these embarrassments would be removed, that there was every reason to dread that they would be increased from year to year. The right hon. gentleman had been sanguine in his expectations that the resources of India would at no remote period not merely be adequate to remove the financial difficulties of the Company, but would furnish a source of revenue and profit to this country. How the present state of the Company's affairs justified any hope of seeing these expectations realised would, however, be best felt by appealing to existing documents. On this part of the subject his lordship accordingly submitted a variety of statements drawn from the report presented to the Court of Directors, by which it appeared that the debt of the Company was not less than twenty-two millions, instead of fourteen millions, as the right hon. gentleman had represented. To this was to be added a sum of about four millions due for the renewal of their charter in 1793, besides the expenses of the expedition to Egypt in case it should not ultimately be defrayed by government.—His lordship having stated and illustrated these several topics, to which we have done nothing more but advert, he concluded with a motion for an account of the debts and assets of the Company to the latest period that the account could be made up.—*Lord Dartmouth* avoided entering at length into any discussion on the transactions in

Oude or the Carnatic, imperfect as the information yet received was respecting these events. At present he could only express his most firm conviction, with every other friend of the noble persons principally interested in these transactions, that when the whole subject was fairly investigated, they would turn out, not merely not to their own discredit, but highly to their honour. In opposition to the melancholy picture drawn by the noble lord of the financial state of the Company, he had to conjure their lordships to indulge no such desponding apprehensions. The debt of the Company, it was true, had greatly increased, but had not their resources experienced a proportional augmentation. To establish this position his lordship read, from a paper he held in his hands, an extract of the comparative debts and resources of the Company in 1786, and in 1801, the result of which was, that there was no reason to apprehend that they would not be fully able to overcome any temporary embarrassments under which they laboured. When all circumstances were considered, it was far from a subject of surprise that the debt of the Company had increased. It was impossible to have carried on the long and expensive wars in which they had been engaged without a vast additional expense, but with attention, with vigilance and economy, there was every room for hope, and no ground for despondency. The motion was put from the woolsack, and agreed to.

The order relative to the Bill for the Prevention of Illicit Games, which stood for a third reading, being read,

Lord Holland rose, and stated a variety of objections to the bill, many of which were given in a strain of irony and refined humour. He considered the subject as unworthy the attention of the legislature, and argued that the existing laws were abundantly sufficient to counteract the evils the bill professed to remedy—indeed the interposition of the British legislature on such occasions as the present, reminded him of the anecdote related of the illustrious Newton, who, on that occasion, certainly did not reflect with his accustomed wisdom and philosophy. That great man having been by some accident shut up in a room, in which was also a cat, a hole was cut to admit the animal to pass in and out; but this cat soon after having a kitten, the philosopher recommended that a smaller hole should be cut for the accommodation of the kitten! So was it with the legislature in the case before them, the existing laws were abundantly sufficient not only for this, but for objects of greater magnitude, and which they effectually counteracted.—Under this impression, he would move that the further consideration of the bill be postponed for three months.—The *Lord Chancellor* left the woolsack, and though he thought that much inconvenience might be experienced, and much benefit lost by not suffering the bill to pass this session, agreed with the noble lord that it was a bill which ought to have been introduced at a much earlier period. At present the meaning and object of the bill were ambiguous, and without farther investigation absolutely unintelligible. Under the description of Little Goes he professed he did not pretend to know what were the different kinds of petty lotteries comprehended. Some delay for inquiry was necessary, and he should therefore propose, that the third reading should be on Friday.—*Lord Holland* withdrew his amendment, and the motion of the learned lord was put and agreed to.

After some debate on the Alien Bill, it was ordered to be read a third time to-morrow.

On Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, (June 24, 25, and 26) the House was occupied in passing the different bills, and concluding the other unfinished business of the session.

In the House of Commons, on Monday (June 21) some business of routine was dispatched, after which the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved his resolutions on the finances, which form a sort of reply to those of Mr. Tierney*. On Tuesday (22d) the House attended the Lords to hear his Majesty's commission read for passing the bills agreed upon by the two Houses. On Wednesday (23d), after disposing of matters of routine, the House entered on the affairs of India. *Mr. Wallace* said, that in the investigation of a subject so important as the affairs of India, it was necessary to have every possible document that could throw light on the subject, from whatever source it was derived. He should, therefore, move for a paper, which was not, indeed, in any official form, but as it reflected upon the character of one who held a very high station in India, he thought it proper that it should be laid before the House. He then moved, that there be laid before the House a copy of a paper pur-

* Both these will be found in the Supplement to this volume.

porting to be a letter of Hussem Ally, the reputed son of the late Nabob of Arcot, to James Stuart Hall, and Samuel Johnson, Esqrs. his agents in London.—Ordered.* —*Mr. Sheridan*, after having spoken ironically of the speech which Mr. Nicholls intended to make the day before (when Mr. Sheridan had stopped him by counting the House, proceeded as follows: "whatever "negligence," said Mr. Sheridan, "may "be imputed to my conduct, in other re- "spects, I cannot be charged with having "neglected to bring the errors of the go- "vernors in India before the public, and "to enforce the necessity of punishing their "crimes in an exemplary manner. He "accuses my conduct of tending to occa- "sion delay in an affair that requires in- "stant consideration; but, in my opinion, "his own conduct is more likely to pro- "duce delay: for what effect can a preci- "pitate motion, founded on no documents, "on no information, have, but to provoke "opposition, and to prevent the voluntary "efforts of his Majesty's ministers to pro- "mote an inquiry?—In the method of "conducting inquiries into Indian affairs, "at least, I may boast I have had some ex- "perience, and do not stand in need of "the directions of the hon. and learned "gentleman. With regard to the time, "the occasion, the manner in which it is "proper for me to bring forward any mo- "tion, I hold myself bound to obey the "dictates of no man. I shall act, in these "respects, from my own motives, from the "dictates of my own mind, and not be "guided either by the whims or the feel- "ings of others. On the present occasion, "I have already stated, that there are only "two ways of proceeding—either to dis- "cuss the whole of the Indian affairs with "such imperfect lights as we have, or to "defer the whole till we can procure more "complete information. The motives that "induce me to pursue the latter method, I "have already stated; and I must do the "Chancellor of the Exchequer the justice "to say, that he has, in this business, "shewn himself extremely willing to pro- "duce every document in his power, and "has, in no instance, shewn a disposition "to keep back any information that has "been required. He has even voluntarily "moved for papers without requiring rea- "sons to be alledged by others for their "production. When such was the Chan- "cellor of the Exchequer's conduct, it was "impossible that I could follow any other "course than that which I have at present "chosen. I should not think myself justi- "fied in endeavouring, either by an inflam- "matory or declamatory harangue, to pre- "judge the question before the necessary "information respecting it can be procur- "ed. After the willingness which he had "shewn to promote an inquiry into this "subject, I need not inform the present "minister, who has not hitherto intermed- "dled with Indian politics, and who is still "unpolluted by the crimes of that govern- "ment—I need not inform him, that this "subject requires his most serious consider- "ation. It is unnecessary for me to enter "into a train of argument to prove the "rights of the Indian princes to their own "dominions. Since the settlement made "in the year 1768, we have ourselves uni- "formly recognized the title of the rights "of the Nabob of Arcot. Yet, in defiance "of this right, the lineal heir of that do- "minion is now deposed by us on account "of the alledged crimes of his grandfather "and his father. In considering the evi- "dence on which the reality of these "crimes rests, it is necessary to inquire "who were the detectors? we should be "answered, the government of India. Who "were the accusers? the government of "India. Who were the witnesses, the "judges, nay still more let us ask, who "were receivers of the forfeitures incurred "by these crimes? the government of In- "dia. In the government of India, we at "once find the detectors, the informers, "the accusers, the witnesses, the judges of "the crimes, and the receivers of the for- "feitures incurred by them. This, it must "be owned, looks suspicious, and is surely "alone sufficient to demand a serious in- "vestigation of the subject." Mr. Sheridan concluded by moving, that the petition from the regents of the Carnatic, which he held in his hand, be received and lie on the table.—After some observations from the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, tending to remove any suspicion that might be entertained respecting the propriety of the conduct of the governor-general and his noble relations, the House agreed to receive the petition.—*Mr. Nicholls* then rose, and, after lamenting that he was under the necessity of making a separate motion, and after some preliminary observations, moved, "that an "humble address be presented to his Ma- "jesty, humbly to request that his Majesty

* The paper will be found, at length, in the Supplement to this volume.

"will be graciously pleased to order such "measures to be taken as in his wisdom "shall appear most proper to investigate "the claims of the East-India Company to "the territories of the late Nabob of the "Carnatic."—On the *Speaker's* inquiring who seconded that motion, the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved, "that the House do "now adjourn," which was agreed to.

On Thursday (June 24) nothing of importance was done. The House, on the motion of *Mr. Wilberforce*, voted 5,000*l.* to Dr. James Carmichael Smyth for his discovery respecting the prevention of contagion.

On Friday (June 25), *Mr. Tierney* having moved the order of the day for resuming the debate on the finances*, a long conversation took place, which was closed by the statement of some opinions by Messrs. *Vansittart*, *Addington*, and *Sir Francis Baring*.—*Mr. Vansittart* took up that part of the subject which related to the probable progress of our revenue and the increase of our trade. It had been said, that the operation of the war had been to exclude rival nations, by our having the command of the sea, from meeting us upon an equal footing: that this gave us great advantages, and that peace would deprive us of these advantages. These were two points which he denied. He denied that we had greater trade by the war, except in one view, that of our conquests in the West-Indies; that in other respects we had lost much valuable trade by the war, and which trade we should now regain. Now it might be said that our manufactures flourished and our trade increased during the war, which was true; but they did not so increase and flourish in consequence of the war, or by the war, but they did so notwithstanding, and in opposition to the war. The war, as far as it operated on these points, instead of increasing our trade and commerce in itself, and independent of our conquests in the West-Indies, had an opposite tendency, and indeed must have it, by diverting a multiplicity of hands from productive labour; this must necessarily diminish, and that more than could directly be calculated, the real resources of a country; and peace had an opposite tendency, by increasing the productive powers of a country, and bringing with it advantages on the other hand which could not at once be calculated, and that more especially in such a commercial country as this. This consideration led him to consider, that with the general prosperity of the country which peace would bring about, the revenue must necessarily flourish. For the revenue must flourish if the articles of consumption which bore a high duty were disposed of at home and abroad in larger quantities than formerly. This would be the case in most of the leading articles of taxation, a few of which he would enumerate, for instance, wine, tea, and sugar. The consumption of all these articles had greatly increased already since the peace. Here he entered upon an accurate statement of the consumption of these articles, comparing the late with former periods, and both with the present, by which his proposition was abundantly supported. He then proceeded to expatiate most ably on another important branch of this question, namely, the operation which peace must necessarily make on the immense capital which would be now employed more advantageously, and indeed more of it than could be employed in time of war. In the first place, upwards of 20 millions annually would be employed now in trade, which during the war was necessarily employed in loans. The advantages of which alone to trade would be prodigious, when it came to be all active in its operations on the productive powers of the country. This began to be already felt even in the public proceedings of that House, in the vast enlargement which had already taken place in every branch of business, as Mr. Speaker could pretty well testify from the laborious attention it exacted from him. To illustrate this proposition Mr. Vansittart entered into a comparative enumeration of the number of road, canal, inclosure, and other bills, beginning in the year 1782, and taking stated intervals down to the present period; upon which it again appeared that our trade and all species of resources were very rapidly increasing. He then proceeded to give some account of all the vessels that passed the Sound in the course of the war, to shew also how much tonnage of British shipping and how much foreign had been employed in our trade, &c. from which he again deduced that our trade did not increase by the war, but that, on a comparative estimate with that of the increase of the trade of America, and the northern powers of Europe, which had not been engaged in the war, comparing what they were at the beginning of the war, what they are now, and what we were then, and what we were at the end of the war; and

* This gentleman has for several sessions last past been in the constant habit of making, what he is pleased to call, his "*annual* motion on finance!"

then he said that the war did not appear to have been the cause of our increase of trade in the tonnage of shipping—but that since the peace our shipping had already greatly increased.—From all these statements he concluded that our increase of trade, during the war, was not created by the war, but in despite of the war.—That since the peace, all the points on which the prosperity of a nation depended, had already increased, and were now increasing; that therefore the conclusion was fallacious, by which it was said, peace would contract our commerce.—*Sir F. Baring* adverted to the present state of the commerce of this country, and observed, it was very great at present, but expressed a conviction, that it could not continue. He looked to a considerable change in this respect, in the state of this country; it was not, indeed, a change from which he had any alarming apprehensions as to the general welfare of this country, but it was fit for the public to be prepared to receive it. There were millions to be struck out of the calculations, which some gentlemen had stated—there were some articles charged with a duty in time of war, which in time of peace they would not bear; and all the diminution thus created must be considered as a defalcation in the revenue. There were many regulations wanting upon various heads of trade, and great encouragement should be given to trade by various regulations, otherwise we could not expect that any of it would continue with us. He took the article of tea by way of illustration, upon which he expatiated at some length, to shew what attention was due to the subject, and also to support the proposition with which he commenced his speech, namely, that the trade of this country cannot continue what it is at present.—The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, after an apology for speaking so often as he had occasion to do this evening, expressed his disappointment at the opinion he had heard from the hon. baronet; and notwithstanding his authority, which was confessedly and deservedly very high, he must be pardoned from assenting to it. He had said that a part of our trade must necessarily decline in time of peace: he knew of no part of the trade and commerce of this country that must do so, except those parts of the West-Indies which we had gained by conquest during the war, and which we had restored by the treaty of peace. He doubted whether the sagacity of the hon. member himself could discover any other part of our trade that was likely to diminish. That was a part which was certainly material to the revenue of this country, but he apprehended that this would be greatly overbalanced by the advantages alluded to by his hon. friend (Mr. Vansittart) of the productive powers of the country being so much increased as they must by peace, and by which he apprehended that our commerce would be spread still wider over the world than it ever had yet been. With regard to the particular branch of trade to which the hon. baronet had alluded, he could not help recollecting the provisions which were made in the year 1784, and any intentions to turn any part of our trade to our disadvantage by illicit traffic, or the like, might be counteracted in ten days perhaps, by a legislative provision.—*Sir F. Baring* said a few words in explanation. He said, he did not look so much to the defalcation of the revenue from the diminution of trade, as the right hon. gentleman seemed to imagine. A great part of the trade to which he alluded as likely to be greatly diminished, was one which until lately did not produce any thing to the revenue at all; he meant the transit trade. There were some millions in value now in this trade, which we could not maintain in the year 1803. We should not be able to keep it up. Foreign countries would not be able to keep it up with us as they did during the war—they could not afford it. Our ships were not now worth half the money they were 12 months ago. The different powers of Europe were too much exhausted by the exertions they were obliged to make in the war, to be able to trade with us, as they had formerly done. He did not mention this as an instance of adversity to this country at large, but merely as to the probable future quantum of trade.

The first question was then read, on the resolution of *Mr. Tierney*, and the previous question put upon it and carried. All the rest of Mr. Tierney's resolutions were then disposed of by the previous question—and then each of the resolutions of the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* were put and carried.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then rose and said, he was extremely concerned in not having had it in his power sooner to call the attention of the House to a subject which he was about to mention, and which was of great importance. The House would recollect, that when the question had been dis-

cussed this Session on the subject of the Civil List, he expressed an intention of submitting to the House a measure to prevent the recurrence of another such application to Parliament. He conceived that he was pledged, and the House would pardon him, if he said the House was also in some degree pledged to the adoption of a measure upon this subject. He was extremely concerned that such a multitude of business which, the House would be aware he had been engaged in, had rendered it impossible for him to bring this subject forward this Session. He wished a minute examination to take place in the accounts, and then some arrangements to be made upon the matter. But this called for a degree of attention which his other and numerous vocations would not permit him to bestow upon it. He wished now to have it understood, that the intention he had stated some time ago upon this subject was not abandoned, and that he should lay before the House early in the next Session of Parliament, a proposition upon it, or that if it was not brought forward by him, it would be brought by some other person in his Majesty's ministry.

On Saturday (June 26) the remaining business was gone through.

On Monday (June 28) his Majesty closed the Session with the following most gracious speech from the Throne.*

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"The public business being concluded, I think it proper to close this Session of Parliament.

"During a long and laborious attendance, you have invariably manifested the just sense you entertain of the great trust committed to your charge. The objects of your deliberations have been unusually numerous and important, and I derive the utmost satisfaction from the conviction, that the wisdom of your proceedings will be fully proved by their effects, in promoting the best interests of my people throughout every part of my dominions.

"*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

"The ample provision you have made for the various branches of the public service, demands my warmest acknowledgments; and my particular thanks are due for the liberality which you have shewn in exonerating my civil government and household from the debts with which they were unavoidably burthened.

"Whilst I regret the amount of the supplies which circumstances have rendered necessary, it is a relief to me to contemplate the state of our manufactures, commerce, and revenue, which afford the most decisive and gratifying proofs of the abundance of our internal resources, and of the growing prosperity of the country.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"As I think it expedient that the election of a New Parliament should take place without delay, it is my intention forthwith to give directions for dissolving the present, and for calling a New Parliament.

"In communicating to you this intention, I cannot suppress those sentiments of entire approbation, with which I reflect upon every part of your conduct, since I first met you in this place. The unexampled difficulties of our situation, required the utmost efforts of that wisdom and fortitude, which you so eminently displayed in contending with them, and by which they have been so happily surmounted. From your judicious and salutary measures during the last year, my people derived all the relief which could be afforded under one of the severest dispensations of Providence. And it was by the spirit and determination which uniformly animated your councils, aided by the unprecedented exertions of my fleets and armies, and the zealous and cordial co-operation of my people, that I was enabled to prosecute with success, and terminate with honour, the long and arduous contest in which we have been engaged

"The same sense of public duty, the same solicitude for the welfare of your country, will, now, in your individual characters, induce you to encourage, by all the means in your power, the cultivation and improvement of the advantages of peace.

"My endeavours will never be wanting to preserve the blessings, by which we are so eminently distinguished, and to prove that the prosperity and happiness of all classes of my faithful subjects are the objects which are always the nearest to my heart."

After his Majesty had delivered his speech, the *Lord Chancellor* came forward and addressed both Houses to the following effect:

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"It is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure that this Parliament be prorogued until Tuesday, the 17th day of August next——and this Parliament stands prorogued till the said 17th day of August accordingly."

After this *formal* prorogation was announced, the Commons withdrew to their own House, and his Majesty retired in the usual form.—The Sword of State was borne by the Earl of Rosslin, and the Cap of Maintenance by the Earl of Morton.—The above proceedings concluded the sittings of the 18th Parliament of Great-Britain, and the first Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland.

* The Speaker of the House of Commons made a speech, which will be found under the head of Domestic Occurrences, p. 789.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

A PROCLAMATION,

For dissolving this present Parliament, and declaring the calling of another.

GEORGE R.

Whereas we have thought fit, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, to dissolve this present Parliament, which now stands prorogued to Tuesday the seventeenth day of August next: We do for that end, publish this our royal proclamation: and do hereby dissolve the said Parliament accordingly. And the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, and the Commissioners of Shires and Burghs, of the House of Commons, are discharged from their meeting and attendance on Tuesday the said seventeenth day of August next. And we being desirous and resolved, as soon as may be, to meet our people, and to have their advice in parliament, do hereby make known to all our loving subjects our royal will and pleasure to call a new Parliament: and do hereby further declare, that, with the advice of our Privy Council, we have given order that our Chancellor of that part of our United Kingdom called Great-Britain, and our Chancellor of Ireland, do, respectively, upon notice thereof, forthwith issue out writs in due form, and according to law, for calling a new Parliament: and we do hereby also, by this our royal proclamation under our Great Seal of our United Kingdom, require writs forthwith to be issued accordingly by our said Chancellors respectively, for causing the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, who are to serve in our said Parliament, to be duly returned to and give their attendance in our said Parliament; which writs are to be returnable on Tuesday the thirty-first day of August next.

Given at our Court at Windsor, the twenty-ninth day of June, one thousand eight hundred and two, in the forty-second year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

A PROCLAMATION,

In order to the electing and summoning the Sixteen Peers of Scotland.

Whereas we have, in our Council, thought fit to declare our pleasure for summoning and holding a Parliament of our United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, on Tuesday the thirty-first day of August next ensuing the date hereof: In order, therefore, to the electing and summoning the Sixteen Peers of Scotland, who are to sit in the House of Peers in the said Parliament, we do, by the advice of our Privy Council, issue forth this our royal proclamation, strictly charging and commanding all the Peers of Scotland to assemble and meet at Holy-Rood House, in Edinburgh, on Tuesday the tenth day of August next ensuing, between the hours of twelve and two in the afternoon, to nominate and choose the Sixteen Peers to sit and vote in the House of Peers, in the said ensuing Parliament, by open election and plurality of voices of the Peers that shall then be present, and of the proxies of such as shall be absent, (such proxies being Peers, and producing a mandate in writing, duly signed before witnesses, and both the constituent and proxy being qualified according to law.) And the Lord Clerk Register, or such two of the principal clerks of the session as shall be appointed by him to officiate in his name, are hereby respectively required to attend such meeting, and to administer the oaths required by law to be taken there by the said Peers, and to take their votes; and immediately after such election made, and duly examined, to certify the names of the Sixteen Peers so elected, and sign and attest the same, in the presence of the said Peers the electors; and return such certificate into our High Court of Chancery of Great-Britain. And we do, by this our proclamation, strictly command and require the Provost of Edinburgh, and all other the magistrates of the said city, to take especial care to preserve the peace thereof, during the time of the said election: and to prevent all manner of riots, tumults, disorders, and violence, whatsoever. And we strictly charge and command, that this our royal proclamation be duly published at the Market Cross at Edinburgh, and in all the county towns of Scotland, twenty-five days at least before the time hereby appointed for the meeting of the said Peers to proceed to such election.

Witness ourself at Windsor, the twenty-ninth day of June, one thousand eight hundred and two, in the forty-second year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Treaty of Peace concluded at Paris on the 4th of Oct. 1801, *between Spain and Russia:*

His Majesty the King of Spain, and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, being equally animated with a wish to restore the ancient friendly connexions, and good understanding that existed between their respective kingdoms, and desirous to effect this salutary purpose in the most expeditious and effectual manner, have authorized the undersigned plenipotentiaries to stipulate and declare as is hereby stipulated and declared:

Art. I. There shall be henceforth peace, friendship, and good understanding between his Majesty the King of Spain and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias.

II. To maintain and promote this happily restored order of things, the two courts shall appoint ministers to reside with each other, according to the ancient custom, who shall be nominated on each side by the beginning of the year 1802, or sooner, if possible.

III. Immediately after the ratification of the present act by the two Sovereigns, they shall publish ordinances in their respective states, enjoining their subjects to consider themselves as subjects of friendly nations, and in their commerce and other connexions, to conduct themselves as befits that state of peace and amity to which they are restored by the present act

In witness of which, we have signed the same, and sealed it with our arms.

Done at Paris the 4th of October, 1801.

J. Nicolas de Azara.
The Count Arcadi Marcof.

The above treaty was ratified by his Catholic Majesty, at San Lorenzo, on the 5th of December 1801, and by his Russian Imperial Majesty, at St. Petersburgh, on the 27th February 1802; and the ratifications were exchanged by the plenipotentiaries at Paris on the 5th of April 1802.

LIBERTY. EQUALITY.

In the Name of the French Government,

A PROCLAMATION.

The General in Chief to the Inhabitants of St. Domingo.

Citizens,

The time is arrived, when order will succeed to that chaos which has been the necessary consequence of the opposition made by the rebellious to the landing of the army at St. Domingo.

The rapid operations and progress of the army, and the necessity of providing for its subsistence and its establishment, have, hitherto, prevented my attending to the definitive organization of the colony. I could not, moreover, have any fixed or certain ideas of a country with which I was totally unacquainted, and consequently could not, without mature deliberation, form an opinion of a people who have been, for ten years, a prey to revolutions.

The basis of the provisionary organization which I shall give the colony, but which shall not be definitive till approved of by the French Government, is Liberty and Equality to all the inhabitants of St. Domingo, *without regard to colour*.—This organization comprizes,

1. The Administration of Justice.

2. The Interior Administration of the Colony combined with those measures which its interior and exterior defence require.

3. The imposition of Duties—the means of raising them and their application.

4. The Regulations and Ordinances relative to Agriculture.

5. The Regulations and Ordinances relative to Commerce.

6. The Administration of the National Domains, and the means of making them most beneficial to the State, so as to be less burthensome to Agriculture and Commerce.

As it is of infinite interest to you, citizens, that every institution should, in an equal degree, protect agriculture and commerce, I have not determined upon this important work, without having first had recourse to, and consulted with the most distinguished and enlightened citizens of the colony.

I have, in consequence, given orders to the generals of the south and west divisions to select for each of those departments, seven citizens, proprietors and merchants (without regard to colour) who, with eight more which I shall myself choose for the department of the north, are to assemble at the Cape in the course of the present month, to impart their observations to me on the plans I shall then submit to their consideration.

It is not a deliberative assembly I establish. I am sufficiently acquainted with the evils which meetings of this nature have brought upon the colony, to have that idea. The citizens who are thus chosen, being honest and enlightened men, to them will I communicate my views; they will make their observations upon them, and will be able to impress on the minds of their fellow-citizens, the liberal ideas with which government is animated.

Let those, then, who are thus to be called together, consider this appointment as a flattering proof of my consideration for them. Let them consider that, for want of their counsels and advice, I might pursue measures disastrous to the colony, which would ultimately fall upon themselves. Let them consider this, and they will find no difficulty in leaving, for some time, their private avocations.

Done at head-quarters at the Cape, 25th April, Year 10 of the French Republic.

The General in Chief,

(Signed) *Leclerc.*

(A true copy.)

The Deputy Adjutant-General,

(Signed) *D'Aoust.*

June 23, 1802.

The Consuls of the French Republic, on the report of the Minister of Marine and Colonies, and having heard the Council of State, decree,

1. The arrêté of the Council of the 30th of August, 1784, respecting foreign commerce in the French Isles of America, shall be executed according to its formand tenourat Martinique, Guadaloupe, St. Lucie, and Tobago, as well with respect to the opening and identity of the ports of dépôt, as with respect to the species of merchandize permitted to be imported and exported. The formalities shall be fulfilled, and the duties received.

2. The merchandize and produce of which the entry is permitted into the colonies, designed in the first article of the present arrêté, shall be duly imported in conformity with the dispositions of the 3d article of the law of the 21st September 1793, which shall be in like manner executed.

3. The duty received upon foreign cod fish, shall be six francs for five myriagrammes, in conformity with the arrêté of the 8th of March last.

4. The Ministers of Marine and Colonies, the Interior, and the Finances, are charged with the execution of the present arrêté, which shall be inserted in the Bulletin of Laws.

(Signed) *Buonaparté*, First Consul.
H. B. Maret, Secretary of State.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Letter from the Prefect of Bourdeaux.

" *Bourdeaux, June* 20, 1802.

" I was forced to write to you yesterday in haste, to announce the arrival in this port of the brig La Caroline, from Guadaloupe, in order to profit by the departure of the courier from Limoges, that I might transmit to you the dispatches of the Colonial Prefect Lescalier. You will have seen that they took possession of that fine colony without striking a blow, or firing a shot; but I think it my duty to communicate to you some details which I have received from the Prefect Lescalier.

" When the division of Rear-Admiral Bouvet appeared, the Prefect Lescalier was at La Desirade: he was taken on board the Admiral's ship, and thus obtained the means of proceeding with the army to Point-à-Pitre. The wind was very violent, and the sea very rough, so that they were only able on the first day to disembark the companies of Grenadiers and Chasseurs, who formed at the Port. General Richepanse then wrote to the Mulatto Pelage, who immediately came. The General ordered him to withdraw into their quarters the negro troops who were assembled on the shore in arms, and who were reconnoitering the Grenadiers and Chasseurs. This order was executed on the spot.

" The Captain of the Grenadiers then proceeded to the Fort which commands Point-à-Pitre, for the

purpose of taking possession of it. The black sentinel cried out that he should not enter: the Captain immediately ordered the *pas de charge* to be beaten, on which his company entered the Fort with so much precipitation, that a panic fear seized the negroes who guarded it, who escaped by means of a private staircase which communicated with the house or Pelage.

"The Mulatto Ignace, Chief of Battalion, and Palerme, a negro commandant of the place, fled with 250 negroes, and having passed the canal, they took refuge in the Fort of Basseterre, which is of little importance, and which was commanded by Delgres, a mulatto, formerly Aid-de-Camp to Captain-General Lacrosse. In spite, however, of this momentary insurrection of Delgres, and his followers Ignace and Palerme, the mulatto Gedeon, commandant of Basseterre, promised the utmost safety to the inhabitants of that town, and guaranteed them from all insult on the part of the insurgents, who had retired into the Fort.

"General Richepanse having disembarked the rest of the troops on the next day after his arrival, pursued the negroes, who had fled from Point-à-Pitre, taking the road to Basseterre, where his presence recalled to their duty the handful of miserable blacks, who were already conquered by the terror with which they had been struck at the mere sight of the Grenadiers and Chasseurs disembarked on the first day.

"Captain Caul, who commands La Caroline, reports, that at his departure from Point-à-Pitre, 800 men of colour had been disarmed and put on board the transport vessels, and that the Mulatto Pelage was a prisoner on board the ship of Rear-Admiral Bouvet, as well as the Ex-Captain of Port Mont Roux.

(Signed) "*Aug. Bergevin.*"

To the Min. of Marine.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

On the 28th instant, His Majesty closed the session of Parliament, and on the 29th, the Parliament was dissolved.

The notorious *Abbé Gregoire* is arrived in England, and has met with a most flattering reception from a no less notorious person in this country.

The following important articles are taken from the London Gazette of June 29th.

Naples, June 9, 1802. Charles Emanuel the Fourth, King of Sardinia, having by an instrument, dated at Rome, the 4th of this month, resigned his crown and dominions in favour of his brother the Duke De Aost, His Royal Highness has acceded to the crown, under the name of Victor Emanuel.

Paris, June 17, 1802. The Ottoman minister at this residence has this day received from Constantinople the act of accession, on the part of the Sublime Porte, to the definitive treaty of peace between His Majesty and the French Republic, the King of Spain, and the Batavian Republic, signed at Amiens on the 27th of March last.

Downing-street, June 29, 1802. Accounts have been received here, that His Majesty's ratification of his acceptance to the King of Sweden's act of accession to the convention, signed at St. Petersburgh the 17th of June, 1801, has reached Stockholm.

Downing-street, June 29, 1802. A dispatch has been received from His Excellency Lord St. Helens, His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary at the court of St. Petersburgh, dated June 3d, containing the particulars of what passed between the Count de Kotschoubey and Baron Stedingk, the King of Sweden's ambassador at St. Petersburgh, on the occasion of the latter's acceding, in the name of His Swedish Majesty, to the convention between His Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, signed at St. Petersburgh, the 17th of June, 1801.

This dispatch states, "That he, (the Count,) after endeavouring to refute the various objections that had been urged by the Baron de Stedingk against the tenor of the Convention of the 17th of June 1801, and to demonstrate to him that that Treaty presented to the Northern Powers all the advantages that it had been found possible to obtain, had proceeded to observe, that the antecedent Convention between Russia and Sweden having been in some sort broken by that which had since been concluded between Russia and England, and to which Denmark had also acceded, would certainly be advisable for Sweden to accede likewise to that Treaty, in order that she might not remain in a manner insulated, and that some common pact might still continue to exist between the Powers of the North."

On Saturday, (June 26,) the Chancellor of the Exchequer, accompanied by several of His Majesty's ministers, the governor and deputy governor of the Bank of England, and many other persons of distinction, went in procession to the scite for the *London Docks*, where the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Hawkesbury, Sir Richard Neave, Bt. chairman, and Edward Foster, Esq. deputy chairman, laid the first stone, in which were placed two bottles, containing the gold and silver coins, and some of the medals of the present reign, and over them a plate of pewter, with the following inscription:—

THIS STONE
Was laid on Saturday the 26th Day of June,
Ann. Dom. 1802,
In the Foundation of the Entrance Bason
of the
LONDON DOCKS,
Undertaken by private Subscriptions,
for the
Greater Accommodation and Security
of
SHIPPING, COMMERCE, AND REVENUE,
within the
PORT of LONDON,
and
Pursuant to an Act passed on the
20th Day of June, Ann. Dom. 1800.
In the 40th Year of the Reign of Geo. III.

The Speaker, on presenting the Consolidated Fund, and the Irish Imports and Exports Bills, for his Majesty's Royal Assent, delivered the following Address:

"*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"It is my duty to present to your Majesty, the bills for completing the supplies which your Majesty's faithful Commons have granted for the service of the year.

"With heartfelt gratitude, they acknowledge your Majesty's paternal goodness and wisdom, which have already enabled them to make a large reduction of the public burthens, by the termination of a long and eventful war; a war just and necessary in its origin, conducted with energy, sustained with fortitude, signalized by triumphs surpassing the fame of our ancestors, and obtained in countries unvisited by their arms, and concluded at length by a peace, which has added new conquest to your crown, and given repose and safety to these its ancient dominions, whose Peers and Commons have now, for the second year, the happiness of being assembled in one United Parliament at the foot of your Throne.

"Thus circumstanced, your Majesty's faithful Commons not only look forward with a sanguine hope that they may not soon be called to the hard necessity of augmenting the public debt by future burthens; but they have deemed it their duty to look back to the debt already incurred: and with the same characteristic spirit, which first laid the foundation of an effectual system for the extinction of the National Debt, they have proceeded to arrange and settle a plan for accelerating that extinction, by pledging the future application of their growing means to the accomplishment of the same great object.

"At a time, when their attention has been directed to these considerations, and when they have also found that taxes of unprecedented weight, though wisely imposed to meet the exigencies of such a war, might nevertheless be now prudently repealed; it has given the highest satisfaction to your Majesty's faithful Commons, to relieve those pressing demands which the general difficulties of the times had cast upon the provision assigned by Parliament for the support of your Majesty's household, and the honour and dignity of your crown: for this country has not now to learn, that its monarchy is the best and strongest security for its liberties; and that the splendour of the throne reflects lustre and dignity upon the whole nation.

"These, Sire, are amongst the memorable events of a session thus far protracted; upon which we reflect with a conscious satisfaction, that to the discharge of great duties we have brought proportionate exertions. And we now indulge the flattering hope, that we may safely apply ourselves to cultivate the arts of peace.—Arts long dear to your Majesty and congenial to the temper of your people, whose spirit of enterprize in foreign commerce and internal improvement, unexampled in its exertions throughout the war, may now expand itself with redoubled activity; and by providing new sources of strength and wealth for this country, fix the stability of our own power—and at the same time promote the common interests of Europe and of all the civilized nations of the world."

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

In the present sheet we have closed our account of the Proceedings in Parliament, with the insertion of His Majesty's most gracious Speech from the throne, in which we find a word, unprecedented, we believe, in the annals of the British Parliament. To call, to prorogue, and to dissolve the Parliament, are acts belonging solely to the prerogative of His Majesty, and they constitute, too, a part of the prerogative, which every wise and faithful Minister will guard with the greatest care and resolution. It appears to us, that this most important part of the duty of a Minister has not been sufficiently attended to by Mr. Addington, in advising his Royal Master not only to give the Parliament information of his intention to dissolve them, but, in some sort, to apologize for the measure, by stating its expedience.—"As I think it *expedient* that the "election of a new Parliament should take "place without delay, it is my intention "forthwith to give directions for dissolving "the present, and for calling a new Parlia-"ment."—The use of such language, it is to be presumed, could never have been advised by any one unaccustomed to flatter the House of Commons. Every point, on which His Majesty may choose to touch in his Speech, is not, indeed, merely on that account, to be regarded as matter for Parliamentary deliberation; but, this act of dissolving the Parliament itself so essentially belongs to the King alone, and is a right which it is of such vast importance to preserve unshaken, that no word or syllable, that may, in the slightest degree, tend to call it in question, should ever, on any occasion, be made use of. The leading characteristic, the ruling passion, of every popular assembly, is, *a desire to encroach*. If they are, this time, dissolved, because it is "*expedient*," they may, in future, wish for *proof of the expedience*. Further suggestions are not necessary to justify our regret, that His Majesty has been advised to adopt the sentence,

which we have extracted from his most gracious Speech.

The dissolution of Parliament has already furnished some of the seditious with an opportunity of venting their malice against the government. By the *government*, we do not mean the *Ministry*, but the *Monarchy*, and the divers powers by which that ancient and sacred establishment maintains itself and extends its protection to those, who have the happiness to live under it. The people have been told, in two factious addresses in particular, that they are not represented in the House of Commons, that that assembly is no longer what it used to be, and that, until it be reformed, it is in vain for them to hope for any good from that quarter. The words, *representation* and *elective franchise* have done much towards confusing the brain and corrupting the hearts of His Majesty's subjects; and, though we have not the vanity to suppose, that we possess the power of dissipating the fatal delusion, it is our duty to contribute our mite in the attempt.

The maxim, upon which the enemies of the government proceed, is this: that a people are free and happy in the exact proportion in which their voice prevails in the election of those who make the laws; and, as the voice of the mass of the people here has, in truth, no very great share in the election of the House of Commons, they, of course, can enjoy but a small portion of freedom, and of that happiness, which it is in the power of law and government to bestow.

To *argue* against this doctrine would be useless: men have been disputing on it for two hundred years, and are as far from an agreement as ever. We shall, therefore, appeal from reasoning to experience; from theory to practice; from *opinions* to *facts*. Nor, shall these facts be drawn from antiquated history, the authenticity of which might be doubted, but from a state of things this moment in exercise. Again; they shall not be sought for amongst the Venetians, the Genoese, the Swiss, the French, or the Dutch, but amongst a people descended from the same stock with ourselves; speaking the same language, having the same sober temper, the same habits, customs, and manners, and differing from us only in those points where the revolution in their government have had an immediate effect*.

It will easily be perceived, that we here allude to the people and government of America; and we shall, after a few prefatory remarks, extract a passage, from a pamphlet written by an American, an eminent lawyer of New Jersey, in the year 1799. The pamphlet was addressed to the people of that State; the author's name WILLIAM GRIFFITHS, whose object was to point out the evils of the government, and to prevail on the people to consent to a change. The "*elective franchise*" was as universal as ever Sir Francis Burdett could have wished it, and we now are about to see a fair picture of legislative assembly produced by that "inestimable privilege."

Our famous countryman, SWIFT, has compared the people, who choose popular assemblies, to those silly worms, which exhaust their substance, and destroy their lives, in making habits for beings of a superior order. With all due deference to such an authority, we beg leave to say, that the latter part of the comparison will not bear the test of experience. That the people, in the exercise of their imaginary rights and privileges, do exhaust their substance, and sometimes, destroy their lives, is most certain; but, that they do this for the sake of *beings of a superior order* will be believed by no one, who has paid any attention to the objects of their choice, and who must, of course, have observed, that that choice does not unfrequently fall upon *bankrupts*, *swindlers*, *quacks*, *parasites*, *panders*, *atheists*, *apostates*, in a word, upon the most infamous and the most despicable of the human race; wretches whom no prudent tradesman would trust alone in his shop, and with whom any honest man would blush to be seen in conversation.

How happens it, that the people of America, for instance, are induced, in many instances, to commit their property and their lives to the guardianship of the refuse of the community? The Americans are, generally speaking, descended from the same ancestors with ourselves; they are by no means inferior to us in point of discernment; and their love of liberty, property, and life, is equal to ours. The cause of their preposterous choice is this: the mass of the people, of all nations, are so fond of nothing as of *power*. Men of sense know, that the people can, in reality, exercise no power which will not tend to their own injury; and, therefore, if they are honest men, as well as men of sense, they scorn to foster their vanity at the expense of their peace and happiness. Hence it is, that, in States, where the popular voice is unchecked by a royal or any other hereditary influence, that voice is nine times out of ten, given in favour of those

* These remarks are taken, chiefly, from Porcupine's Works, Vol. X.

fawning parasites, who, in order to gratify their own interest and ambition, profess to acknowledge no sovereignty but that of the people, and who, when they once get into power, rule the poor sovereign, that has chosen them, with a rod of scorpions, affecting, while the miserable wretch is writhing under their stripes, to call themselves his "*representatives!*"

Of all the tyrannies that the devil or man ever invented, the tyranny of an elective assembly, uncontrouled by regal power, is the most insupportable. When the tyrant is an individual, the slaves have the satisfaction of knowing their oppressor; they have the consolation of hearing him execrated, and, amidst their miseries, they are now and then cheered with the hope, that some valiant hand will bear a dagger to his heart. But, an uncontrouled elective assembly is an indefinable, an invisible, and an invulnerable monster; it insinuates, like the plague, or strikes like the apoplexy; it is as capricious, as cruel, and as ravenous as death; like death, too, it loses half its terrors by the frequent repetition of its ravages, and, such is its delusive influence, that every man, though he daily sees his neighbours falling a sacrifice to the scourge, vainly imagines it to be at a distance from himself.

Now, for *proof* of what we have here advanced, we shall quote Mr. Griffiths's Description of the Legislative Assembly of New Jersey.

P. 109.—"It is impracticable here to "enter into a detail of facts to prove, that "the virtue of the legislature has been, and "will be constantly assailed and overcome. "It shews itself in the very formation of the "legislature. No sooner does an election "for a legislative assemby and council ap-"proach than the question is not, who are "the wisest and most disinterested, and of "most integrity; but who will best answer "the views of *party*, of private ambition, or "personal resentment. In every county "there is constantly a succession of people "aspiring to appointments, civil or military: "some desire to be judges, some justices, "some majors, and some colonels; some "have interests depending in the courts of "law, and some, perhaps, have resentments "against existing officers, and would fain "oust them from their seats: all these, and "a thousand more passions, are set to work; "and nominations to the legislature are di-"rected and supported upon principles al-"together beside those, which should form "the basis for a right election of legislative "characters: the result must, of course, be "unfavourable to the public good. But "this is not all; not only are elections ren-"dered vicious, and the morals of the *people* "corrupted in these struggles for personal "advantages, but unhappily the *candidates* "partake of the contamination: they must "promise allegiance to their party; *you "shall be a judge*, and *you a justice; you a "major*, and *you a colonel; you a clerk*, and "*you a commissioner; I will solicit your cause "in the Court of Errors, and will vote for "your friend to fill a seat in the Judiciary.* If "these kind of illicit engagements are not "publicly or directly entered into, they are "sufficiently understood and guaranteed by "those friends of the candidate, who take a "leading part in his election. Instead of being "elected with a national view, and for the "purpose of forming general laws, for the "more equal and salutary government of the "people, the persons go there to represent "the interests and gratify the desires of a "few partisans in their different districts, "*upon the performance of which will depend "their re-appointment at the ensuing election!*

"When the legislature is *formed*, then "begins a scene of *intrigue*, of *canvassing* "and *finesse*, which baffles all description, and "is too notorious to require proof, and *too "disgusting for exhibition.* The members of "a county, in which an office is to be dis-"posed of, are beset by friends and parti-"sans of the candidates; their hopes and "fears are excited, by all the arts which "can be suggested; from these, the attack "extends itself, till it reaches every mem-"ber of the legislature; and so strong and "so general does the contest become, by "the different representations, having each "particular objects to attain, that *one grand "scene of canvass and barter ensues:* a vote "for one, is made the condition of voting for "another, without regard to qualifications; "*even laws which are to affect the public in-"terest, are made the price of these interested "concessions;* and not unfrequently is almost "the whole sitting of the legislature spent in "adjusting the pretensions, and marshalling "the strength of the respective candidates "for office. To such a pitch has this grown, "that even the members of the legislature "complain of it, as an intolerable evil. "These contests again lay the foundation "for new parties and new resentments at "the next election. To counteract the "opposition which may be stirred up, all the "appointments will be made, with a view "to strengthen the interest of the sitting "members. New commissions, civil and

" military, judges and justices, general officers, general-staff and field officers, will " be made with a reference to the state of " parties in the county, instead of being " dictated by a quite contrary spirit. It is " within the knowledge of those conversant " in the *courts of law*, that in the counties, " many of them are become *mere political* " *clubs*. They take sides; and a man, be- " fore he brings on his cause, *counts the heads* " *upon the bench*.

" The result of all this is seen and felt " in every quarter. From hence proceed " the jars and divisions *which destroy the* " *pleasure of social life in every neighbour-* " *hood and village;* and from hence arises " the instability of laws, the multiplication " of magistrates, the weakness and division " of the courts of justice, the heats and ill- " directed zeal at elections, and that general " languor and dereliction of principle in " every department, which menaces the total " depravation of the body politic."

Such, Englishmen, such is the description of a legislative assembly, where "*equal representation*" prevails, where *almost every man* has a vote at elections, and where those elections do *annually* recur. The ambitious knaves, who flatter you with high notions of your rights and privileges, who are everlastingly driving in your ears the blessings of what they call the "elective *franchise*," wish to add to the number of electors, because they well know that *they* would thereby gain an accession of strength. The only object that such men have in view, is the gratification of their own ambition, at the public expense; and, to accomplish this object, they stand in need of *your* assistance. There is a continual struggle between them and the ligitimate sovereignty of the country, which restrains them from pillaging, oppressing, and insulting the people. Hence it is, that they are constantly endeavouring to persuade the people, that that sovereignty requires to be checked and controuled; in which nefarious endeavours, they are, unfortunately, but too often successful. How they would act, were they once to engross the whole power of the state, you may easily perceive from what has been disclosed to you respecting the legislature of an American republic. If you imagine, that *you* should be able to avoid the evils, which, from this source, the Americans have experienced, you deceive yourselves most grossly. They are as fond of freedom as you are, and they want no information, nor any good and great quality, that you possess: but, having been too jealous of the royal authority, having lent their ear, and next their hand, to those demagogues who persuaded them that they were capable of governing themselves, they destroyed the only safe-guard of that liberty, for which they thought they were fighting, and the want of which they now so sensibly feel and so deeply deplore.

" Stick to the *Crown*, though you find it " hanging on a bush," was the precept which a good old Englishman gave to his sons, at a time when the monarchy was threatened with that subversion, which it afterwards experienced, and which was attended with the perpetration of a deed that has fixed an indelible stain on the annals of England, blessed be God, we are threatened with no such danger at present; but a repetition of the precept can never be out of season, as long as there are Whigs in existence, and as long as there are men foolish enough to listen to their insidious harangues. The crown is the guardian of the people, but more especially is its guardianship necessary to those who are destitute of rank and of wealth. The King gives the weakest and poorest of us some degree of consequence: as his subjects, we are upon a level with the noble and the rich; in yielding him obedience, veneration, and love, neither obscurity nor penury can repress our desires, or lessen the pleasure that we feel in return; he is the fountain of national honour, which, like the sun, is no respecter of persons, but smiles with equal warmth on the palace and the cottage; in his justice, his magnanimity, his piety, in the wisdom of his councils, in the splendour of his throne, in the glory of his arms, in all his virtues, and in all his honours, we share, not according to rank or to riches, but in proportion to the attachment that we bear to the land which gave us birth, and to the sovereign, whom God has commanded us to honour and obey.

The Convention with the Northern Powers (see p. 788) has, at last, received the sanction of Sweden; but the language of the paper, in which the accession is communicated, fully proves, that even the little powers of Europe most heartily despise that nation, of whom they, heretofore, stood in awe. Here, indeed, were a subject of complaint worthy the mind of a British patriot; but, our modern patriots have no inclination to complain of those who disgrace their country. If they complain, it is because she is not disgraced enough; because she is not already ruined and enslaved. They are wonderfully vigilant as to the power and

influence of their own sovereign; in their anxiety to prevent him from abusing his authority, they seem totally to overlook the danger that threatens both him and them.

The accession of the Porte to the treaty of Amiens is a matter of course; and, as to the resignation of the King of Sardinia, if it be at all a matter of surprize, it is because we know not what he has to resign, except it be the honour of being a slave to Buonaparté.

From the advices respecting Guadaloupe, it appears, that the subduing of that Island has cost the French but very little trouble. A detachment from St. Domingo (which will be the grand deposit of the army) has restored tranquillity, with as little bloodshed as a band of constables break up a two-penny hop. The *bravery* of Negroes and Mulattoes will, we hope, cease to be the theme of democratic admiration. These people, however armed and provided, are formidable to nobody but indecisive or cowardly assailants.

Some accounts of an insurrection of the Negroes in Virginia have appeared in the London papers; but, very late advices from that country do not speak of it as a matter of any importance. Trade had fallen off in America, the import trade in particular; but the great call for lumber and provisions in the French Islands (and which will now greatly increase) had, in some measure, compensated for the diminution in the carrying trade. According to all the accounts, which we have received from the United States, it appears, that the approaching change of masters on the Mississippi has created great alarm in the minds of all those, who are not decidedly attached to France. They see the change in precisely the same light, in which we have uniformly seen and described it; nor do they fail to inveigh most bitterly against the folly and cowardice of the British Ministers, in suffering Louisiana to fall into the hands of France. The enemies of Great-Britain (who are now louder and more insolent than ever) do, on the contrary, most heartily rejoice. With these people, the disgrace and ruin of their own country are trifles compared with the satisfaction of seeing England brought, at last, to the feet of her foe. Let not our Ministers indulge the hope of seeing a *jealousy* excited between France and America. *Fear* of France may be excited; it is already, to a certain degree; but it will have no other effect than that of increasing her influence. An alliance between England and America, for any purpose hostile to France, or for a defence against her hostility, is what no Minister in his senses will rely upon. We lost the golden opportunity in 1797, and we may rest assured, that it will never return. It is often asked: "Will not America "wish to see the power of Great-Britain "preserved as a check to the power of "France?" An odd question to be put by those, who have been accustomed to regard the loss of America as a blessing, and who, till very lately, have obstinately persisted in treating her with contempt. Miserable, indeed, is the situation of England, when her fate depends upon the mere inclination of any other power or powers of the world! The two last treaties of peace have made a new distribution of power, the effects of which will be felt, more or less, in all our future diplomatic transactions, but of which we shall not experience the dreadful consequences till another war shall unite against us the power of America and of France: then shall we be taught to estimate the politics of the Tuckers, the Beekes, and the Edens, of the Shelburnes, the Hawkesburies, and the Addingtons; then shall we be justly punished for our folly and baseness in listening to these pedling politicians, in tugging at the oar of these grovelling statesmen.

The Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia have, it seems, arrived at Memel, but the object of their meeting (if it has any object worth public attention) has not yet transpired. The Emperor of Germany has signified his *great satisfaction* at Buonaparté's being chosen Consul for life!—At the approaching fête of the 14th July, in France, the government has directed, that, in every district, there shall be celebrated a marriage of a young maiden with a young man, chosen from amongst those, who are distinguished for *acts of courage*.—The prefects and sub-prefects are ordered to act in concert with the respective municipalities in providing a dower for the maiden so married.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

Whitehall, June 26, 1802.

The King has been pleased to order a Congé d'Elire to pass the Great Seal, empowering the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of St. Asaph to choose a Bishop of that See, the same being void by

the death of the Right Reverend Father in God Doctor Lewis Bagot, late Bishop thereof; and his Majesty has also been pleased, by his Royal Sign Manual, to recommend to the said Dean and Chapter the Right Reverend Father in God Samuel Horsley, now Bishop of Rochester, to be by them chosen Bishop of the said See of St. Asaph.

The King has been pleased to grant to the Hon. Gerald Valerian Wellesley, Clerk, Master of Arts, the Place and Dignity of a Prebendary of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster, void by the death of the Reverend Doctor Joseph Hoare.

Downing-street, June 29, 1802.

The King has been pleased to appoint William Fullarton, Esq. Brigadier-General Thomas Picton, and Samuel Hood, Esq. Captain of the Royal Navy, to be his Majesty's Commissioners for executing the Office of Governor and Commander in Chief in and over his Majesty's Island of Trinidad.

Whitehall, June 29, 1802.

The King has been pleased to appoint William Adam, of Blair Adam, Esq. to be his Majesty's Lieut. and Sheriff Principal of the Shire of Kinross.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE NAVY, JUNE 30, 1802.

	Line.	50's	Frig.	Sps.	Tot.
In port and fitting	16	2	28	59	105
In the Channel, Downs, and North Sea	0	0	20	40	60
West-Indies, and on passage	24	2	34	40	100
American and Newfoundland	0	1	3	5	
East-Indies, and on passage	7	6	15	17	45
Coast of Africa	0	0	0	1	1
Portugal and Gibraltar	5	1	5	1	12
Mediterranean	15	3	31	33	82
Hospital and Prison Ships	3	1	1	1	6
Total in Commission	70	16	137	197	420
Receiving Ships	7	0	6	1	14
Repairing for Service	17	1	6	1	25
In ordinary	81	7	72	85	245
Building	24	1	8	1	34
Total	199	25	229	285	738

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE ARMY, JUNE 30, 1802.

	Regulars				Invv. Co.
	Cav.	Inf.	Fe. Inf.	Tot Ba.	
England and Wales	24	30	5	59	40
North Britain	2	3	9	14	6
Ireland	7	16	25	48	6
Jersey, Guernsey, &c.	—	3	—	3	20
Gibraltar	—	10	—	10	—
Minorca and Malta	—	7	—	7	—
Egypt, and on passage from Canada, Nova Scotia, &c	1	4	—	5	—
West-Indies	—	5	2	7	—
Cape of Good Hope, Goree, &c.	—	35	—	35	—
East-Indies, and on the passage thither	1	7	—	8	—
On passage from Abroad	4	19	—	23	—
Total	40	139	41	220	72

PRICES OF THE PUBLIC FUNDS.

	SAT.	MON	TUE.	WED	THU.	FRI.
Bank Stock	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 pr Cent. Red. An.	74⅝	74⅛	—	74	—	—
3 per Cent. Cons.	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 per Cent. Cons.	90	90⅛	—	90¾	—	—
5 per Cent. Ann.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bank Long Ann.	21¼	21⅜	—	21	—	—
Do. Short 1778-79	5	—	—	—	—	—
Imp. 3 per Cent.	73⅝	73⅛	—	72⅞	—	—
Do. Ann.	12¼	—	—	12¼	—	—
5 per Cent. 1797	105⅛	105⅜	—	105¾	—	—
Omnium	¼ pr	1 pr	—	½ dis	—	—
India Stock	—	—	—	—	—	—
Do. Bonds	—	—	—	—	—	—
South Sea Stock	—	—	—	—	—	—
Do. Old Ann.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Do. New	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 per Cent. 1751	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Navy Bills	—	—	—	—	—	—
Exchequer do.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Irish 5 per Cent.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Irish Debentures	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lottery Tickets	—	—	—	—	—	—

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 55 f. c.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. c.f.	10 17⅛ us.	LEGHORN	51½
Do. at sight	10 14 a 15	NAPLES	44
ROTTERDAM	10 18⅛ us.	GENOA	47½
HAMBURGH	33 32¼ us.	VENICE, 59 livres pic-	
ALTONA.	33 42½ us.	cole effective pr. £. ster.	
PARIS 1 day	23 17	LISBON	67
PARIS 2 us.	24 2 liv.	OPORTO	67¼
BOURDEAUX	24 3	DUBLIN	12¾
CADIZ 34	in paper	BILBOA	36 Do.
DITTO 35¾	effective	PALERMO	
Madrid 34	in paper	AGIO, bank on Hol.	p.
DITTO 36½	effective		

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

	s.	s.		s.	s.
Eng. Wheat pr. q.	56	to 72	Hops per cwt.	81	to 160
Foreign	00	—00	Hay per load	75	—90
Rye	31	—35	Beef per stone	4s. 4d.	
Barley	27	—31	to 5s. 0d.		
Malt	45	—52	Mutton 5s. 10d.	to 6s. 9d.	
Oats	13	—23	Veal 4s. 6d.	to 6s. 0d.	
Pease (white)	35	—37	Pork 5s. 6d.	to 6s. 6d.	
Beans (horse)	30	—33	Tallow	3s. 8d.	
Flour per sack	50	—55	Average of Sugar		
Seconds	45	—50	per cwt.	37s. 4¾d.	
Coals per chal.	33	—40	Salt per bushel	14s. 6d.	

Bread *Ten Pence* the Quartern Loaf.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER, *near Guildford, in Surry, for the month of June* 1802.

Days.	M's Age	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barometer. Inches. M.	Barometer. Inches. A.	Thermometer. Degrees. M.	Thermometer. Degrees. A.
24		Fair.	N	N	29,9	29,92	58	63
25		Fair.	NW	NW	29,92	29,92	65	70
26		Fine.	S	S	29,73	29,73	65	69
27		Clo. Rain.	SSW	SW	29,51	29,48	63	59,5
28		Fair.	W	W	29,4	29,37	60	65
29		Squally.	W	W	29,4	29,43	55	59
30	☾	Clo. Rain	WNW	WNW	29,61	29,6	60	57

● *New Moon.* ☾ *1st Quar.* ○ *F. Moon.* ☽ *last Quar.*

COMMERCE.

Report of the American Secretary of State, to Congress, concerning the Privileges and Restrictions of the Commercial Intercourse of the United States with Foreign Nations.*

THE Secretary of State, to whom was referred by the House of Representatives, the report of a committee on the written message of the President of the United States of the 14th February, 1791, with instructions to report to Congress the nature and extent of the privileges and restrictions of the commercial intercourse of the United States with foreign nations, and the measures which he should think proper to be adopted for the improvement of the commerce and navigation of the same, has had the same under consideration, and thereupon makes the following report:

The countries with which the United States have their chief commercial intercourse, are Spain, Portugal, France, Great-Britain, the United Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden, and their American possessions: and the articles of export which constitute the basis of that commerce, with their respective amounts, are—

	Dollars.
Bread-stuff, that is to say, bread-grains, meals, and bread, to the annual amount of	7,649,887
Tobacco,	4,349,567
Rice,	1,753,796
Wood,	1,263,534
Salted fish,	941,696
Pot and Pearl-Ash,	889,093
Salted Meats,	599,130
Indigo,	537,379
Horses and mules,	339,753
Whale oil,	252,591
Flax Seed,	236,072
Tar, pitch, and turpentine,	217,177
Live provisions,	137,743
Ships,	
Foreign goods,	620,274

To descend to articles of smaller value than these, would lead into a minuteness of detail neither necessary nor useful to the present object.

The proportion of our exports to the nations before mentioned, and to their dominions respectively, are as follow:

	Dollars.
To Spain and its dominions	2,005,207
Portugal and its dominions	4,698,735
France and its dominions	4,698,735
Great-Britain and its dominions	9,363,416
The United Netherlands and their dominions	1,963,880
Denmark and its dominions	225,415
Sweden and its dominions	47,240

Our imports from the same countries are—

Spain and its dominions	335,110
Portugal and its dominions	595,763
France and its dominions	2,068,348
Great-Britain and its dominions	15,285,428
United Netherlands and their dominions	1,172,692
Denmark and its dominions	351,364
Sweden and its dominions	14,325

Those imports consist mostly of articles on which industry has been exhausted.

Our navigation depending on the same commerce, will appear by the following statement of the tonnage of our vessels, entering in our ports, from those several nations, and their possessions, in one year, that is to say, from October 1789, to September 1790, inclusive, as follows:—

	Tons.
Spain	19,696
Portugal	23,576
France	116,410
Great Britain	43,580
United Netherlands	58,858
Denmark	14,655
Sweden	750

Of our commercial objects, Spain receives favourably, our bread stuff, salted fish, wood, ships, tar, pitch, and turpentine. On our meals, however, as well as on those of other foreign countries, when re-exported to their colonies, they have lately imposed duties, of from half a dollar, to two dollars the barrel, the duties being so proportioned to the current price of their own flour, as that both together are to make the constant sum of nine dollars per barrel.

They do not discourage our rice, pot and pearl ash, salted provisions, or whale oil: but these articles, being in small demand at their markets, are carried thither but in a small degree. Their demand for rice, however, is increasing.—Neither tobacco nor indigo are received there. Our commerce is permitted with

* This report was made in the early part of 1793. It is of great importance, as containing the sentiments and commercial system of the person, who is now President of the United States, and who, of course, has it in his power, to act up to the principles here laid down. He cannot, indeed, adopt any regulations injurious to England, till the stipulations of the treaty of 1794, have expired; but, as they will expire on the 1st. of October, 1803, and as Mr. Jefferson will continue to be President (if he lives so long,) till March 1805, he will not want for time and opportunity to carry his principles into effect.—In every point of view, therefore, this report is of great importance.

the Canary islands, under the same conditions.—

Themselves and their colonies are the actual consumers of what they receive from us.

Our navigation is free with the kingdom of Spain; foreign goods received there in our ships, on the same conditions as if carried in their own, or in the vessels of the country of which such goods are the manufacture or produce.

Portugal receives favourably our grain, and bread, salted fish, and other provisions, wood, tar, pitch, and turpentine.

For flax-seed, pot and pearl ash, though not discouraged, there is little demand.

Our ships pay twenty per cent. on being sold to their subjects, and are then free-bottoms.

Foreign goods (except those of the East-Indies) are received on the same footing in our vessels, as in their own, or any others; that is to say, on general duties of from twenty to twenty-eight per cent. and consequently, our navigation is unobstructed by them. Tobacco, rice, and meals, are prohibited.

Themselves and their colonies consume what they receive from us.

These regulations extend to the Azores, Madeira, and the Cape de Verd Islands, except, that in these, meals and rice are received freely.

France receives favourably our bread-stuff, rice, wood, pot and pearl ashes.

A duty of five sous the kental, or nearly four and a half cents, is paid on our tar, pitch, and turpentines. Our whale oils pay six livres the kental, and are the only foreign whale oils admitted.

Our indigo pays five livres the kental; their own two and a half: but a difference of quality, still more than a difference of duty, prevents its seeking that market.

Salted beef is received freely for re-exportation; but if for home consumption, it pays five livres the kental. Other salted provisions pay that duty in all cases, and salted fish is made lately to pay the prohibitory one of twenty livres the kental.

Our ships are free to carry thither all foreign goods, which may be carried in their own, or any other vessels, except tobaccos not of our own growth: and they participate with theirs the exclusive carriage of our whale-oils and tobaccos.

During their former government, our tobacco was under a monopoly, but paid no duties; and our ships were freely sold in their ports, and converted into national bottoms. The first national assembly took from our ships this privilege. They emancipated tobacco from its monopoly, but subjected it to duties of eighteen livres fifteen sous the kental, carried in their own vessels, and twenty-five livres carried in ours; a difference more than equal to the freight of the article.

They and their colonies consume what they receive from us.

Great-Britain receives our pot and pearl ashes, free, while those of other nations pay a duty of two shillings and three pence the kental. There is an equal distinction in favour of our bar-iron; of which article, however, we do not produce enough for our own use. Woods are free from us, whilst they pay some small duty from other countries. Our tar and pitch pay eleven pence sterling the barrel. From other alien countries, they pay a penny and a third more.

Our tobacco, for their own consumption, pays 1s. 3d. sterling the pound, besides heavy expenses of collection. And rice, in the same case, pays 7s. 4d. sterling the hundred weight; which, rendering it too dear, as an article of common food, it is consequently used in very small quantity.

Our salted fish and other provisions, except bacon, are prohibited. Bacon and whale-oils are under prohibitory duties, so are our grains, meal, and bread, as to internal consumption, unless in times of such scarcity as may raise the price of wheat to 50s. sterling the quarter, and other grains and meals in proportion.

Our ships, though purchased and navigated by their own subjects, are not permitted to be used, even in their trade with us.

While the vessels of other nations are secured by standing laws, which cannot be altered, but by the concurrent will of the three branches of the British legislature, in carrying thither any produce or manufacture of the country to which they belong, which may be lawfully carried in any vessels; ours, with the same prohibition of what is foreign, are further prohibited by a standing law (12 Car. 2. c. 18. s. 3.) from carrying thither all and any of our own domestic productions and manufactures. A subsequent act, indeed, has authorized their executive to permit the carriage of our own productions, in our own bottoms, at its sole discretion; and the permission has been given from year to year by proclamation; but subject every moment to be withdrawn on that single will, in which event, our vessels having any thing on board, stand interdicted from the entry of all British ports. The disadvantage of tenure which may be so suddenly discontinued, was experienced by our merchants on a late occasion *, when an official notification that this law would be strictly enforced, gave them just apprehensions for the fate of their vessels and cargoes dispatched or destined to the ports of Great-Britain. The minister of that court indeed frankly expressed his personal conviction that the words of the order went further than was intended, and so he afterwards officially informed us; but the embarrassments of the moment were real and great; and the possibility of their renewal, lays our commerce to that country, under the same species of discouragement as to other countries, where it is regulated by a single legislator; and the distinction is too remarkable not to be noticed, that our navigation is excluded from the security of fixed laws, while that security is given to the navigation of others.

Our vessels pay in their ports 1s. 9d. sterling per ton, light and Trinity dues, more than is

* April 12, 1792.

paid by British ships, except in the port of London, where they pay the same as British.

The greater part of what they receive from us is re-exported to other countries, under the useless charges of an intermediate deposit, and double voyage. From tables published in England, and composed as is said, from the books of their custom-houses, it appears that of the indigo imported there in the years 1793—4—5, one third was re-exported: and from a document of authority, we learn, that of the rice and tobacco imported before the war, four-fifths were re-exported. We are assured indeed, that the quantities sent thither for re-exportation since the war, are considerably diminished, yet less so than reason and national interest would dictate.

The whole of our grain is re-exported when wheat is below 50s. the quarter, and other grain in proportion.

The United Netherlands prohibit our pickled beef and pork, meals, and bread, of all sorts, and lay a prohibitory duty on spirits distilled from grain.

All other of our productions are received on varied duties, which may be reckoned on a medium at about three per cent.

They consume but a small proportion of what they receive. The residue is partly forwarded for consumption in the inland parts of Europe, and partly re-shipped to other maritime countries. On the latter portion they intercept between us and the consumer, so much of the value as is absorbed by the charges attending an intermediate deposit.

Foreign goods, except some East-India articles, are received in vessels of any nation.

Our ships may be sold and naturalized there, with exceptions of one or two privileges, which somewhat lessen their value.

Denmark lays considerable duties on our tobacco and rice, carried in their own vessels, and half as much more, if carried in ours; but the exact amount of these duties is not perfectly known here. They lay such as amount to prohibitions on our indigo and corn.

Sweden receives favourably our grains and meals, salted provisions, indigo, and whale-oil.

They subject our rice to duties of sixteen mills the pound weight, carried in their own vessels, and of forty per cent. additional on that, or 22 4-10th mills carried in ours, or any others. Being thus rendered too dear an article of common food, little of it is consumed with them. They consume some of our tobaccos, which they take circuitously through Great Britain; levying heavy duties on them also; their duties of entry, town duties, and excise, being 4,34 dollars, the hundred weight, if carried in their own vessels, and of forty per cent. on that additional, if carried in our own or any other vessels.

They prohibit altogether our bread, fish, pot and pearl ashes, flax-seed, tar, pitch, and turpentine, wood, (except oak, timber, and masts) and all foreign manufactures.

Under so many restrictions and prohibitions, our navigation with them is reduced almost to nothing.

With our neighbours, an order of things much harder presents itself.

Spain and Portugal refuse, to those parts of America which they govern, all direct intercourse with any people but themselves. The commodities in mutual demand between them and their neighbours, must be carried to be exchanged in some part of the dominant country; and the transportation between that and the subject state must be in a domestic bottom.

France, by a standing law, permits her West-India possessions to receive directly our vegetables, live provisions, horses, wood, tar, pitch and turpentine, rice and maize; and prohibits our other bread-stuffs; but a suspension of this prohibition having been left to the colonial legislatures, in times of scarcity, it was formerly suspended occasionally, but latterly without interruption.

Our fish and salted provisions (except pork) are received in their islands under a duty of three colonial livres the kental, and our vessels are as free as their own to carry our commodities thither, and to bring away rum and molasses.

Great-Britain admits in her islands, our vegetables, live provisions, horses, wood, tar, pitch and turpentine, rice, and bread-stuff, by a proclamation of her executive, limited always to the term of a year, but hitherto renewed from year to year. She prohibits our salted fish, and other salted provisions. She does not permit our vessels to carry thither our own produce. Her vessels alone may take it from us, and bring in exchange, rum, molasses, sugar, coffee, cocoa-nuts, ginger, and pimento. There are, indeed, some freedoms in the island of Dominica, but, under such circumstances as to be little used by us. In the British continental colonies, and in Newfoundland, all our productions are prohibited, and our vessels forbidden, to enter their ports. Their governors, however, in times of distress, have power to permit a temporary importation of certain articles, in their own bottoms, but not in ours.

Our citizens cannot reside as merchants or factors within any of the British plantations, this being expressly prohibited by the same statute of 12. Car. 2. c. 18, commonly called the navigation act.

In the Danish American possessions, a duty of five per cent. is levied on our corn, corn-meal, rice, tobacco, wood, salted fish, indigo, horses, mules, and live stock; and of ten per cent. on our flour, salted pork, and beef, tar, pitch, and turpentine.

In the American islands of the United Netherlands, and Sweden, our vessels and produce are received, subjected to duties, not so heavy as to have been complained of; but they are heavier in the Dutch possessions on the continent.

To sum up these restrictions, so far as they are important:

1st. In Europe—

Our bread-stuff is at most times under prohibitory duties in England, and considerably dutied on re-exportation from Spain to her colonies.

Our tobaccos are heavily dutied in England, Sweden, and France, and prohibited in Spain and Portugal.

Our rice is heavy dutied in England and Sweden, and prohibited in Portugal.

Our fish and salted provisions are prohibited in England, and under prohibitory duties in France.

Our whale-oils are prohibited in England and Portugal.

And our vessels are denied neutralization in England, and of late in France.

2. In the West-Indies:

All intercourse is prohibited with the possessions of Spain and Portugal.

Our salted provisions and fish are prohibited by England.

Our salted pork, and bread-stuff, (except maize) are received under temporary laws only, in the dominions of France, and our salted fish pays there a weighty duty.

3. In the article of navigation.

Our own carriage of our own tobacco, is heavily dutied in Sweden, and lately in France.

We can carry no article, not of our own production, to the British ports in Europe.

Not even our own produce to her American possessions.

Such being the restrictions on the commerce and navigation of the United States, the question is, in what way may they be removed, modified, or counteracted?

As to commerce, two methods occur.

1. By friendly arrangements with the several nations with whom these restrictions exist: —or,

2. By the separate act of our own legislatures for countervailing their effects.

There can be no doubt, but that of these two, friendly arrangement is the most eligible. Instead of embarrassing commerce under piles of regulating laws, duties, and prohibitions, could it be relieved from all its shackles in all parts of the world—could every country be employed in producing that which nature has best fitted it to produce, and each be free to exchange with other mutual surplusses for mutual wants, the greatest mass possible would then be produced of those things which contribute to human life and human happiness; the numbers of mankind would be increased, and their condition bettered.

Would even a single nation begin with the United States this free system of commerce, it would be adviseable to begin it with that nation; since it is by one only, that it can be extended at all. Where the circumstances of either party render it expedient to levy a revenue, by way of impost, on commerce, its freedom might be modified, in that particular, by mutual and equivalent measures, preserving it entire in all others.

Some nations, not yet ripe for free commerce in all its extent, might still be willing to mollify its restrictions and regulations for us in proportion to the advantages which an intercourse with us might offer. Particularly they may concur with us in reciprocating the duties to be levied on each side, or in compensation any excess of duty, by equivalent advantages of another nature. Our commerce is certainly of a character to entitle it to favor in most countries. The commodities we offer are either necessaries of life, or materials for manufacture, or convenient subjects of revenue; and we take in exchange, either manufactures when they have received the last finish of art and industry, or mere luxuries. Some customers may reasonably expect welcome and friendly treatment at every market; customers, too, whose demands increasing with their wealth and population, must very shortly give full enjoyment to the whole industry of any nation whatever, in any line of supply they may get into the habit of calling for, from it.

But should any nation, contrary to our wishes, suppose it may be better to find its advantage by continuing its system of prohibitions, duties, and regulations, it behoves us to protect our citizens, their commerce and navigation, by counter prohibitions, duties and regulations also. Free commerce and navigation are not to be given in exchange for restrictions and vexations; nor are they likely to produce a relaxation of them.

Our navigation involves still higher considerations. As a branch of industry, it is valuable; but as a source of defence essential.

Its value as a branch of industry, is enhanced by the dependence of so many other branches on it. In times of general peace it multiplies competitors for employment in transportation, and so keeps that as its proper level; and in times of war, that is to say, when those nations who may be our principal carriers shall be at war with each other, if we have not within ourselves the means of transportation, our produce must be exported in belligerent vessels at the increased expense of war-freight and insurance, and the articles which will not bear that, must perish on our hands.

But it is as a resource for defence that our navigation will admit neither neglect nor forbearance. The position and circumstances of the United States leave them nothing to fear on their land-board, and nothing to desire beyond their present rights. But, in their sea-board, they are open to injury, and they have there too a commerce which must be protected. This can only be done by possessing a body of citizen seamen, and of artists, and establishments, in readiness for ship-building.

Were the ocean which is the common property of all, open to the industry of all, so that every person and vessel should be free to take employment wherever it could be found, the United States would certainly not set the example of appropriating to themselves, exclusively, any portion of the common stock of occupation. They would rely on the enterprize and activity of their citizens for a due participation of the benefits of the seafaring business, and for keeping the marine class of citizens equal to their object.—But if particular nations grasp at undue shares, and more especially, if they seize on the means of

the United States to convert them into aliment for their own strength, and withdraw them entirely from the support of those to whom they belong, defensive and protecting measures become necessary on the part of the nation whose marine resources are thus invaded, or it will be disarmed of its defence; its productions will lie at the mercy of the nation which has possessed itself exclusively of the means of carrying them, and its politics may be influenced by those who command its commerce. The carriage of our own commodities, if once established in another channel, cannot be resumed in the moment we may desire. If we lose the seamen and artists, whom it now occupies, we lose the present means of marine defence, and time will be requisite to raise up others, when disgrace or losses shall bring home to our feelings the error of having abandoned them. The materials for maintaining our due share of navigation, are ours in abundance; and, as to the mode of using them, we have only to adopt the principles of those who thus put us on the defensive, or others equivalent and better fitted to our circumstances.

The following principles being founded upon reciprocity, appear perfectly just, and to offer no cause of complaint to any nation.

1st. Where a nation imposes high duties on our productions, or prohibits them altogether, it may be proper for us to do the same by theirs. First burthening or excluding those productions which they bring here, in competition with our own of the same kind; selecting next such manufactures as we take from them in greatest quantity, and which at the same time we could the soonest furnish to ourselves, or obtain from other countries; imposing on them duties, lighter at first, but heavier and heavier afterwards, as other channels of supply open. Such duties having the effect of indirect encouragement to domestic manufactures of the same kind, may induce the manufacturer to come himself into these states, where cheaper subsistence, equal laws, and a vent of his wares, free of duty, may ensure him the highest profits from his skill and industry. And here it would be in the power of the state governments to co-operate essentially, by opening the resources of encouragement which are under their controul, extending them liberally to artists in those particular branches of manufacture, for which their soil, climate, population, and other circumstances have matured them, and fostering the precious efforts and progress of *household* manufacture by some patronage suited to the nature of its objects, guided by the local information they possess, and guarded against abuse by their presence and attentions. The oppressions in our agriculture in foreign parts would thus be made the occasion of relieving it from a dependence on the councils and conduct of others, and of promoting arts, manufactures and population at home.

2d. Where a nation refuses permission to our merchants and factors to reside within certain parts of their dominions, we may, if it should be thought expedient, refuse residence to theirs in any and every part of ours, or modify their transactions.

3d. Where a nation refuses to receive in our vessels any productions but our own, we may refuse to receive, in theirs, any but their own productions. The first and second clauses of the bill reported by the committee, are well formed to effect this object.

4th. Where a nation refuses to consider any vessel as ours, which has not been built within our territories, we should refuse to consider as theirs, any vessel not built within their territories.

5th. Where a nation refuses to our vessels the carriage of any of our own productions, to certain countries under their domination, we might refuse to theirs, of every description, the carriage of the same productions to the same countries.

But as justice and good neighbourhood would dictate, that those who have no part in imposing the restrictions on us, should not be the victims of measures adopted to defeat its effect, it may be proper to confine the restrictions to vessels owned or navigated by any subject of the same dominant power, other than the inhabitants of the country to which the said productions are to be carried. And to prevent all inconvenience to the said inhabitants, and to our own, by too sudden a check on the means of transportation, we may continue to admit the vessels marked for future exclusion, on an advanced tonnage, and for such length of time only, as may be supposed necessary to provide against that inconvenience.

The establishment of some of these principles by Great-Britain alone, has already lost us in our commerce with that country and its possessions, between eight and nine hundred vessels of near 40,000 tons burthen, according to statements from official materials in which they have confidence. This involves a proportional loss of seamen, shipwrights and ship-building, and is too serious a loss to admit forbearance of some effectual remedy.

It is true we must expect some inconvenience in practice, from the establishment of discriminating duties. But in this, as in so many other cases, we are left to chuse between two evils. These inconveniences are nothing, when weighed against the loss of wealth, and loss of force, which will follow our perseverance in the plan of indiscrimination. When once it shall be perceived that we are either in the system or the habit of giving equal advantages to those who extinguish our commerce and navigation, by duties and prohibitions, as to those who treat both with liberality and justice, liberality and justice will be converted by all into duties and prohibitions. It is not to the moderation and justice of others we are to trust for a fair and equal access to market with our productions, or for our due share in the transportation of them; but to our own means of independence, and the firm will

to use them. Nor do the inconveniences of discrimination merit consideration. Not one of the nations before-mentioned, perhaps not a commercial nation on earth, is without them. In our case, one distinction alone will suffice, that is to say, between nations who favour our productions and navigation, and those who do not favour them. One set of moderate duties, say the present duties, for the first, and a fixed advance on these, as to some articles, and prohibitions as to others, for the last.

Still it must be repeated that friendly arrangements are friendly with all who will come into them; and that we should carry into such arrangements all the liberality and spirit of accommodation, which the nature of the case will admit.

France has, of her own accord, proposed negotiations for improving, by a new treaty, on fair and equal principles, the commercial relations of the two countries. But her internal disturbances have hitherto prevented the prosecution of them to effect, though we have had repeated assurances of a continuance of the disposition.

Proposals of friendly arrangement have been made on our part, by the present government, to that of Great-Britain, as the message states: but, being already on as good a footing in the law, and a better in fact, than the most favoured nation, they have not as yet discovered any disposition to have it meddled with.

We have no reason to conclude that friendly arrangements would be declined by the other nations, with whom we have such commercial intercourse as may render them important. In the mean while, it would rest with the wisdom of Congress to determine whether, as to those nations, they will not surcease *ex parte* regulations, on the reasonable presumption that they will concur in doing whatever justice and moderation dictate should be done.

TH. JEFFERSON.

Report made to the National Convention by ROBERJOT, *relative to his Mission into the Countries conquered by the Armies of the North, and of the Sambre and Meuse*.*

Topographical and Commercial Details, relating to the Countries acquired by Conquest on this Side of the Rhine.

These conquered countries may be divided into two zones; one of which is bordered by the rivers of the Rhine and the Meuse, and the other by the latter river and the ocean.

This vast territory is intersected by other rivers, the principal of which is the Moselle, the Roër, the Sambre, the Lys, and the Scheldt: they are all in a great degree navigable.

The country between the Meuse and the Rhine, comprises a part of the Dutchy of Cleves, a part of Holland, the province of Guelderland, the principality of Meurs, the country of Juliers, the Electorate of Cologne, the Dutchy of Limburg, the Marquisate of Franchemont, the principality of Stavelot, the Dutchy of Luxemburg, the greatest part of the Electorate of Treves, Bingheim, the town of Mentz, and a very small part of that Electorate, some part of the bishoprics of Worms, and Spires, most of the Palatinate, the Dutchy of Deux-Ponts, and other countries of inferior importance.

The territory beyond the Meuse comprises the Low Countries of Austria, the remainder of the country of Liege, Dutch Brabant, and some divisions or parcels of territory between the Meuse and the Rhine.

The first zone has a superficies of one thousand one hundred and thirty square leagues, and contains a population of one million eight hundred and seven thousand inhabitants; which gives a proportion of one thousand one hundred and fifty-eight inhabitants to every square league.

The second contains a territory of nine hundred square leagues; the population is about one million seven hundred and thirty thousand. Each square league contains an average of one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two individuals.

The complete superficies of the two countries is two thousand two hundred and thirty square leagues, and the whole population about three millions five hundred and seven thousand inhabitants.

On returning to the country between the Meuse and the Rhine, it is observable, that different portions of the territory have an equal population; that industry is much varied, and the soil is more or less fertile.

The Dutchy of Cleves belongs to the King of Prussia; it is very fertile in corn; its commerce and industry are principally directed to linen cloth, but leather is likewise manufactured.

I here allude only to the left bank: if I add the principality of Meurs, which is situated in the middle of Guelderland, there will be an extent of thirty-six square leagues, and sixty thousand inhabitants.

Guelderland is in the possession of Holland, Austria, and Prussia: the three portions belonging to these powers contain thirty-six square leagues, their population amounts to seventy thousand individuals. This province is very fertile, though it has some heaths of considerable extent: its commerce and industry are principally confined to damask and plain linen.

The country of Juliers contains one hundred and thirty square leagues, and two hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants. It belongs to the Prince Palatine: this is one of the most fertile countries. It has manufactories of cloth, linen, and brass; there are foundries and forges, a quantity of coal, and manufactories of various kinds, particularly those of needles and thimbles.

---

* This article contains a vast deal of information, which is, at this time, become peculiarly interesting.

The Electorate of Cologne is a piece of land which extends along the Rhine: it contains about fifty-seven square leagues, and comprises sixty thousand inhabitants; it is the most fertile part of the whole country, and its manufacture is chiefly linen.

The Dutchy of Limburg belongs to the Emperor: it produces a quantity of forage, but not much corn; it rears a number of cattle, and its industry is very extensive: woollen cloth of all qualities is manufactured, and coal mines opened; it contains fifty-four square leagues, and twenty-four thousand inhabitants.

The Marquisate of Franchemont, and the principality of Stavelot belong, the former to the Prince of Liege, and the latter to the Abbé de Stavelot, who is a prince of the Empire. The territory of Liege, which is on the right bank of the Meuse, contains sixty-two square leagues, and ninety thousand inhabitants: they manufacture cloth and leather, and cultivate forage and grain, though to no very considerable extent.

The Dutchy of Luxemburg belongs to Austria: it contains three hundred and sixty square leagues, and three hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants: its principal trade is in wool. This Dutchy possesses much wood, and is not fertile.

The Electorate of Treves is the property of the bishop elector: it contains an hundred and sixty square leagues, and one hundred and thirty thousand souls. This country does not abound in grain, but it produces wine; there are many foundries and forges, particularly in the vicinity of Blankheim; where marble and slate are also procured.

The palatinate and the portions of the bishoprics of Worms, Spires, and the Dutchy of Deux-Ponts, Bingheim and Mentz; together with the small portion of this electorate and some other parcels of adjoining territory, have a superficies of four hundred leagues, and contain five hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants. This country is in a state of the greatest fertility; it has mines of very good iron, and several which abound in mercury have been opened. Lastly, that nothing may be omitted, the territory near Nimeguen, and the portion of the country of Namur, situate on the right of the Meuse, contain twenty-seven square leagues, and twenty-seven thousand inhabitants.

The second zone is divided into three parts; it comprises the Austrian Netherlands, the country of Liege, and Dutch Brabant. This extent of territory is more rich and fertile than that between the Meuse and the Rhine.

The population of the Austrian Low Countries amounts to twelve hundred and thirty-five thousand individuals, and its superficies is five hundred and seventy square leagues. This country contains mines of iron and lead, and a quantity of coal: its manufactures consist of cloth and linen; and several substances used in the arts are also prepared; agriculture is carried to the greatest perfection: great quantities of rape seed and other oils are produced; its trade is very great; in short, this is the richest and most abundant country in Europe.

That part of the country of Liege which is to the left of the Meuse, excepting the canton of Hezebaye and some communes near the river, is not generally fertile, but the people are very industrious; much coal is explored, and a quantity of allum and leather manufactured; there is also a great demand for the lime of this country. The town of Liege in particular, contains several manufactories of very good fire arms, and nails for ship-builders and others: the people are very active and laborious. This territory contains an hundred and ten square leagues, and two hundred and ninety-five thousand inhabitants.

Dutch Brabant, and other of the Dutch possessions extend to two hundred and twenty square leagues, and have two hundred thousand individuals. This country abounds in pastures, and in some parts produces abundance of grain.

This vast territory being divided into numerous compartments, there is no part but what has its customs, excise duties, and tolls: here certain privileges are enjoyed, which do not exist elsewhere: the customs, idioms, and manners generally differ: industry prevails among these people more from the circumstances and prodigality of nature, than from a wise administration, and laws calculated to promote the interest and happiness of the people. Each prince has endeavoured to ruin his neighbour, by preventing importation, with more ardour than he has studied the interest of his people. For many centuries feudality has existed in all its force: the clergy have constantly given proofs of their dominion.

This people, amidst the riches of nature, are not permitted to enjoy her bounties: every thing is shackled in its commerce and industry; and whatever they have acquired to the present time is rather the fruit of their activity and genius, their natural inclination for the arts, and for the conception of great enterprises, than of the combined measures of their government.

Holland has deprived this territory of its commerce; England has ruined its manufactures; in short, it has been plundered of every thing except the riches of its soil, its happy situation, which facilitates its natural advantages, and its manufacture of linen and lace, because of these it could not readily be deprived.

Notwithstanding these restrictions, this country abounds in productions; its industry is excessive; and it has an extensive trade. To form an idea as to the degree of prosperity it may attain, if a free government were to give full scope to the activity of the inhabitants, let us examine its different sources of wealth.

You will have an exact picture of the fertility of the soil, when you know that the Dutch derive from this country a vast quantity of corn; that this necessary article is also sent into France, and exported to the country of Munster, the Durchy of Berg, and the countries of Mark and Faim, which are on the right bank of the Rhine; the presence of the two armies did

not hinder this exportation, and the inhabitants supplied those armies with provisions.

Independant of this consumption, which was enormous, grain was used, the same as before the war, for making beer, which is the general drink of the inhabitants; a great quantity was also used for making the gin called Geneva, which is likewise in common use throughout the whole of the conquered country; in short, the inhabitants have, even now, a sufficient stock of provision to last till the month of Nivôse.

It is considered as a general average, that the country produces corn enough for the supply of three times its own population.

With respect to its industry, notwithstanding the restrictions and innumerable difficulties which the governments have never ceased to impose upon it, it is proportionably more extensive than in any other country.

At Aix-la-Chapelle we find manufactories of needles: these articles are as good, and as finely polished as those made in England: thirty mills are daily employed in polishing them.

In this town, and in those of Verviers, Neaut, Montjoie, Ensival, Franchemont, &c. they make common woollen cloth, and several other articles, which are equal in quality to those of England and France.

It is the activity of these inhabitants which has deprived England of two-fifths of her exports of serail cloth to the Levant.

At Stolberg several individuals manufacture brass wire and plates, which are exported to all the neighbouring states.

At Cologne manufactories have been established for iron stoves, so generally sought after in consequence of their solidity and elegance of form.

At Liege they make fire arms, which are in general request for their beauty and the excellence of their finishing: in this neighbourhood also, as well as in the course of the Meuse, they extract allum, so necessary for dying, and other arts.

In Austrian Flanders are manufactured common and damask cloths, and laces, which for beauty have never been equalled in any other country.

At Liege, Stavelot, and part of Guelderland, they prepare leather, the goodness of which is universally admitted.

At Malmedi they make cards and pasteboards, which are equal in quality to those of England.

In the country of Blankheim they cast iron, and by a very good process, prepare it for being converted into steel.

At Namur and its vicinity, brass wire is made, and copper caldrons, as good as those of England. This last article is very important.

As to commerce it is not what it used to be; it is confined in the interior, to the difficult conveyance of wrought articles from one country to the other, and externally, to whatever they may have in excess.

The former cannot prosper till the numerous duties on the frontiers are totally suppressed. The latter will be more considerable, when the same shackles are abolished, and the navigation of the rivers made free. The articles for exportation are needles, which are sent to France, Italy, Spain, the Levant, Germany, and the states of the North.

The serail cloths are particularly reserved for Smyrna and the ports of the Levant.

The broad cloaths are exported to Germany, Prussia, Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark

The linen, laces, and flax are sent to all parts of the globe.

The coal and iron are destined for Holland and France.

The plates of brass are for Switzerland, Geneva, France, and all countries where clock and watchmaking is general.

The leather is dispatched to the Northern countries, and the caldrons to the neighbouring states.

From this enumeration, it is easy to conceive the resources of this country, and the riches which it contains; of those it may yet procure, and of all the means that may contribute to this end; and we may foresee the advantage which France will at a future time derive from a country unknown in the respects I have mentioned, and of the importance of which we do not seem to be sufficiently aware.

Examination of the Question relative to the Limits of the Rhine.

The question here naturally presents itself, Whether it is of importance to the republic to add these countries to its territory; whether this union ought to comprise the whole, or only a part of them, and in this case, what limits ought to be fixed upon?

This proposition requires a serious examination, and to be considered under every aspect. To treat of it completely, I ought to state some principles, and previously to acquaint you with some facts. They will tend to illustrate the subject, and place it in a fair point of view.

The French being able to give the law to a powerful enemy, ought to dictate it in the treaty of peace which they are about to conclude, with all the conditions that may ensure their weakness, and our own strength.

The treaty of peace ought to specify the limits; it should trace the direction of these barriers in such a manner that they cannot be easily overcome.

The articles of this treaty ought to prevent the sparks of war from being re-kindled, and should be adapted to the present as well as to the future.

As ambition, jealousy, and the spirit of competition, may tend to make this enemy, in certain times and places, project new enterprises against the French nation, this treaty ought to weaken his means of hostility, if not to entirely deprive him of such means.

The arrangement of these conventions should be so combined, that the execution of all the

clauses may turn to the profit and power of the Republic.

These data, the justice of which cannot be disputed, will serve to resolve the question that has been proposed.

There prevail in general three opinions respecting the conquered countries.

One is, that it is politic and just to abandon these countries, and resume our own frontiers, remaining satisfied with having repulsed the enemy from our territory.

The second is, to confine our boundaries to the course of the Meuse.

The third is, to fix them at the Rhine.

The first of these opinions is defended by the necessity of our making peace, the inconveniences which will result from a territory too extensive, and the necessity of preventing the enemy from every opportunity of attacking us, by leaving him no pretext for hostility; because, say the partisans of this opinion, he would never want the motives for such a measure, if he were deprived of a country whose value would be the subject of perpetual regret.

The second is founded upon the idea that, by the territory comprised between the Meuse and the Ocean, belonging to France, it would facilitate the preservation of the advantages expected from the opening of the Scheldt, and the navigation of the Meuse, secured by the treaty of peace with Holland.

That it is just for the French nation to be indemnified for her expenses in defending her liberty, to the detriment of those who wished to deprive her of it.

That this territory, on account of the richness of its soil, and the industry of its inhabitants, cannot be otherwise than profitable, in every respect, to the French nation.

Those who support this opinion, think that a greater extent of territory than that of which they speak, will be no addition to these advantages.

The third, in short, rests upon the consolidation of the republic, which can only take place by the extension of her limits to the Rhine;

On the impossibility of Austria, under similar limits, to form new schemes against the French;

On the indemnity justly due to the nation for the expenses of a war of three years;

On the obstacles which this arrangement presents to the house of Austria, whose power it is necessary to diminish;

It also rests upon the necessity of procuring an advantageous commercial and political balance to the nation; a balance which remains secured by the union of these countries, as we shall then be able to open more intimate commercial relations with the North, and with some of the circles of Germany, and to increase our maritime trade;

It is founded on the circumstance of the free navigation of the Rhine, the slightest restriction on which would make the parts of this river which are secured to us, of no effect, while the liberty of its entire course renders incalculable the profits of its navigation;

On the means of appropriating to ourselves the resources afforded by industry, the progress of the arts, and the exploring of some mines, privileged by their scarcity, of which we are, in France, deprived;

On the infallible opportunity which offers of possessing ourselves of several branches of commerce followed by the English, our most inveterate enemies;

On the goodness of disposition of most of the inhabitants between the Meuse and the Rhine, who have several times solicited their union with France, at the National Convention; and, lastly,

On the wish of the French nation, which is less anxious to make peace than to grant the most favourable conditions.

First opinion. The return to the ancient limits, impolitic and unjust.

I shall stop a little, in order to refute this opinion: it is the opinion of the partisans of Austria, and of those who are too easily alarmed about the future fate of France, in case her limits should be remote.

In admitting this opinion, we are gratuitously deprived of those advantages which France may expect to derive from the opening of the Scheldt, and the free navigation of the Meuse, the two great sources of wealth for the frontier departments.

The nation would degrade herself in the eyes of Europe, if she so easily consented to give up the fruits of her conquest; she would leave to Austria, naturally jealous of our prosperity, every means of doing us injury; for the latter may break off our commercial connections whenever she pleases, in order to profit by the first circumstances which may be favourable to her for overthrowing the edifice of our liberty, and avenging herself for the humiliation she has experienced from our armies during the last campaign.

This would be giving to our enemy the opportunity of recovering from the state of distress in which the war has involved him; of reinforcing and reanimating his forces; and would leave him the means of again, and more adroitly, concerting his operations, and combining his plan with more maturity, whenever he may be inclined, under the weakest pretext, and profiting by our dissensions and wants, to declare a new war against us.

Hence it is neither politic nor just for us to return to our former limits.

Second opinion. The withdrawing of the limits to the course of the Meuse insufficient and unsafe.

Let us now examine the second opinion. Although this may be in many respects, more proper to consolidate the republic than the first, and may be advantageous in several points of view; there are nevertheless those who regard

the course of the Meuse as an insufficient and unsafe limit.

They agree that the French nation would find, in the countries she would retain, an indemnity proportionate to the greatest part of her expenses which have been occasioned by the war, but it is not under this point of view alone that the boundary in question ought to be considered; it ought to be known whether we do not leave to Austria all the means of recovering the territory which we should reserve to ourselves, and whether such a measure would tend to produce a durable peace?

Those who have taken a survey of the countries in question, and have followed the course of the Meuse, ought to know that this river proceeds between two ranges of mountains which decline only towards Maestricht: that the heights which border on both shores vary but little from each other; and that this river is fordable at certain seasons of the year.

That Namur and Liege, the two principal towns situated on the left bank of this river, and which are the most frequented places of resort, are commanded in every direction.

It was from the position of Chartreux, that the suburbs of Mercœur, and of the town of Liege, were burnt and destroyed by the Austrians, though the French were in possession of the citadel on the left bank. From a similar position the town of Namur might be destroyed in a few hours.

The positions of the river Meuse, therefore, do not form obstacles strong enough to prevent the enemy from attempting a passage, and invading the territory we should retain; it cannot also in any way serve as a frontier proper for guaranteeing the security of the country which it leaves between it and the ocean; it is only useful for fixing such limits as will not be subject to dispute, without affording a rampart, a means of security, or sufficient points of defence.

The enemy, placed between the Meuse and the Rhine would always be able to collect his forces, to make a provision of corn, to procure iron in large quantities for the use of artillery, and to equip his troops with Limbourg cloth; nothing, therefore, can prevent him from taking all these precautions, while he is in the territory which affords such numerous resources.

Occupying the heights, he will be able to effect, through the whole extent of the line, the first passage which negligence or weakness might induce him to attempt.

The country between the Meuse and the Rhine is rich in population, and productions of every kind, in horses, industry, and mines; the courage of the French and their enthusiasm for liberty, that intrepidity which is acquired after several victories, the terror and want of courage which prevail among an enemy always vanquished, the ascendency caused by the conviction that we spill our blood for our country and not for a master, that we fight for ourselves, for our own happiness, and for that of our brothers, all tended to make the French soldiers successfully repulse the Austrian troops who have always been celebrated for their bravery.

The limits fixed by the course of the Meuse will not sufficiently ensure the liberty of the French people: the enemy, it is true, will prove less powerful, when declaring war against us; but he will yet have means sufficient to renew a war, whenever he may consider it consistent with his interest to attack us.

Third opinion. Advantages of the limits of the Rhine.

Let us now refer to the third opinion, against which there is a greater number of opponents, because it is, perhaps, the interest of a power with whom we have treated, to prevent it from being received in a favourable light.

Those who are in favour of this opinion are persuaded that by adopting the limits of the Rhine, Austria, and the Circles will not be able to form new enterprises. This river differs in a great degree from the Meuse; its current is more rapid, its bed is generally double as wide, it is likewise deeper; it is every where more difficult to navigate, and pass; its banks are sometimes steep, in other parts they admit of an easy landing.

By taking the Rhine for our limits, there is consequently a greater advantage than by stopping at the Meuse; but it is not from these considerations alone that it is necessary to adopt those frontiers.

I have already stated that the country between the Meuse and the Rhine would afford immense sources to an enemy who may occupy it; that he would find at all times, and in great abundance, every thing necessary for the support of a vast army. It is therefore to our interest to take advantage of circumstances which may injure our enemy; the advantage which would thereby result to us would be the greater, as the Austrian troops, being forced to occupy the right bank, could not maintain themselves long there without a considerable expense, which would soon oblige them to cease hostilities in that position.

From the Dutchy of Cleves to Mentz, the country in general is not very fertile, the inhabitants not cultivating a sufficient quantity of corn for their own use; it is not unusual to see them obliged to eat bread made of oats. This country is mountainous, arid, and intersected by ravines, or hillocks, which render the conveyance of necessaries difficult: some very small portions of good soil ought not to make an exception and render less exact the description which has just been given of almost the whole of the territory.

We know the difficulty which Austria has experienced to support the divisions of her army, which were posted on the right bank of the Rhine and its vicinity, the necessity which that army was under of returning from this river, in order to encamp in a more fertile country, the exhausted state of its resources, in consequence of the expenses which were necessary, for the precaution of ekeing out the small quantity of

corn, among the most important divisions of this army; we know that necessity induced some larger farmers in this country, to dispose of all the provisions that could be spared at this period of scarcity.

This country alone, therefore, cannot support a certain number of men who might be compelled, by a state of war, to reside in it for a length of time. Nobody is ignorant that the dutchies of Berg, the greatest part of the county of Mark, and that of Saim, and a part of the Dutchy of Westphalia, are annually supplied with their stock of provisions from the country of Cologne, from Guelderland, the Dutchy of Cleves, and the country of Juliers, which lie on the left of the Rhine. It is only, as may be perceived, with the greatest precautions, expenses, and trouble, that the Austrian troops are supported on the right side of the Rhine, and it is easy to be persuaded that the support of this army can only be the means of exhausting the power to whom it belongs.

Let us add, that being deprived of such a vast and populous territory, the armies of such a power will be greatly diminished, and consequently this will be a real cause of a constant and immediate decay.

For several years the ambition of the House of Austria has been evident; this last war is a convincing proof of the assertion. It was not so much with a view of reinstating our late king in his former power, as with that of acquiring some of the provinces of France, that it put itself at the head of the coalition; the project of the powers who formed it, is now no longer a mystery. To deprive this house of a country which served to nourish its ambition, to force it to be satisfied with a territory which policy would induce it to maintain, and the limits of which have been defined by nature, is to serve the interest of the nation. Our generosity towards such a great enemy ought not to make us lose sight of the happiness of our fellow citizens, of future generations. These motives alone are sufficient to fix the limits of France at the Rhine; but there are other more important considerations, which may yet be appreciated by the partizans of this opinion, and which are about to be disclosed.

It is of consequence that we should endeavour to acquire an advantageous balance, since on this does relative power at present depend. It is admitted that, till now, this balance has been to our disadvantage, though the nature and genius of the French might have made every effort to obtain it. The principal means of acquiring it are, the exportation of an excess of commodities and of manufactures, objects of the arts which have become necessary among a polished people; in short, commerce, and the certainty of a market for every branch of industry; the real value of such articles, and the profit on the workmanship, compose a mass of wealth which constitutes the riches of the people who are able to devote themselves to employments of activity and industry.

Now, it is easy to prove that France, by the proposed union, will obtain this advantage, since, to the objects which proceed from her industry and her soil, may be joined those procurable from this new territory.

I have already said that this country has an excess of articles of merchandize, two-thirds more than is required by its population. I have also observed, that the articles of industry particular to those countries, such as linens, laces, threads, and flax, cloths of Limbourg, Aix, &c. needles and thimbles, brass-work, fire-arms, hats, stoves, nails, oils, refineries, alum, &c. &c. are exported in great quantities to Russia, Prussia, Poland, the Islands, Denmark, Sweden, France, Germany, England, the Levant, Switzerland, Geneva, and Spain.

I have stated that pit-coal is exported to Holland, where it is preferred to that of England; that the country of Blankheim furnished a prodigious quantity of iron of a good quality; that the Palatinate contained very rich mines of cinnabar; that there was in the vicinity of Aix-la-Chapelle, a mine of oxide of zinc, which is exported to Sweden, Prussia, England, Denmark, and Germany: all these articles, of utility to foreigners, are inexhaustible sources of wealth, which would remain with the enemy, if we were to consent to leave him in the possession of such a fruitful country.

This important territory being retained by France, its industry, so multiplied and various, cannot fail to give the French a preponderance which must turn the balance in their favour.

Another motive not less interesting for the preservation of this boundary is, that we may add to these immense riches the profits that must arise from the free course of a river, the importance of preserving which is an object of the greatest consideration.

The Rhine, from the territory of France, passes through immense, fertile, and industrious countries, touching with one extremity the soil of liberty, and with its principal mouth the Ocean; two of its branches extending to the sea of Zuyder-Zee, receiving the Mein, the Necker, and other rivers, which proceed from the interior of Germany; it is the most interesting of rivers, the most proper for communication, and for the conveyance of a multitude of objects of commerce, which would flow into a part of France and into the new territory, where liberty would require them, for the interest of individuals.

Already assured, by our property, and by the treaty of peace with Holland, of a part of its course sufficiently extensive, shall we, by frivolous pretexts, deprive ourselves of views, the effects of which are incalculable, by consenting to give up the barriers, and to other interruptions which would impoverish us, and enrich our neighbours or our enemies? No, we ought to wish for the success of the French nation; we ought to accelerate and induce its success, while the means are in our hands.

But one of the grand causes which ought to induce us to take the Rhine for our frontiers,

is, that we should thereby appropriate to ourselves the branches of commerce, which are now possessed by England. Favouring with all her might the little views of political economy of the Electors or Princes who have possessions along the Rhine, she has supported them in the opinion that to increase their revenues, it was necessary to maintain, increase, and multiply the duties on the articles of exportation, she has excited a spirit of hatred and rivalry among them, so as to make them forbid, and proscribe the use of the respective products of industry in each others country; she has induced them to believe that these little means would serve to render the manufactories active, and to multiply the various branches of industry.

England, always active in acquiring certain markets for her manufactures of cloth, had cast her attention towards the countries bordered by the Baltic, as Russia, and some states of the North.

Well assured that the proximity of the province of Limbourg would soon deprive her of that part of her traffic with those vast countries, she has incessantly endeavoured to shackle the transportation of similar articles, by laying duties upon them, which augmented the price, and prevented them from reaching distant markets.

By uniting these Dutchies to France, they will immediately enjoy the liberty of exportation; they will instantaneously furnish the above mentioned states: the cheapness of the workmanship, the facility of conveyance, and the exemption from certain duties will soon establish a preference which will distance the English, because they cannot furnish similar articles at the same price, and the republic will directly enjoy this branch of commerce, to the exclusion of her enemies.

There will be several other objects gained, as well as the latter: the arts and industry being encouraged, will flourish with rapidity; most of the neighbouring nations will trade, in preference, with the united countries, and our commercial relations extending far and wide, will increase the wealth of the French nation.

Wish of the majority of the inhabitants that the limits should be fixed at the Rhine.

The determination of the limits by the course of the Rhine is still the wish of the majority of the inhabitants. You have frequently heard their desire of forming a part of the great family, expressed at your bar: their anxiety on this subject has been manifested by numerous addresses from the constituted authorities, which expressed the wish of the people: you are acquainted with the steps they have taken to facilitate an union which must prove of mutual advantage.

Malevolence has been exerted in vain to blacken their intentions, and calumniate their conduct. Without doubt there are to be found among them many enemies to the liberties of the people; enemies who were fostered by oppression, biassed by the prejudice of slavery, interested, perhaps, in supporting the ancient order of things. These very persons would in vain make us believe that their wish is that of their fellow-citizens: it is only necessary, in order to be convinced of the falsity of such an assertion to make a tour through the countries in question.

There is no doubt that facts have occurred which prove the inclination of the partisans of Austria, to induce the inhabitants of those countries to execrate the very name of the French: several agents of the Republic have been known to exercise a degree of despotism and injustice over those inhabitants, sufficient to induce them to revolt; but, animated with good-will towards us, they were capable of distinguishing the agents from the whole nation; their animadversion and contempt were directed against those agents, and their hearts still remained attached to France.

A great error prevails respecting these countries. It is generally supposed that the people are not so much enlightened as those of France; some are of opinion that the manners and climate there are so different, that our principles and our revolution can never be adopted by the people; that their union would be the source of troubles, the effects of which might extend even into the heart of our own departments.

They are thought to be entire strangers to our cause; yet the progress of the revolution is followed by them with astonishing activity; a great part of the French laws are executed; at the time of invasion, administrations were created similar to those of the departments and districts; tribunals, justices of the peace, and municipalities were established. The grand events of the revolution are celebrated there, the same as in France, by civic fêtes.

The Flemish, Dutch, and German idioms prevail: it may indeed be said that the Flemish and Dutch are the same, there is so great a resemblance between them: but the French is spoken sufficiently accurate, and it has become more general since the entry of the troops of the Republic. There is consequently no greater difference between those provinces and our nation, than there is between the departments of the South and those of the North: the customs and manners differ, it is true, but they are more congenial to the nature of a republican government than those of our own. Let us cast our attention towards Holland, she was a republic; she broke the chains of her slavery, while we supported ours even without a murmur.

This people has more than once manifested its love for liberty; but either for want of proper means, or through treason, it always failed in its attempts at revolution. Its efforts were taken for commotions, its opinion for that of a faction, its energy, for intrigue, it almost always failed, because princes interested in crushing truth, caused the ringleaders to be arrested and conducted to the scaffold; and by these tyrannical measures, insurrections were suppressed, which might have effected a revolution.

The inhabitants of Liege have often shewn their hatred of slavery. Impatient to see their

fetters broken, and indignant at the despotism of the Prince Bishop, they have dared, lately, to rise against oppression. They have improved upon the rights of the sovereignty of the people, and proclaimed their principles with courage; they shewed their heroism in defending them, when the great forces of a power, who, they supposed would support them, soon gave them reason to lose the hopes they had conceived: these however, were re-animated by the commencement of the French revolution. The Liegois wished it to be completed, that they might faithfully attach themselves to the Republic; they were influenced by the love of liberty, and by gratitude. They now ardently request to be united to France, or to enjoy her protection in support of their independence.

The majority of the inhabitants of the other countries are of the same opinion: they wish to associate with the French, that they may enjoy their future prosperity. Having too clear an insight into the advantages they had to expect from their union, calculating the effects of the liberty of commerce, and the consequences of the encouragement afforded to industry and the arts, they are convinced that they will gain every thing by becoming Frenchmen; certain as to the fate which awaits them, they exert every effort to prevent themselves from being deprived of their expectations. Profiting by the success of a revolution, of which they have not experienced the horrors, they will be anxious to apply the effects of this happy event to themselves.

Already a great number have joined with the soldiers of the Republic in repulsing the satellites of the coalition. Our troops are not more brave than these heroes of liberty.

There are none, not even the most thoughtless, but are favourable to this union: they say that every government established upon firm basis, and guided by justice and equality, must be agreeable to them, from these circumstances alone: aware of the necessity of submitting to wise laws, in order to avoid the horrors of anarchy, they are ready to enter into a compact that will secure to them their rights.

The abolition of religion would, undoubtedly, have been an insurmountable obstacle to the union, but as the people will have the privilege of exercising it, and as the reforms that may be made among the clergy will not deprive them of this consolation, nothing of this kind will occur to prevent the junction. The men who have devoted themselves to a religious life, are neither considered nor esteemed; they have lost the confidence of the people, and the general opinion is already against them. Let these people, therefore, continue to have their religion and their ministers, their ceremonies, and their creeds, and you will attach them to your principles, your liberty, and your fate.

England and Austria have secret emissaries amongst them, to corrupt the public opinion, to induce a detestation of the French, to spread despair amongst the inhabitants, to damp their patriotism, and prepare them for the restoration of the ancient order of things, to divide the opinions of those who take an interest in political events, to pervert the public mind, calumniate the national representation, to depreciate the assignats, and abolish all hopes of an union or eminent protection.

To these may be added the partisans of despotism and of the ancient government, individuals who are interested from the situations which they hold, in the re-establishment of things as they were before the war, those who are inordinately ambitious, and speculate on the chances of favour or protection from persons of credit; and those who are prepossessed in favour of dominion. But their whole number is not sufficient to prevent the union; they are not strong enough to inspire the friends of the French revolution with alarm; they must therefore submit to the vast majority who wish for liberty. How many there are who seem averse to this union, but will energetically exult in it, at the moment they see it realized!

Motives for carrying the union into effect. Indemnity for the expenses and misfortunes of the war.

At length, after so many successes, advantages, and victories over the coalition; when the French nation is exhausting herself, in order to carry on a war made against her by injustice, and treachery, from a hatred of liberty, and a jealousy of her future prosperity, from a combination of all the passions, to ruin and destroy her, will it be proper or politic to exact no indemnity from our enemies, to adopt no measure to relieve our finances, to increase our commerce, to pave the way for abundance, and to make us forget the considerable losses which they have occasioned us to sustain? Is it proper to devote ourselves so generously to weakness and poverty, when we have the certain means of preventing such alarming evils? We ought therefore to take the indemnity which offers, namely, the preservation of that country which is now occupied by our troops.

Our first object, on terminating the war, and pacifying the powers now in arms against us, is to consolidate the Republic; the happiness and prosperity of France are connected with this government. What nations will dare to make an attempt upon our safety, or our territory, while we possess such powerful means of resistance? What potentate will be hardy enough to attack us, when we shall have frontiers that can be so easily defended, and are, besides, so tremendous in their aspect.

But peace is not the only method of consolidating the Republic; we can also, when we have recovered from our exhaustion, attempt to new-model the edifice of our liberty; but with peace, an accession of territory, a greater number of troops, and additional wealth, the revolution cannot fail to be established, the Republic is ensured for ever, and public prosperity is certain.

Promises made to the inhabitants of the left bank of the Rhine.

Do not forget that you have flattered these people with hopes of the union: they rely upon your word: the representatives of the people who know your interests, have proclaimed it: your committees of government advised them to prepare themselves for the change, to form their opinions, and in short, to act, in every respect, as if they were to be united to France on the morrow. Zealous to fulfil your intentions, they have missed no opportunity of telling them with frankness, that they would soon be your brethren and your friends. Will you, then, at the time when you can carry your promises into effect, refuse an alliance with these people, to their injury, and your own disgrace? No, your loyalty will render the measure a duty, even when that duty would not be dictated by the general interest.

The wish of the French people.

This opinion is also supported by the wish of the French people; for their intentions are that you should employ every means to render them happy and tranquil; they have given you the power; their own will is known; they formally expressed it when they charged you with their interests; and you, on accepting the mandate, promised them implicitly to conform to it. Their ardent wish at present is to see the Republic consolidated, and its enemies weakened and defeated: every measure contrary to their interests fixes on you a responsibility, at the consequences of which you ought to be alarmed.

The people are no longer what they were. Heretofore curbed by the yoke of kings, they took no part in political events: but now, being more enlightened, guided by their own reflections, seeing things justly, instructed by the various, though sometimes regular events of the revolution, having always their misfortunes and sacrifices before their eyes, they judge impartially, and are not deceived about what is fit for them.

Now, they will have you take for your frontiers, the circles, the states of the North, and of Germany, and the course of the Rhine; they are anxious for this demarcation; they already entertain the greatest hopes from the adoption of the measure; the merchant speculates beforehand on the new branches of commerce which are about to be opened, the artist, on new processes, and the artizan on the facility of procuring several useful objects, of which he has been hitherto deprived. Consult the general opinion and you will be convinced of the truth of my assertions.

Manœuvres employed to prevent the demarcation of our limits at the Rhine.

Every manœuvre has already been employed to prevent you from taking this resolution. Several writings are circulated through the country, the object of which is to persuade the people that you have no right to extend your frontiers to this distance. The princes interested in preserving their possessions are taking every measure to oppose your plans. The powers who pretend to have some distant claim upon the electorates or principalities, also endeavour to put off a decision which could not but be contrary to their interests.

Austria, in her turn, perceiving that the vast territory of her empire would no longer join to that of the Republic, and that to attack you, she must be obliged to pass through a foreign territory, has redoubled her activity to prevent the adoption of a project which does such a serious injury to her preponderance, and plans of ambition.

But, it will be said, do you wish to deprive of their rights and possessions princes who rejoiced in your revolution, who hate the House of Austria, as well as yourselves, and who have an interest in constantly opposing the views of ambition and aggrandizement of this house? Is it not better to leave these princes in possession of their property as chiefs of the intermediate states, in order to counterbalance the power of Austria, than to despoil and annihilate their electorate?

It is known that they have only furnished their contingencies, through the imperiousness of circumstances, and in order that they might not break those conventions to which they had consented before our revolution.

But, in this point of view, have they conducted themselves less like enemies towards the French nation? Have they not attempted to deprive her of her liberty? Have they shewn themselves inclined for peace? Have they been the first to make proposals for accelerating this object? and when the most powerful states, united like them to the coalition, had already treated, are they excusable for pursuing a conduct so widely different?

Besides, the first object, in treating for peace is to consolidate the Republic: if she cannot be consolidated except by the detriment and loss of the vanquished power, every other consideration ought to be rejected.

Means of conciliating private interests.

The nation, however, in the midst of its successes, may be generous enough to grant some indemnity to the electors.

Their revenues are derived from their great possessions, in consequence of their title, and from the produce of indirect taxes: the direct tax being destined only for a more general use, as the repairing of roads, the construction of bridges, support of hospitals, &c. &c. is not a revenue for them. The first tax consists of custom house and excise duties, with others of a similar kind. They are very small, and the expenses of collecting them absorb almost the whole amount. Their principal income consequently proceeds from the produce of the vast possessions which they hold.

The French nation, therefore, in order that

these princes may not be entirely ruined, might leave them their possessions, and only deprive them of all exercise of pretended sovereignty, by abolishing the right of feudality.

When they are upon an equality with the other proprietors, they will submit to the laws of the republic, without preserving privileges and distinctions: by this means they will have an indemnity which will recompense them for the losses they have been obliged to sustain in consequence of the war.

Final motives for the limits of the Rhine.

If you do not profit by this circumstance, you will not again have such an advantageous opportunity of conferring a benefit on the Republic. The order of succession and pretensions of some princes will not always preserve that country to electors: powerful houses will lay claim to the right of succeeding the present Elector Palatine in his estates; estates which they cannot, as heirs only, acquire till his death, and which they cannot at present turn to their advantage.

We know what disputes arose about this succession, at the death of the last Elector, the conduct of the Emperor towards the contending parties, the arrangements they made among themselves, to oppose the latter in the sequestration which he put upon the succession. If you do not treat before the death of the Prince Palatine, who is very old, and without children, the Palatinate being transmitted with the country of Juliers, and other possessions, to this powerful house, will prevent you from reaping these advantages, will cause uneasiness to Holland, your ally, and dissipate the fruit of your victories.

There is another opinion prevalent, relative to the fate of the countries occupied by the French, which, without being developed and propagated, may nevertheless, when circumstances will permit, render our victories completely null and illusory; it is that of *independence*, whether these countries may form a complete body, or whether they are divided into states and provinces. This opinion, you need not doubt, will gain ground, whether you decide upon renouncing them, or again resign them to the despotism of their electors or princes, whose yoke they have for years desired to throw off; and in such a case can you promise yourselves any advantages? Will you then have those means which will render you the most powerful people in the universe. Shall we not feel the terrible shocks and troubles which will be produced by the crisis of this revolution? Will you be able to foresee its period and its effects? Are you capable of providing yourselves with neighbours who may be fit for you? Will the communication with these very necessary provinces be ensured to you. You may be well assured that these are powers, who, though they find no present interest in these countries, will nevertheless attempt to deprive you of them, in order to diminish a power whose increase of strength proportionally tends to their destruction.

In short, that nothing may be omitted relative to this grand question, is it not your interest to send the emigrants out of your territory, who make those countries their familiar resort, for the purpose of exciting dissensions, nourishing a hatred of the revolution, and opposing the general prosperity?

Result and conclusion.

I thought it my duty to enter into these details, and to submit to you the reflections which originated from my local knowledge, the exercise of my mission, and the love of my country.

I have proved that the limits most proper to establish a line of demarcation useful for the French nation, would be the course of the Rhine.

I have confirmed this opinion, by demonstrating that these limits would serve to strengthen the Republic, to ensure tranquillity, to weaken the power of Austria, and to put a check upon her views of ambition; that we shall find in this arrangement an indemnity proportionate to our sacrifices; that our commerce will be extended, our industry increased, that the balance will turn to our advantage, while we shall possess mines and manufactories of which we have hitherto been destitute.

I have stated that these limits would enable us to deprive the English of several branches of their commerce, and to injure their manufacture of cloth.

That the wish of the inhabitants has been declared, and the French nation herself demanded their opinion.

I believe, therefore, I have made it appear, that in every point of view, the course of the Rhine ought to be taken as the frontier of France.

Extract from Letters on the Peace and Commerce of Great-Britain. By Sir Frederick Morton Eden, *Bart.*

The state of the French colonies is such that it is probable a very advantageous intercourse may be carried on with them. The proprietors of Martinico and St. Lucia, who, during the last seven years, have sold us their sugars and bought our manufactures, will not easily be induced to abandon all connexion with our traders. Gaudaloupe cannot recover its former consequence without the fostering assistance of foreign capitals and foreign commerce. The calamities, which the once-flourishing colony of St. Domingo has experienced, will oblige her to relax that system of restrictions to which European powers have subjected their colonies. America will not supply her with food, nor will Great-Britain furnish her with those commodities which France, at present, is unable to manufacture, unles they receive either specie, or the staple produce of the island, in return.

St. Domingo still exhibits an awful example of the destructive effects of revolutionary excess, and civil warfare. In population, and in produce, this colony, I apprehend, now ranks below Jamaica.

A French Minister of France informs us that St. Domingo contained,

In 1779.....	32,650	whites
	7,055	people of colour
	249,098	slaves
Total population	288,803 *	
There were in 1790	30,831	whites, exclusive of European troops and seafaring people.
	434,429	negro slaves
Exclusive of	46,000	domestic slaves and negro mechanics.
And about	24,000	free people of colour.
	535,260 †	

The French colony, thus, appears to have contained, eleven years ago, about 530,000 inhabitants. Charmilly estimated them at 600,000.‡ It was, however, computed, in the year 1793, that the class of negroes alone had sustained a diminution of more than 100,000. Mr. Edwards says, that "since "that time the mortality has been still more rapid; "and, including the loss of whites by sickness and "emigration," he reduces the population of St. Domingo, in June 1796, to "two-fifths of the "whole number of inhabitants (white and black) "which it possessed in the beginning of 1791." § According to this calculation upwards of 300,000 human beings have either been killed or driven out of this devoted country within the short period of six years. It is said that many thousands took refuge in America, and that many have returned to St. Domingo. Civil war, however, again rages with exterminating fury. The victories, and the defeats, of Leclerc, will still further diminish the resources of the colony. Towns and plantations are burnt by the negroes, when they are successful; and when they are vanquished a stock more valuable than houses, or mills, is destroyed.

The benefit which the mother country derived from this colony during the last twelve years was very inconsiderable. The chief part of the produce which St. Domingo was able to export was consigned to America and other neutral states: the most authentic accounts from the island justify me in thinking that its whole exportable produce last season was not one-third of what it was in 1789. The average exports from the French part of St. Domingo, previously to the revolution, were rather more than 5,000,000l.‖ In 1791, they were upwards of 3,500,000l.** In 1800, (according to an official report of the minister of the interior, made in May 1801,)

	Livres.	terling
The imports into France from all the French colonies in the East and West Indies were	1,483,800	or £61,825
The exports from France, to all the French colonies in the East and West Indies were	282,300	or 11,762
The imports into France, last year, (the 9th year of the Republic,) from all the French colonies were	2,077,000	or 84,000
The exports from France to all the French colonies	208,000	or 8,400

In 1788, St. Domingo imported French goods to the amount of more than 3,500,000l. in 580 vessels belonging to France, carrying 169,679 tons, exclusive of 98 vessels engaged in the African trade.* In 1800, I believe, (though I will not state this as a positive fact,) not a single French vessel cleared out from France for this island.

Produce cannot be raised without cultivators. The loss of 300,000, or even of 200,000, negroes, and of other agricultural stock, cannot be replaced for 10,000,000l. sterling. Such advantages would result to our colonies and our commerce from the revival of agriculture, and its concomitant blessings, that every humane and reflecting mind must wish that tranquillity were restored to St. Domingo. But the decrees of governors, black or white, will not, I fear, fill up the gaps in her population. The negroes who remain, many of whom have retired into the natural fastnesses which the country affords, will not be disposed to work double tides; the soldier will not, without coercion, once more become the *villein regardant*; the Maroon will not, till his instructors from Old France use stronger arguments than words, lay down his musquet and take up his hoe. The island will long exhibit marks of depopulation, unless the tutelary genius of the republic can furnish her with a Deucalion who may turn her pebbles into people, and an Amphion whose *ça iras* may rear the prostrate walls of the ravaged *Cap Français*.

Our commercial connexions with the United States of America are fixed on such solid foundations, that we have no reason to apprehend that the future political dissensions of Europe will affect them. For many years to come, the Americans, although an extensive sea-coast, good harbours, and a spirit of enterprise inherited from their forefathers, suggest to them the employment of a part of their capital in commerce, must continue to direct the largest portion of it to agricultural improvements. While we can supply them with better and cheaper goods than other nations can manufacture for them, or than they can manufacture for themselves, they will, from the strongest tie, that of interest, continue to be connected with us. Their intercourse with Great-Britain will be promoted by other circumstances: the consanguinity of the two people, the similarity of religion, language, manners, and taste in the two countries, will dispose them to form mutual attachments. The opinion, therefore, of a German writer seems to be well founded, that "the consumption of the manufactures of Europe will necessarily

* Necker, fur les Finances, tom. i. c. 13.

† Edwards' History of the West-Indies, vol. iii. p. 164.

‡ Answer to Edwards, p. 158.

§ Edwards' History of the West-Indies, vol. iii. p. 257.

‖ Ibid. p. 165.

** Ibid. p. 281.

* Edwards' History of the West-Indies, vol. iii. p. 233.

keep pace with the progress of cultivation in America, until, at some period yet extremely remote, the surplus hands not wanted for agriculture or commerce must seek employment in manufactures." He adds, "that as the commerce of the United States must necessarily be possessed by Britain, it will be that country which, in the end, instead of losing, will have gained, every thing by a revolution, from which we fondly predicted her ruin. If we were to form our opinion from that which personal animosities, and the recollection of civil discord, have generated in the minds of a few individuals of both nations, we might fancy that Britain and America would never be sincerely united. But such feelings are transitory: nations may be considered as combatants for hire, whose animosity never survives the event that occasions it."*

Our trade to North America is of the greatest importance, as it principally consists in the export of our home productions and manufactures. Its increase has been very rapid: and, whether it be measured by the tonnage of the shipping employed or by the value of the merchandize sent out, by years of war, or by years of peace, it will justify this conclusion, that our future intercourse with the United States will enlarge those sources of employment and of wealth, which that country has opened to British manufactures and merchants.

An account of the tonnage of British and foreign vessels cleared outwards from England and Scotland, to the United States of America, in 1789, and the eleven following years.

	England.		Scotland.		
Years.	British. Tons.	Foreign. Tons.	British. Tons.	Foreign. Tons.	Tonnage. Tons.
1789	58,717	26,917	13,961	2,030	101,625
1790	40,768	36,918	10,209	2,523	90,418
1791	43,508	52,603	11,820	3,203	111,134
1792	41,451	56,160	9,512	3,254	110,377
1793	7,054	56,000	1,510	4,747	69,311
1794	9,672	64,093	1,154	2,899	77,818
1795	2,113	90,327	——	3,015	95,455
1796	1,522	99,774	547	5,583	107,426
1797	3,640	73,513	641	5,362	83,156
1798	6,439	68,999	1,478	5,169	82,085
1799	11,401	74,186	2,866	4,497	92,950
1800	9,309	105,476	5,072	7,120	126,977

An account of the official value of imports into Great-Britain, from the United States of America, and of the exports from Great-Britain to the United States; distinguishing British from foreign merchandize; in the following years:

		Value of Exports.		
Years.	Value of Imports. £.	British Manufactures. £.	Foreign Merchandize. £.	Total Exports. £.
1790	1,191,072	3,178,594	253,183	3,431,778
1791	1,194,232	3,929,771	295,676	4,225,448
1792	1,038,707	3,974,827	296,591	4,271,418
1793	904,040	3,272,725	141,956	3,414,681
1794	625,733	3,588,889	270,981	3,859,861
1795	1,352,136	4,892,572	361,546	5,254,118
1796	2,080,960	5,835,640	218,651	6,054,291
1797	1,175,512	4,871,316	185,506	5,056,822
1798	1,782,720	5,313,068	267,301	5,580,370
1799	1,818,941	6,606,221	360,337	7,056,558
1800	2,357,923	6,689,467	196,140	6,885,508

* Wimpffen's Voyage to St. Domingo, Letter xxxix.

The export of British manufactures to the United States in the year 1800 amounted to more than a fourth of the export to all parts of the world.

It appears, from the following comparison, that the export to the United States, during the war, has exceeded the exports of British manufactures, during the same period, to all foreign Europe.

An account of the official value of British manufactures exported to foreign Europe, and to the States of America, in 1793, and the seven following years.

Years.	Foreign Europe. £.	States of America. £.
1793	3,531,046	3,272,725
1794	4,458,383	3,588,889
1795	4,222,782	4,892,572
1796	4,497,683	5,835,640
1797	3,732,830	4,871,316
1798	3,981,650	5,313,068
1799	4,543,608	6,606,221
1800	7,516,123	6,689,467
	£.36,484,105	£.41,159,893

Of the British manufactures exported to the United States more than two-fifths consist of woollens. That country now stands first in the list of foreign consumers of this production of British industry.

Of £.6,876,939 the official value of woollens exported in 1799, the export to

	£.
The States of America, was	2,803,490
Ireland	916,190
East-Indies and China	668,161
Portugal and Madeira	568,789
British and foreign West-Indies	552,726
Germany	427,053
British continental colonies in America	324,739
Russia	149,789

The proportion exported to the United States, in preceding years, will appear from the following account:

An account of the total official value of woollen manufactures exported from Great-Britain in 1790, and the nine following years, to the United States of America, and to all parts of the world.

Years.	United States. £.	All parts of the world. £.
1790	1,481,378	5,190,637
1791	1,621,796	5,505,034
1792	1,361,753	5,510,668
1793	1,032,954	3,806,536
1794	1,391,877	4,390,920
1795	1,982,318	5,172,884
1796	2,294,942	6,011,133
1797	1,901,986	4,936,355
1798	2,399,935	6,499,339
1799	2,803,490	6,876,939

Extract from Mr. Cobbett's *Letters to* Mr. Addington *on the Effects of the Peace, particularly with respect to our Colonies and Commerce.*

In my last letter, I endeavoured to show, that the West-India colonies, remaining in our possession, so far from having, by your peace, obtained "se-

" curity for the future," are, by that peace, placed in a state of continual alarm and danger, which must lead immediately to their decay, and eventually to their ruin; a process, which, as I shall now attempt to prove, our *commerce* will also undergo.

That *very great commerce is a very great evil*, I, though perhaps somewhat singular in my opinion, am ready to avow. Mr. Pitt, in his speech of the 7th of June 1799, called the present war, " *a war* " *of finance*;" and Sir Wm. Eden (now Lord Auckland), in his letters to Lord Carlisle, published in 1779, observes, that, " *War is now become* " *a science of* MONEY. *That side must first quit the field* " *whose Exchequer first fails.*" Since the publication of these sententious sentences, his Lordship has had the mortification to see his country twice quit the field in disgrace before a bankrupt enemy. No, Sir, it is on the *warlike spirit* of a nation that her honour, security, and happiness, must chiefly depend; and this spirit is generally found to exist in an inverse proportion to the magnitude of her purse. When I cast my eye over the calculations of Messrs. Chalmers, Rose, and Pitt; when I perceive them deducing a proof of the increase of our greatness from the increase of our commerce and our wealth; when I see them recurring to the reign of Queen Anne, and stating, that then our shipping amounted to only *two hundred thousand* tons, and that now it amounts to *two millions* of tons—that our annual revenue then was not *three millions* of pounds, and that now it is *thirty-six millions* of pounds; tired with the triumphant comparisons of these arithmetical logicians, I turn to view the *conduct* and *character* of my country at the two epochs. At the former, I find her waging a long and arduous war for the preservation of the liberties of Europe. I find her explicitly declaring and honestly pursuing her object; and, having attained that object, having weakened the mighty and strengthened the weak, humbled the ambitious and exalted the humble, I see her retiring from the field, loaded with laurels alone; seeking for compensation neither in spices nor in sugars, but contenting herself with a barren rock, at once the emblem of her disinterestedness and the monument of her glory. If I become more minute in my researches, I trace her through a series of those solid and noble national acts, which are the indubitable proofs of opulence at home and consequence abroad: her piety she shows, not in attempts to rob, but in bestowing a *Bounty* on, the pastors of the church; she expresses her gratitude to her hero, not in air-built *Naval Pillars*, but in a real and princely mansion; with one hand she raises the dome of St. Paul, with the other she demolishes the works of Dunkirk.—Such was England, Sir, in the infancy of her commerce, what she is *now* let the treaties of Shelburne and Addington tell.

But, Sir, at the present day, the question, with us, is not, *whether very great commerce be a good, or an evil:* unhappily, we have no choice. Our wants are created; and they must be satisfied, or we cease to exist as an independent nation. The necessities of the state, during *any* peace that we can preserve with the Republic of France, will require the whole of our present revenue. Nine-tenths of that revenue arise, directly or indirectly, from our commerce. If, therefore, that commerce should now experience a considerable diminution, the measure, from which it will arise, must necessarily be an object of just condemnation, and must as necessarily be attributed to the imbecility, or to some quality more hateful, in the men, by whom it was adopted. That such diminution will take place, that it will be the precursor of the total ruin of our commerce, I am thoroughly persuaded; and, I now proceed to state the facts and reasons, on which this persuasion is founded.

Our commerce, exclusive of that with the East-Indies, which will, probably, continue undiminished, may be considered under three principal heads: I. With the Continent of Europe; II. With the West-Indies; III. With the United States of America.

I. *With the Continent of Europe* Buonaparté will, in consequence of the absolute power he possesses over all those states, which have hitherto afforded us the greatest commercial advantages, abridge our commerce, by every means that the ingenuity of a rival can invent, and that the malice of an enemy can employ. In the Mediterranean we never had much commerce; what we had, however, will be diminished. The port of Leghorn, which now belongs to Buonaparté's king of Etruria, will be open to us only so far as is convenient to France, who may, sometimes, think it not inconvenient to suffer a large quantity of British property to be deposited there, if our merchants should be found adventurous enough to make such a deposit. Our trade with the Ligurian Republic, with Naples, with the Island of Sardinia, and even with Constantinople, will be abridged, or not, as the interests of France may require.

In Spain and Portugal, with whom our commercial relations were of considerable importance, we shall have to support a competition with our enemy, and shall be hampered with partial restrictions. The latter of these kingdoms has already, through our pusillanimity, been compelled to throw open to all the world (that is to say, *to France*) those channels of commerce, which, for a century past, have been open to England alone.

With the borders of the Baltic, with Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, our commerce is very unimportant, and may not experience a very great diminution; but, with all the ports, through which we traded with Flanders, Holland, and Germany, the diminution will, after a short space of time, be immense. By your recognition, Sir, of the right of France to hold the keys of these countries, to retain the command of the *Rhine*, the *Meuse*, and the *Scheld*, you have banished for ever from the heart of Europe, the commerce and the influence of England. In my letters to Lord Hawkesbury, I stated, generally, my opinion on this subject, which opinion I find fully corroborated by a writer of great eminence, whose work I had not then seen, but which made its appearance, a few weeks previous to the signing of the Preliminaries of Peace. I allude, Sir, to the " *Financial and political facts of the eighteenth cen-* " *tury*," by John M'Arthur, Esq. who is a professed eulogist of Mr. Pitt and yourself. His work, agreeably to its title, takes a view of the revenue, the expenditure, the debts, the manufactures, and the commerce of Great-Britain, for a century past. In treating of the commerce, he takes occasion to insist upon the necessity of carrying on the war, till France can be induced to recede from her enormous encroachments. He insists—but, I shall give you his opinion in his own words:—" Should " the French succeed in their attempts to retain " their conquests, and to secure to themselves " the free navigation of the Rhine, the Meuse,

" and the Scheld,"—[which, Sir, thanks to your treaty, they have now done]—" they may, on the " return of peace, put in execution the vast pro- " jects, formed by the National Convention in " 1792, and which Buonaparté *has obviously in con- " templation.* A consideration of the outline of " these projects may create some apprehensions " in the minds of the generality of my readers ; " yet, it is to be hoped, *for the commercial prosperity " of this country,* that the Chief Consul's views, in " his present arrangement of indemnities on the " banks of the Rhine, &c. and thereby attempting " to obtain the free navigation of those rivers, " *may be completely frustrated, before this country makes " peace.*"

In order to show the importance of our struggles to prevent the accomplishment of these ambitious projects, on the part of France, the author next points out the probable consequences thereof, to other nations, and to Great-Britain in particular.

" The French Republic," says he, " by joining, " as intended, many of her navigable rivers and " canals, to the Rhine, the Meuse, and Scheld, " will be enabled to transport, at a cheaper rate " than heretofore, the various bulky commodities " of foreign growth and manufacture, and convey " them to the centre of Germany; also from the " Mediterranean Sea to the Bay of Biscay, to the " British Channel, and to the North Sea. The " consequence *obviously* resulting from such boun- " daries would be *to exclude the trade and manufac- " tures of Great-Britain from the northern parts of " Europe.* By joining some of the rivers and ca- " nals to the Scheld, the French would, in time " of war, be able to transport, without interrup- " tion, naval stores, ammunition, and provisions " of all sorts, from one place to another, in the " *ci-devant* Belgic provinces, and thence into " Holland.

" The river Meuse would also open an extended " communication with part of Germany and Hol- " land, and facilitate the transport of their va- " rious articles of commerce. The river Rhine " would most effectually complete the interior " communication with the rest of Germany and " Holland.

" France, with three hundred navigable rivers, " and a number of extensive canals, some of them " already opening communications between the " Mediterranean Sea and Atlantic Ocean, would, " in accomplishing her ambitious plans, of se- " curing the navigation of the three great rivers " just mentioned, most *essentially militate against the " commercial interests of this country,* and contribute " to her own aggrandizement, population, wealth, " and prosperity.

" The secret articles, and additional convention " of the treaty of Campo-Formio, develop, in a " striking manner, the ambitious views of the " French Republic, with respect to the free na- " vigation of these rivers. His Imperial Majesty " consents to employ his good offices in the nego- " tiation of the peace of the Empire, to obtain, " 1. That the navigation of the Rhine, from Hu- " ningen to the territory of Holland, shall be free " both to the French Republic and the States of " the Empire, on the right bank. 2. That the " possessors of territory near the mouth of the Mo- " selle, shall, on no pretence, attempt to interrupt " the free navigation and passage of ships and " other vessels from the Moselle into the Rhine. " 3. The French Republic shall have the free na- " vigation of the Meuse; and the tolls and other " imposts, from Venloo to Holland, shall be abo- " lished.

" The treaty of peace, concluded at Luneville " on the 9th February, 1801, having regard to " what had been agreed upon by the deputation " of the Empire, at the preceding congress at Ras- " tadt, resolved, in conformity with the precedent " of what had taken place in similar circumstan- " ces, to stipulate in the name of the Germanic " body. Some of the principal objects stipulated " are the cession of the *ci-devant* Belgic provinces " to the French Republic in the most formal man- " ner. The Comté of Falkenstein, with its depen- " dencies, the Fricthall, and all belonging to the " House of Austria on the left bank of the Rhine, " between Zarzach and Basle, are to be given up " to the French Republic. The Duke of Modena, " as an indemnity for the countries which this " Prince had in Italy, is to have the *Brisgau.* " In conformity with the second article of the " treaty of Campo-Formio, the navigation of the " Adige, which serves as the limits between His " Majesty, the Emperor, and King, and the navi- " gation of the rivers in the Cisalpine Republic, " are to be free; nor is any toll to be imposed, " nor any ship of war kept there.

" France, by securing the unlimited freedom of " navigating the great rivers already noticed, it is " natural to expect that she will make every ef- " fort, on the return of peace, to promote an ex- " tensive inland commerce, by means of making " canals and rivers navigable. It will give many " years employment to at least, 50,000 disbanded " soldiers, and render her ultimately independent, " in peace or war, of many bulky commodities, " drawn from the Northern States of Europe; " more especially such articles as may be required " for the construction, repairs, and equipment of " ships in the navy and merchant service. In " process of time, it may be feared that France " may eventually, by dint of numbers, *even super- " sede Great-Britain in those two grand points, Navy " and Commerce*; the former of which may justly be " considered the palladium of the country. *There " are men who treat this matter lightly,* and lull their " apprehensions to rest, by an idea that these " things *cannot happen in our times*; but may the sun " of Great-Britain never set so long as there shall " remain a sun in heaven!'

Would to God, Sir, that you had participated in the sentiments of this writer! But you are, I am afraid, one of those men, " who treat this matter " lightly;" who lull their apprehensions to rest by a hope, that these things " cannot happen in " our time," and who, entrenching themselves behind these selfish reflections, sacrifice the interest, the honour, and the safety of their country to the obtaining of popularity, and the preserving of their places.—I resume my quotation:

" Should France be suffered to retain the three " great rivers before mentioned,"—[which she *has now retained*]—" as the boundaries of the Repub- " lic, it will give her incalculable advantages; and " *in proportion as such an event would diminish our " commerce and manufactures, it would give vigour and " energy to those of the French.* They would open " the most extensive interior navigation with Ger- " many and Holland; they would be able to re- " ceive, in a direct manner, the productions and " manufactures of Germany, with which they have " hitherto been supplied through Holland, Bre- " men, and Hamburgh. It would open a more

" extended market for their wines, the growth of " Burgundy and Champaign, which would be con- " veyed at a much cheaper rate by interior water- " carriage, instead of being transported, as here- " tofore, by land-carriage to Rouen and Havre-de- " Grace, and thence carried by sea to the Nether- " lands and Holland; and, what is of far greater " consequence, in time of war they would be able " to send naval stores, ammunition, and provi- " sions, to the cities and fortified places situated " on these rivers, and carry on an extensive com- " merce from the sea-ports in the south and north, " without the protection of armed vessels.

" Should Buonaparté be successful in accom- " plishing the avowed designs of all the rulers of " France since the revolution," [which design he *has now* accomplished] " *it would not only militate* " *against the trade of this country to Germany*, but also " mater ally affect the interests of the Northern " Powers, from whom France formerly purchased " timber for her navy; also iron, flax, hemp, &c. " since it is obvious, that, were France to have the " exclusive and free navigation of the Rhine, the " Meuse, and Scheld, and joining to them by art " many rivers and canals, she could, in any future " war, receive at the several ports in the kingdom, " timber of all kinds, from the immense forests in " Alsace, Lorraine, and Burgundy; also flax and " hemp, the growth of the different countries si- " tuated on the borders of the Rhine, and of the " several rivers which are united to it. The " mines of iron, copper, and lead, of Luxemburgh " and Limburgh, and the iron mines and coal-pits " in the provinces of Namur, Liege, and other " places; the leather manufactories in the prin- " cipalities of Stavelo and Malmedy; and the ma- " nufactories of linen and woollen cloths, dispers- " ed in the countries annexed to France, in the " vicinity of these rivers, would all tend to increase " the wealth and power of that nation, to the pre- " judice of the other states of Europe. In short, " France would acquire such a gigantic preponde- " rance in the scale of nations, that she might, on " a future day, become more formidable to the " liberties of all Europe than she was when in the " zenith of her glory and prosperity, in the reign " of Louis the Fourteenth, or than tyrannical " Rome in her best times. Indeed the strength of " France would become too great for any power to " resist.

" Can Great-Britain, then, seeing that her pow- " er depends upon the prosperity of her com- " merce, view with indifference, these momentous " and colossal attempts of France towards mono- " poly, and universal tyranny? Shall she succeed " in her designs of extending her territories and " line of coast; at the same time annexing, either " by direct or indirect means (and which, if per- " mitted, she will do), all the ports on the Conti- " nent, from Dunkirk to Hamburgh, together with " the enjoyment of the exclusive navigation of the " three great rivers before mentioned? If it be not " insisted upon that France relinquish her former " pretensions, and consent to some alienation of " these countries, which, according to the laws of " her own making, were, and are intended to con- " stitute the territory of the Republic, so as to cut " up by the roots, the vast objects and designs " constantly avowed by her successive revolution- " ary rulers, *there can be little security in peace either* " *for the commerce of Great-Britain*, or for the tran- " quillity of the continental powers, whose prox- " imity to the extensive boundaries of the Repub- " lic, will at all times particularly expose them to " the danger of further encroachments. Neither " can there be much confidence placed in her pre- " serving, for any length of time, the relations of " peace and amity. However painful and bur- " densome the alternative may be, namely, a vi- " gorous continuance of the war; yet surely the " evil will be compensated, if, by our energy and " exertion, we ultimately defeat the developed " views of France, *and thereby retain that weight in* " *the scale of Europe*, and influence among nations, " which, by the spirit and industry of ourselves " and our forefathers, we have, at the close of the " eighteenth century, so justly acquired."

We have *not* defeated the developed views of France, nor any one of those views; and we *shall not* retain that weight in the scale of Europe, which was the best legacy of our forefathers. Every encroachment, here represented as big with danger to the commerce and the consequence of Britain, you, in the name of your infatuated country, have sanctioned by the treaty of Downing-street; and, every evil, here predicted, will, most assuredly, ensue.

The copious extracts, which I have made from Mr. M'Arthur, leave me but little to add upon this part of the subject of my letter. It may not, however, be amiss, Sir, to state some few of the facts, which have already transpired in confirmation of that gentleman's predictions. From the French papers we learn, that measures are actually taking for turning to account the possession of the *Rhine*, the *Meuse*, and the *Scheld*. To prevent the free navigation of the latter river was, it must be remembered, at one time, the only ostensible object of the war. It was *then* truly said, that this river was well calculated to be the rival of the Thames; and, such is now the confidence of its becoming so, that houses in Antwerp have risen to double their former value, since the signature of the preliminaries of peace. Where the *capital* is to be found to awaken, from its long sleep, the commerce of that city, and to render it once more the emporium of Germany, is a question, to which you may easily find an answer *on the Royal Exchange of London*.

Precisely *when*, and *to what extent*, the diminution of our commerce with Flanders, Holland, and Germany, will take place, it is, at present, impossible to say; but that a diminution will take place, at no very distant period, and to a considerable amount, and that the evil will go on regularly increasing, I think no man, possessed of common sense, and a common regard to truth, will hesitate to allow.

II. *With the West-Indies*, Sir, the commerce of Britain will experience, first, an immense loss, and afterwards a regular decline, till the arrival of that fatal hour, when she shall there no longer possess a single inch of territory; which hour is, perhaps, less distant than our infatuation will suffer us to perceive.

In speaking of our commerce with colonies, I must necessarily enter into details with respect to *population* and *produce*, for these are the source of *exports*, and furnish the means of purchasing *imports*, and these are the materials and the criterion of commerce. I must, too, consider this commerce relatively with that of France, with that of our rival, the sworn foe of our prosperity and our existence. Without taking this view of the subject, to enter on it at all would be totally useless; for, the question is, not how much commerce and power we do, or shall, possess, but how much

France possesses, or will possess, more, or less than we. Not to render still more complex, a discussion, which must of necessity embrace objects so numerous, I shall here avoid supposing, that the commerce of the West-Indies will, for some years at least, be molested by military or naval operations, notwithstanding twenty-five sail of the line and twenty-five thousand men have sailed for St. Domingo, from the port of Brest, and notwithstanding you are *attempting* to send out a British fleet to follow them *à la guette*.

With a view to disengage this important subject from the entanglement, in which it has been involved, by the officious ignorance of the defenders of the peace, I shall endeavour to give a clear statement of the West-India commerce of Great-Britain and France:—1st. Previous to the breaking out of the French revolution; 2nd. at the close of the war; and 3rd. I shall give my opinion of what will be the state of it three years hence; for, I am not one of those, who are content to limit the duration of their national existence to less than six and thirty months.

A writer, Sir, who has at once *disguised* and *exposed* himself under the name of Philanglus, has filled several entire pages of the Porcupine news-paper with figures, ranged in solid columns. These materials have been collected, undoubtedly, from official sources; and, as far as they relate to the commerce of Great-Britain, I feel the less inclination to criticise them, because their only tendency, like that of the statements of Lord Hawkesbury, is to furnish a proof of what I acknowledge to be true, and of what is, indeed, notorious to all the world; to wit: *that the commerce of this country has been doubled during the war*. I should not have noticed this writer, whom, from his style, and his notions of commerce and politics, I take to be some pedagogue out of place, were it not confidently asserted, that *you*, Sir, have declared *his* defence of the peace to be *the best that has appeared*.

That the commerce of Great-Britain had regularly increased from the beginning to the end of the *war* is certain; but this would be a strange argument to use in defence of the *peace*, were it not, at the same time, endeavoured to be maintained, *that the peace would not, upon the whole, produce a diminution in that commerce*. Here I and your defenders are at issue. With respect to one of the four principal heads, under which I have divided our commerce, I have already stated that this diminution must be immense, a statement which I have backed with the opinion of a writer of great eminence on the subject of commerce and finance: I now proceed to prove, that a like diminution will take place in our commerce with the West-Indies.

To reduce our resources even *to what they were before the war* would be certain ruin. Our *permanent necessities have doubled*; instead of three hundred millions, our debt is now six hundred millions. To attempt to support this debt upon our former resources would be like feeding a grenadier upon pap. With great kindness and care, the poor fellow might eke out a miserable existence, as long as he was suffered to lounge about his barracks; but his nerves would hardly be strong enough to support the fatigues of a field-day, much less to encounter the toils, the hardships, and the dangers of war.

Before the beginning of the late contest, the French commerce was, in the West-Indies, much superior to that of Great Britain, as will appear from the following table, [See Table, No. I. in pages 845, 846.] on the statements of which I must here make some pervious remarks.

I have contented myself with stating the *exports* from the several colonies, because they are quite sufficient as a criterion of commerce, the imports and all other advantages ever bearing a proportion thereto. As far as relates to the old British colonies I have admitted the statements of Bryan Edwards; but, with regard to those of France, I have had recourse to better authority. The statements respecting the population, shipping, and exports, of these islands, are founded on those of Moreau de St. Mery, and of Monsieur J M de la Borde, both of whom were French colonists, one an inhabitant of Martinico, and the other of St. Domingo.

The only statement, Sir, in this table, which will, I imagine, give rise to any doubt or contradiction, is that which relates to St. Domingo. Edwards has stated its population at 535,260, and its exported produce at £5,500,000 sterling, while my statement makes a considerable addition to both. But, not to speak of the superior information of the writers, from whom I draw my facts, the misstatements of Edwards have, in the face of the British nation, long ago been exposed by Mons. de Charmilly, who has clearly proved the "*Historical Survey of the French Colony of St. Domingo*," to which Philanglus appeals as to "*high authority*," to be a tissue of misrepresentation, falsehood, and calumny. Mons. Charmilly divulged too many disagreeable truths to be listened to, at that time; but, I beseech you, Sir, to read his book, and you will, I am sure, agree with me, that the work of Edwards, instead of being quoted as indubitable authority, ought to be consigned to everlasting oblivion.

By means, which, in any times but the present, would have been the subject of parliamentary *inquiry*, at least; by means and by men, bearing a strong resemblance to those that lost us America, we lost St. Domingo, a colony worth more than all the other colonies we ever possessed. But, still the valour of our fleets and our army obtained us much that we preserved, 'till you and your colleagues once more reduced us to our former scanty limits. The state of our West-India commerce, at the close of the war, is exhibited in the annexed table. An increase had, indeed, been supposed to take place in the produce of our own colonies, as well as in those taken from the French; but, it is well known, that our old colonies do not admit of much increase, and it is more than probable, that all the increase, which was felt, arose more from the indirect trade with St. Domingo than from any other cause. For this reason, I have chosen to carry the same amounts through all my statements, except in that which relates to the French population of St. Domingo, which will receive a considerable addition (of which I shall speak more particularly hereafter) from the acquisition of the Spanish part of that immense island.

My statements, Sir, relative to the colony of Surinam, and that of Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo*, are founded on authority, on which you may place implicit reliance. The statement re-

* These are the names of three rivers, at no very great distance from each other, in what was called Dutch Guiana, on the north-east shore of South America.

specting Surinam has been furnished me by a gentleman, who has long lived in that country, where he is a planter and proprietor. That which relates to the colony of Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo, was, if I am not misinformed, some few weeks ago, submitted to Lord Hawkesbury by a committee of West-India merchants and planters. I am persuaded that the correctness of neither will be called in question. [See Table, No. II. in page 847.]

Such, Sir, was the spectacle, which our West-India commerce presented at the moment, when you and your colleagues chose to put an end to the war, and, as the price of peace, to yield all the advantages we had gained; when you chose to take the superiority from our scale and place it in that of France, and thereby destroy, for ever, that source of riches and power, which the valour of our fleets and armies, under the favour of providence, had deposited in our hands, as a balance against the European acquisitions of our enemy.

It now remains for us to see what will be the state of this commerce, *in three years hence*, what will be the change, which your administration will have produced, and what will be the consequences of that change. The immediate loss to us, and the immediate gain to our enemy, will be immense; but the subsequent relative change must produce the utter ruin of our West-India commerce. We shall at once become a little power, and finally a power totally insignificant, in that part of the world, where, at the epoch of your unexpected and ominous elevation, we were the greatest, and, indeed, the only power; where every sail bowed obedience to our triumphant flag; where the commands of our sovereign were the universal law; where the earth teemed and the waters rolled for Britain, and for Britain alone. [See Table, No. III. in page 848.]

A summary of these statements will simplify the comparison:

		Population.	Tons of Shipping.	Seamen.	Value of Exports £. Ster.
Before War.	Gr. Br.	520889	297252	23061	5182912
	France.	963779	450936	37747	10631326
Before Peace.	Gr. Br.	956750	449894	35022	10467456
	France.	177168	65300	5180	1956484
3 Years hence.	Gr. Br.	520839	297252	23061	5182912
	France.	1316642	535957	43911	14071829

Thus, Sir, previous to the peace, our West-India colonies had a population of more than nine hundred thousand souls, a produce of nearly ten millions and a half, and employed nearly half a million tons of shipping, with more than thirty-five thousand seamen; while the population of the French colonies was reduced to less than two hundred thousand souls, her produce to less than two millions, her shipping to sixty thousand tons, and her seamen to the number of five thousand. In three years time, the West-India commerce of Britain, supposing her to retain, in full prosperity, all the colonies you have left her, will be reduced to a population of five hundred thousand souls, its produce to five millions, its shipping to less than three hundred thousand tons, and its seamen to twenty-three thousand in number; while the commerce of the enemy will be fed by a population of nearly a million and a half of souls, by a produce of fourteen millions of money, employing upwards of fifty thousand tons of shipping, navigated by more than forty thousand seamen! This contrast must pierce the heart of any man, not accustomed to anticipate with indifference the decline and disgrace of his country; and, if I thought you could contemplate it without shame and remorse, I should think my time ill-bestowed in presenting it to your view.

Now, Sir, as to *the correctness of my statements*, those which relate to the *past* will admit of little contradiction, or doubt. Those which relate to the *future* may be objected to on three grounds:

1. It will, probably, be urged, that the colonies of Surinam, and that of Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo, are not surrendered to the French, but to the Dutch;

2. That the future population of St. Domingo is over-rated, and that the colony will not so soon as three years, if it ever does, return to its former flourishing and productive state;

3. That the old British colonies may increase in population and produce, which will consequently occasion an increase of our commerce with them.

1. It is not the *nominal* possession of territory, of any kind, and particularly of colonies, that is *advantageous* to the possessor. Such possession may sometimes add to the honours of a sovereign, or state, but never to their riches, or their power. Our king was 'till very lately, stiled *King of France*, and the title of *King of the Indies* is still used by the feeble and abject Sovereign of Spain. Nor is it of any consequence of what nation the *inhabitants* of a colony consist. Those of the island of St. Thomas are almost entirely English and Scotch; divine service is performed according to the rites and ceremonies of the churches of England and Scotland, and in the English language; yet, the colony belongs *bonâ fide* to Denmark, which derives therefrom all the advantages that it yields. The government, of the colonies I am now speaking of, may, indeed, be, for some time at least, administered in the *name* of the Batavian Republic; but, can any man of common sense and common candour, after viewing the state of vassalage, in which that Republic has been left by us, affect to believe, that the commerce of all its colonies will not be rendered either directly or indirectly, subservient to the advantage of France? Holland has not one single characteristic of an *independent* state. French generals command in all her districts; her towns and fortresses are garrisoned by French armies; French proconsuls dictate the measures of her cabinet; France makes war and makes peace for her, answers for her conduct, stipulates for cessions in her favour, and alienates her territory. Can such a state be called independent? Can such a state be said to be the *sovereign* of any thing? *You*, Sir, ought to be the last of all mankind to attribute to her such quality; you, who have actively consented to; you, who have sanctioned and ratified her subjection, by receiving a portion of her dominions from the hands of her conqueror, without even the formality of her consent*.

Without the *real*, though, perhaps, not the nominal possession, of the colony of Surinam and of that of Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo, France would derive little benefit from those possessions in South America, which she has been so anxious to extend.

* Vide Parliamentary Debates, Nov. 2, 1801.

TABLE, No. I.—*State of the West-India Commerce of Great-Britain and France, previous to the Commencement of the War, being an Account of the Population of the several Colonies, the Vessels cleared outward therefrom, in one Year, and of the Kind and Value of their Cargoes.*

	Colonies.	Population.	Navigation.			Sugar.	Molasses.	Rum.	Coffee.	Cotton.	Miscellaneous Articles, in value *.	Value.
			Ships.	*Tons.*	*Men.*	*lbs.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*	*lbs.*	*lbs.*	£. Sterling.	£. Sterling.
British.	Antigua	30398	233	28663	2048	31867136	5910	716546		160510	52167	592596
	Barbadoes	78282	243	26917	1942	15329792	13489	415489		2705975	46324	539605
	Bahamas and Bermudas †	14622										
	St. Christopher's	22335	200	32155	1590	26379136	8154	334609		484640	39495	510014
	Dominica	26103	162	18126	1814	7985824	16803	63392	2032648	970816	51912	302987
	Grenada	24926	188	25764	2014	19661376	4300	670390	977244	2062427	69545	614908
	Jamaica	280000	674	135888	1344	90109376	6416	2543025	716240	1906467	247286	2136442
	Montserrat and Nevis	20720	122	10787	994	12347536	1313	289076		92472	1755	214141
	St. Vincent's	13303	122	12636	969	6295296	9656	88378	71008	761880	2691	186450
	Virgin Isles	10200	40	6516	436	8870736	2011	21417		289077	2440	166959
	Total	520889	1984	297252	23061	218845208	68052	5132222	3797140	9334024	513615	5182912
French.	St. Domingo	578623	1640	318015	26770	193485336	1986139		71151188	7384629	8486	7328801
	Guadaloupe	170955	398	65300	5180	61301314	626348		160348	88526	1389	1456484
	St. Lucia	32219	192	18536	1941	11061319	143034		300846	411062	976	383516
	Martinico	146444	333	38369	2903	52144018	239163		7553812	323518	2965	1184022
	Tobago	29325	142	10716	953	9801142	168144				640	276303
	Fr. Guiana and the Isle of Cayenne ‡	6213										
	Total	963779	2705	450936	37747	327793129	3162828		79171191	8237735	14476	10631326

* The Miscellaneous Articles consist of Taffia, Pimento, Ginger, Tobacco, Indigo, Cocoa, Hides, Fustic, Logwood, and some other articles of trifling import. Sugar, Molasses, Rum, Coffee, and Cotton are, and must ever remain, the principal objects of West-India commerce. The amount of the Miscellaneous Articles being, however, given in this Table, together with an account of the Population and Shipping, will render the whole sufficiently minute for every useful purpose connected with the present subject.

† These Islands produce no exports worth mentioning. They are, however, of great importance as naval stations in time of war; and, as the possession of them is greatly conducive to the prosperity of the commerce with our other Colonies, it is fair to include them here, as far as relates to population.

‡ This Colony, like our Bahamas and Bermudas, produced but little more than provisions for the settlers.

TABLE, No. II.—*State of the West India Commerce of Great Britain and France, at the Close of the War.*

	Colonies.	Population.	Navigation.			Sugar.	Molasses.	Rum.	Coffee.	Cotton.	Miscellaneous Articles, in value.	Value.
			Ships.	*Tons.*	*Men.*	*lbs.*	*Gallons*	*Gallons.*	*lbs.*	*lbs.*	£. Sterling.	£. Sterling.
British.	British Colonies	520889	1984	297252	23061	218845208	68052	6132222	3797140	9334024	513615	5182912
	Martinico *	146444	333	38369	2903	52141018	239163		7555812	323518	2965	1184022
	St Lucia	32219	192	18536	1941	11061319	143034		300846	441062	976	382516
	Tobago	29325	142	10716	953	9801142	168144				640	276503
	Surinam	105877	309	35133	2796	26862964	268695		16003424	5013436	93121	1386355
	Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo	121996	333	49888	3368	18839286		287750	15966562	10841100		2054148
	Total	956750	3293	449894	35022	337553937	887088	6419972	43633784	25953140	511317	10467456
French.	St. Domingo †											500000
	Guadaloupe ‡	170955	398	65300	5180	61301314	626348		160348	88526	1389	1456484
	Fr. Guiana and the I. of Cayenne	6213										
	Total	177168	398	65300	5180	61301314	626348		160348	88526	1389	1956484

* The disproportion which appears between the Navigation and the Exports of the French islands, when compared with that of the British Islands, arises from the *double voyages* having been included in the statements relative to the former, and not in those relative to the latter.

† By circuitous routes, France still received something from this Island; I have therefore given her the advantages attendant on a produce of half a million sterling.—It is well known, that Great-Britain also still derived great commercial advantages from this Island, which are not reckoned upon in the above statements.

‡ This Island, owing to many causes, has greatly declined in every respect; but I chose, in this view of the subject, to give France the full amount of all the advantages she could possibly enjoy.

TABLE, No. III.—*State of the West-India Commerce of Great-Britain and France, three Years after the Close of* 1801.

Colonies.	Population.	Navigation.			Sugar.	Molasses.	Rum.	Coffee.	Cotton.	Miscel. Art in value.	Value.
		Ships.	*Tons.*	*Men.*	*lbs.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*	*lbs.*	*lbs.*	£. Sterling.	£. Sterling.
British Colonies Total	520889	1984	297252	23061	218845208	68052	5132222	3797140	9334024	513615	5182912
French Colonies before the war *	1088779	2705	450936	37747	327793129	3162828		79171194	8237739	14476	10681326
Surinam	105877	309	35133	2796	26862064	268695		16003424	5013436	93121	1386355
† Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo	121996	333	49888	3368	18839286		287750	15966562	10841100		2054148
Total	1316642	3347	535957	43911	373494479	3431523	287750	111141180	24092271	107597	14071829

* 125,000 are here added to the population of St. Domingo on account of the acquisition of the Spanish part of the Island.

† In this, as well as in the preceding table, I might have included Curaçao, St. Eustatia, and some settlements of less importance: but, not having the necessary authentic information at hand, I have chosen to omit them, rather than risk any inaccuracy in my statements. Besides, considered in the grand scale of commerce and dominion, they are of very little consequence.

to extend. The mouth of the river Surinam is the best naval station on the coast, and, as a cruising station, one of the best in the world. Unpossessed of the river Essequibo, she would hold but a slackened rein over the Spanish territory, which is another great object in the long catalogue of her meditated conquests. Add to these considerations, the desire, which she must ever have, to prevent Holland from again becoming opulent and powerful, and the still stronger desire of acquiring opulence and naval power herself, and who can be idiot enough to believe, that she will leave the immense commerce of these colonies really in the possession of that conquered and subjected state? Say, however, that this commerce shall still be carried on by the rightful owner, that none but Dutch ships shall trade to the ports of these colonies, and that Holland alone shall receive their exports; still France will be the real and only possessor of all the benefits theretrom derived; for, while the fleets and the treasury of Holland are at her command, and at her absolute disposal, it matters very little, whether the fleets be stationed in the Texel, or at Brest, or whether the treasure be collected at Amsterdam, or at Bourdeaux; it matters very little to whom you *affect* to have surrendered her colonies, they are in fact surrendered to France, who now boldly and truly places them on the list of those commercial acquisitions, which are to eclipse and extinguish the commerce of Great-Britain.

2. It may be objected to my statements, *that the future population of St. Domingo is over-rated, and that it will not so soon as three years hence, if it ever does, return to its former flourishing and productive state.*

The *population* of the French part of St. Domingo has been greatly under-rated by Bryan Edwards, who estimated the white inhabitants at 33,000, at a time when he might easily have been informed, that the *white militia* alone actually consisted of 16,000 men, a circumstance that will fully satisfy any one capable of the least reflection, that the whole white population could not possibly have been less than from fifty to sixty thousand souls. To the French population before the war (and I shall hereafter prove that it will, in three years hence, supposing peace to continue, have experienced no diminution) I have added the present population of the Spanish part of the island, which your "*best* defender," Philangus, states, upon the authority of Edwards, at 20,000, and which I, upon the authority of Moreau de St. Mery, state at 125,000, of which only 15,000 are slaves; and which population is distributed thus:

		Inhabitants.
In the district of	Azua	500
———	Bani	1800
———	Moulins à Eau	2500
———	Jayna	2000
———	Santo Domingo	20000
———	Mont-de-Plate	600
———	Bayaguana	1000
———	Seybo	4000
———	Higuey	500
———	Samana	500
———	Savane-la-Mer	
———	Monte Christ	3000
———	Cotuy	8000
———	La Vega	8000
———	St. Yago	27600
———	Hinche	12000
———	Banique	7000
In the district of	St. Jean de la Maguana	5000
———	Des Plaines	21000
		125000

This statement of Moreau was made from the actual census, furnished him by the Spanish Governor. The parts of a hundred were dropped in order to avoid encumbering the sentences, or the total would, probably, have amounted to a thousand or two more. By casting your eye on the population of *the City of Santo-Domingo* and its district, you will perceive whence has arisen the error of Bryan Edwards, and the consequent error of his humble imitator. They have mistaken the population of the *capital* for the population of the *whole colony!* And these are "high authorities;" these are writers, on whom a British minister has the weakness to rely for a defence of his measures!

Nor will the other objection, *that St. Domingo will not, so soon as three years, recover its former flourishing and productive state*, require any thing to remove it but a simple statement of facts.

Since incapacity, or something worse, lost us the possession of this island, and particularly since your disgraceful peace has restored it to the hands of our enemy, it has been much in vogue, to speak contemptuously of its value; to represent it as a colony, which was, indeed, *once* of some importance, but which is now in such a state of devastation as to leave the owner no hope of deriving any advantage from it, for many years, at least. I can remember, Sir, when different sentiments were entertained, and when a different language was held. I can remember when, soon after our landing on the island, Lord Hawkesbury (now Lord Liverpool) congratulated the House of Peers on the capture of a colony, capable of yielding an export produce of *ten millions* annually; and this congratulation took place after the far greater part of the ravages had been committed. But *now* behold! this colony of unexampled, and almost incredible resources, though it has been ever since on the return to peace and prosperity, is become "*the* "RUINED *and* RAVAGED *St. Domingo*;" a mere waste, a heap of rubbish, where a banditti of negroes are wandering about amongst the graves of their masters. But, not to leave any room for cavil on this score, I beg leave to quote the very words of your *defender* Philanglus: —"The French colony, thus, "appears to have contained, eleven years ago, "above 530,000 inhabitants. It was, however, "computed, in the year, 1793, that the class of "negroes alone had sustained a diminution of "more than 100,000. Mr. Edwards says, that "since that time the mortality has been still more "rapid; and, including the loss of whites by sick-"ness *and emigration*, he reduces the population of "St. Domingo, in June 1796, to two-fifths of the "whole number of inhabitants (white and black) "which it possessed in the beginning of 1791. "According to this calculation, *upwards of* 300,000 "*human beings have miserably perished in this devoted* "*country within the short period of six years.* Of the "cultivation and commerce of the island, we may "form an adequate idea from the same authority; "from which it appears, that the average exports "from the French part of St. Domingo previous-"ly to the revolution, were rather more than "£5,000,000. In 1791, they were upwards of

" 5,500,000*l.* In 1800, (according to an official
" report of the minister of the interior, made in
" 1801)

	livres	*sterling*
" The imports into France " from all the French co- " lonies in the East and " West-Indies, were,	1,433,800	or £61,825
" The exports from France " to all the French colo- " nies, East and West- " Indies, were - - -	282,300	or 11,762

" In 1788, St. Domingo imported French goods
" to the amount of more than 3,500,000*l. st.* in five
" hundred and eighty vessels belonging to France,
" carrying 189,679 tons, exclusive of 98 vessels
" engaged in the African trade. In 1800, I be-
" lieve, (though I will not state this as a positive
" fact) *not a single French vessel cleared out from France*
" *for this island.*"

Now, Sir, the inference, evidently intended to be drawn from this statement, is, that the whites and others who have *emigrated*, are dead, or at least, are lost for ever to St. Domingo; that *three hundred thousand* out of *five hundred thousand* blacks and mulattoes, have really died, or have been killed; and that the exports from the colony, in the year 1800, amounted *to only a certain portion of* 61,825*l. st.*; and that, *not a single ship did, in that year, clear out for the colony!*

I will not charge Philanglus with *wilful falsehood*, nor with *wilful misrepresentation*, for, from the simplicity of his manner, it is evident, that his misrepresentation proceeds from that ignorance, in which he, probably, participates with those, who ought to have been better informed, before they adopted a measure, so desperate as to accept of a defender in him. But, Sir, this circumstance does not render an exposure of his misrepresentation less necessary; for, we have lately learned by experience, that neither the improbability, nor the falsehood of a statement, operates to its discredit.

The devastation and the carnage, in St. Domingo, have been great; but have they been such as to warrant a belief, that 300,000 men have been actually killed by 200,000 survivors? There is, on the face of this statement, something too wonderful to obtain credit from any one, who has advanced beyond the history of Jack the Giant-killer. Philanglus does, indeed, drop a word about *emigration*; but he confines it to the *whites*, and makes no deduction, on that account, from the number of his *slain*. If Philanglus had been where I was, in the year 1793, he might have seen *ten thousand* blacks, whites, and mulattoes, land, *in one day*, and at one port, from vessels, coming from St. Domingo. Had he understood the subject, on which he was writing, he would have known, that the emigration began in the year 1790, and that it continued till Great-Britain and America entered into a treaty with Toussaint, in the year 1798; he would have known, that 80,000 of the inhabitants of the French colony emigrated to the United States, that the slaves were there hired out by their masters, that the whole population there increased, rather than decreased, in number; and that both masters and slaves have, since the autumn of 1798, been gradually returning to the colony. He would have known, that there was a very considerable emigration, of all colours, to Old France; that great numbers went to New Orleans, to the Floridas, to Cuba, to Porto Rico, to St. Thomas, and elsewhere: so that Philanglus may rest assured, that a very great portion of " *the* " 300,000 *human beings, who have miserably perished* " *in that devoted country,*" are yet alive and merry; and, I dare say, I shall receive his unfeigned thanks for having thus wiped the tears from his philanthropic cheeks.

Some writers deal in slaughter, as a popular species of the sublime, and as an infallible cure for the obstinate drowsiness of their readers. Whether this innocent motive produced the statement of Philanglus is more than I can say, but that statement is certainly a most glaring exaggeration.—Mons. Jean M. de la Borde, who wrote in 1798, computed the mortality, occasioned by the revolution, in the French colony of St. Domingo, at *fifty thousand souls*, and the eventual loss of negroes, supposing the colony soon to return under the government of France, at *eighty-five thousand*; and these numbers were, by all the St. Domingo planters, whose opinions I had an opportunity of knowing (and they were not a few), thought to be much too high. There have been not many destructive battles in St. Domingo. Assassinations, murders, and most horrid acts of cruelty, have indeed been abundant; but 300,000 men are not, in this way, so soon and so easily destroyed. The fact is, that the far greater half of the depopulation proceeded from emigration to friendly or neutral countries, and the persons so emigrating are now, and have long been, returning. Like birds that the gun of the fowler has scared from their food, they have been scattered in every direction; but your friendly hand having removed the cause of their fear, they are now flocking back to their haunt, where, when they are all assembled, they will scarcely perceive the diminution in their numbers.

But, false as is the statement of Philanglus, with regard to the depopulation of this colony, his statement respecting *the diminution in its resources* is still more so. " Of the cultivation and com-
" merce of the island," says he, " we may form
" an *adequate* idea" from these facts, to wit, " that,
" in the year 1791, the exports were in amount
" upwards of 5,500,000*l. st.* and that, in the year
" 1800, the imports of France, from all the French
" colonies, were only 61,825*l. st.* and further, that,
" in the same year, not a single French vessel
" cleared out from France for that island."

To tell a lie in the words of truth is an art ascribed to the Society of Jesus, and were I disposed to join in the base calumnies heaped on that society, I should not scruple to rank Philanglus amongst the most finished of its pupils. He tells us, that, from the facts which he has stated, " we may
" form an *adequate* idea of the *cultivation* and *com-*
" *merce* of this island," which " *adequate* idea"
evidently is, *that the colony did not, in* 1800, *export produce to the amount of* 60,000*l. st. and that not a single ship did, during that year, clear out for the colony.* This is the " *adequate idea,*" which the deceived and insulted British public are taught to form of the cultivation and commerce of the French colony of St. Domingo; and this is the writer, whom, report says, you and your colleagues regarded as *the best defender of the peace!*

Now, Sir, I beg you to listen to a few *truths*, and if you do not turn with scorn from Philanglus and his defence, you must have much less sense as well as less candour than I sincerely be-

lieve you to possess.—During the year 1800, during that year in which Philanglus would persuade you, *that the exports of St. Domingo did not amount to* 60,000*l. st. and that not a ship cleared out for the colony*; during that very year it appears, from the custom-house returns of the United States, that 642 vessels were entered inwards, and 428 were cleared outwards, for the "*ruined* and *ravaged* St. Domingo!" It also appears from those returns, that, during the same year, foreign produce, much of which came from St. Domingo, to the amount of 39 millions of dollars (upwards of eight millions sterling), was brought into the United States for re-exportation.—Besides this, the Danes, the Swedes, and the Hamburghers, carried on a considerable trade with the "*ruined* and *ravaged*" colony; nor was even Britain without her share; and, Sir, no trifling portion of those West-India imports and exports, boasted of in the House of Commons, on the memorable third of November last, ought to have been attributed to the "*ruined* and *ravaged* St. Domingo."

Of these facts I was in possession at the time when Philanglus began to *figure away* in the columns of the Porcupine. To stop him would have been an act of mercy, of which I thought him unworthy; and as to justice, I knew he would execute it on himself, were he but favoured with a sufficiency of rope. In the mean time, however, lest his ignorant spirit should resist the dictates of conviction, I provided me an instrument wherewith to give him the *coup-de-grâce*. This instrument is a letter from a merchant, who was in St. Domingo, in the year 1800, and who gives me the following account of the state in which the French colony then was.

" Dear Sir, " *Liverpool, Dec.* 21, 1801.

" In answer to your request about the state " of St. Domingo, I have to inform you, that " when I left it, *in the month of April*, 1800, I had " resided at Cape François for about three " months, prior to that time, and had occasion " to go to Gonaïves and St. Mark's to purchase " cotton, about 100 English miles distant from " the Cape. The estates, every where, appeared " *in good order, and most of the sugar works and distilleries were rebuilt.* All the estates had been " restored to the proprietors, except those on " the list of emigrants. From the best information I could get, *they made nearly one-third the* " *quantity of produce they* FORMERLY *made*, and every " one seemed to think, they could make full as " much as formerly, only for the large army they " had to keep up to guard such an extensive co " lony, and carry on a war against General Rigaud and his Mulattoes, who were then in " great force in the south-west part of the island, " but who are now subdued and returned to cultivate the estates. *During the three months* I " was in the Cape, about *one hundred and thirty* " *American vessels, loaded with produce, sailed from that* " *port, and also a number of Danes and Hamburghers,* " *and ten French ships.* In that time, I sold goods " in the Cape to the amount of 102,000 Spanish " dollars, and, much to the honour of the Blacks " and Whites, *collected the whole* IN CASH *without any* " *dispute.* I paid government duty on my inward " cargo 10,500 *dollars*, and on my outward cargo " of sugar, coffee, cotton, and fustic, 7,000 *dollars*, my ship carrying upwards of 400 tons; " and I was allowed to bring away a quantity of " dollars, as I had not room in the ship to take " more produce. As to the police of the Cape, " I have seen none better any where; indeed all " colours seemed to be happy with each other, " for I never heard of a robbery, nor saw any of " the inhabitants intoxicated or quarrel in the " streets. The troops were well armed, cloathed, " and disciplined, and can, at a short notice, " bring into the field upwards of 100,000 able " men under General Toussaint Louverture, " commander in chief of the colony *in the name* " *of the French Republic.* The Custom-house, treasury, and the other public offices, were conducted the same as in all other French colonies. " I have been often in company with the general " in chief and many of the black and white officers, who always spoke with great respect of " the French nation, *and wished it was peace with* " *England, that the French might come and take pos-* " *session of the Colony.* As to what state they are in " at this time is not in my power to say; but, " when I was there, produce and money were " plenty, provisions and dry goods very cheap, " and the colony in a prosperous state.

" This, Sir, is a rough sketch of what I know " of the island at that time. Since that the Black " army has taken possession of the Spanish part " of the island, and a Mr. Caze is made governor " of the city of St. Domingo. *He is a Frenchman* " *and came out from France, while I was in the colony,* " *as first aid-de-camp to General Toussaint.*

" I wish, Sir, it were in my power to give you " a more circumstantial account, but being always engaged with my commercial business " prevented me."

" I remain, dear Sir,
" Your obedient servant,
" * * * * * * *."

Not having taken the precaution to obtain this gentleman's liberty for so doing, and not having time to wait for a return of post from Liverpool, I do not think myself authorized to insert his name, to which, considering the insignificance of my work, he might, too, very properly object; but, should an occasion offer for him to state these facts *at the bar of the House of Commons* (and I am one of those, Sir, who hope, that such an occasion will yet offer), I pledge myself to the public, that his testimony there would be strictly conformable to the letter here submitted to your perusal.

This letter, Sir, firmly establishes the truth of all my statements relative to the French colony of St. Domingo. Here we find, that 130 American vessels, besides a number of Danes and Hamburghers, and ten French vessels, took in lading and sailed, *in the space of three months*, from the port of Cape François alone, which every one knows to have been the most ruined and ravaged part of "the *ruined* and *ravaged* St. Domingo." We further find, that many of the distilleries and sugar works were already rebuilt, that the plantations were in a prosperous state, and that the estates had been restored to all those proprietors, who had been wise enough not to place confidence in England. We find no want of that *capital*, of which your defender has represented the colony to be so destitute; we find cargoes, even British cargoes, paid for in cash; we find a profitable custom-house under proper regulations, and we find abundance of proof, that the produce of the colony, even in 1800, was full as great as that of Jamaica ever has been. Before facts like these

how quickly do the leaden columns of Philanglus dissolve into their native dross!

If such, Sir, was the state of the French colony of St. Domingo, in 1800, and such, I am persuaded you will now be convinced it was, it has certainly been growing better and better to this hour. What, then, will it be *three years hence*, when all the proprietors, except those who foolishly trusted to British wisdom and British perseverance, have returned, strengthened by the connections, which they, for the most part, have formed in the United States of America? When France shall, too, enjoy the inestimable advantages to be derived from the sole possession of the Spanish part of the island, which will greatly augment her population, strengthen her military defence, protect her navigation in time of war, extend her cultivation, and, above all, give her an ample, a regular, and never-failing supply of cattle of every description, a resource of which every other West-India colony is almost entirely destitute? Is it too much, Sir, to suppose, that, with all these additional advantages, and many more that could be mentioned, the French colony will, *in the course of three years*, attain to its former commercial importance? Most assuredly it is not, and those who attempt to hush the apprehensions, naturally excited by such a supposition, can be influenced by no motive but that of a desire to deceive the nation, and thereby to shelter ministers from the effects of its resentment.

3. The remaining objection which will probably be urged against my statement, is, *that the old British colonies may increase in produce and population, which will, consequently, occasion an increase in our commerce with them.*

The plantations in our old West-India colonies, Sir, like the fields of the mother country, will never be *exhausted*, while there are hands and capital to carry on their cultivation; but the progressive state of the former bears a strong resemblance to that of the latter, and leaves very little reason to hope for any considerable augmentation in produce; and, without an augmentation in produce, an increase of inhabitants would be an evil. Besides the state of the lands, however, there are two causes which will powerfully tend, not only to prevent an increase, but to occasion a decrease, in the produce and population of our old colonies; *I mean the migration of persons, and the transfer of capital, to the more favoured colonies of our enemy; and the vast advantages which the French planters and merchants will enjoy over those of Great-Britain, both in the field and in the market.*

The population and produce, Sir, of our Leeward Islands have *already* experienced a diminution; a diminution, indeed, which we felt not, because what we lost in St. Vincent's, Grenada, Barbadoes, and St. Christopher's, we found transferred, with ten-fold interest, to the colony of Surinam and that of Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo. These colonies are fertile beyond conception, and are capable of improvement to an incalculable extent. The progress of the latter colony, as exhibited in the following account, which your colleague, Lord Hawkesbury, knows to be authentic, will enable you to form some idea of the value of one of those numerous acquisitions, which were gained by the valour and the blood of our countrymen, and which you have surrendered into the hands of an enemy, whom they had beaten in every part of the world.

Account of the produce exported from the colony of Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo, since the establishment of a British custom-house there.

Years.	Vessels.	Hogsheads of Sugar.	Puncheons of Rum.	Bales of Cotton.	Pounds weight of Coffee.
1797 (from Aug.)	45	1,483	720	2,425	4,938,230
1798	202	6,472	1,803	14,738	4,506,325
1799	212	5,392	1,501	15,758	8,846,877
1800	333	10,513	2,615	33,806	15,966,562

If this colony, Sir, while regarded as mere conquest, while its tenure was so very insecure, increased, as we here see it did, more than one-third in its produce in the space of three years, what, with its vast extent may not be its produce when safely lodged in the hands of a power, which now commands the world? It was the migration of British subjects, and the transfer of British capital, that occasioned this prodigious increase. Both sought a more propitious soil. And, if the difficulties and dangers ever attendant on a state of warfare, were insufficient to restrain this inclination, what do you imagine will be able to restrain it in future? The mere circumstance of the colony having changed masters? O, no, Sir! The planters who removed their capital and their slaves from Grenada to Demerara, took into their calculation the possibility, and the probability, of a transfer of the colony. And, if even this did not obstruct their speculations, what is there to obstruct them now, when the adventurers have seen the golden mine, and have begun to rifle its treasures? That the considerations of country, language, manners, and laws, will operate but as a very weak impediment is clearly evinced in the instance of St. Thomas and many other colonies. Capital seeks for an increase, as water seeks the sea, and it will follow wherever that increase is to be found, whether at home or abroad, whether in the country of a friend, or in the country of an enemy.

Another cause of the decrease in the population and produce of our old colonies will be, the vast advantages, which the French planters and merchants will, as I before observed, enjoy over those of Great-Britain, both in the field and in the market. Their vessels will sail cheaper than ours, their slaves will be cheaper obtained; and, unless we open our West-India ports to the Americans, unless we, in this point, give up our Navigation Act, and with it those advantages, which are absolutely necessary to the preservation of any considerable portion of our naval power, the French colonists will purchase lumber, flour, pork, and all the articles of first necessity, at a price greatly inferior to that, on which ours will be able to obtain them *. Be you assured, Sir, that

* The idle notion of obtaining *provisions* from Canada, Nova Scotia, and God knows where, is now-a-days completely exploded. They must come from the United States, or the sugar-plantations must be turned into Indian corn-fields, and the food of the colonists must be confined to homony and mush.

one part of the plan of the rulers of France, is, *to make the interest of America coincide with the ruin of England*; and, in the prosecution of this plan, nothing can be imagined more effectual, than the granting to America, what she has so long and so anxiously sought for, those commercial concessions, which England will not, which England cannot grant her.

The produce of the French colonies, being raised at less expense, will, of course, be sold cheaper, than that of the British colonies; which circumstance, together with our exclusion from Flanders and Germany, and the opening of those countries to France, by the navigation of the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, will leave us the British isles alone as a market for our West-India goods, which, as they will gradually become less profitable to the planter, will gradually cease to be raised; negroes, to the great joy of Saint *Wilberforce*, will cease to be torn from the bleeding bosoms of those tender fathers and mothers who now barter them for a bit of glass, the negro-driver will cease to lash, the African will cease to labour, and thirty thousand British sailors, who labour much harder, will cease to encounter the dangers of the sea. Blessed prospect! and all this, Sir, you will have satisfaction to reflect, is to be attributed to *you!*

ACCOUNT OF THE ISLAND OF TRINIDAD.

This island lies on the north-east coast of South America, near the entrance of the River Orinoco (Oroonoko) in the 11° of north latitude, and 61° longitude west of London. It is the largest and southernmost of all the Leeward Islands, measuring in its extreme length from east to west 60 British miles, and from north to south 45 miles; containing 2,400 square miles superficial measure. It must be observed here, as one of the peculiar advantages of this island, that it is without the reach of the hurricanes so destructive in Jamaica and some other islands. Trinidad was discovered by Christopher Columbus, in his third voyage, July 31st, 1498, and so named from its appearance, at 13 leagues distance to the S. E. with three heads or mountains above all the rest. It was then inhabited by Caribs the greatest part of whom were destroyed, in 1518, when the Spaniards, for working the mines, made slaves of all the Indians they could take.

Sir Walter Raleigh, who was in the island of Trinidad in 1593, remarks upon it as being very proper for the cultivation of tobacco and sweet canes; also of the Spaniards having told him, that gold could be found in the island, chiefly in the beds of the rivers.

The Spanish accounts of Trinidad are very few, and remarkably deficient; Father Joseph Gumilla, from whom we might have expected a complete description of the island, has taken very little notice of it in his History of the Oroonoko *(Orinoco illustrado.)*

Abbé Raynal, in the *Histoire politique et philosophique des deux Indes*, says, "the design of the first settlement of this island was for the purpose of securing the conquest of the Orinoco."

Alcedo, in his *Dictionary of the West-Indies and America*, is the only Spanish author who has entered into some detail concerning Trinidad; he speaks with rapture of its fertility, its numerous and various productions; such as excellent grapes, an innumerable quantity of oranges of the most exquisite flavour; of seville oranges, citrons, lemons, &c. besides all the fruits peculiar to the West-Indies. It produces likewise coffee, and supplies the island of Margarita and several other places with mayze. The article of indigo is particularly noticed as growing wild in great abundance of the best quality, and the cocoa as being equally good with that of the province of Caracoa, which is esteemed the best of Spanish West-Indies; Gumilla says, that it was preferred by the traders to the cocoa of the Caraccas; but that the plantations, or cocoa walks, have been so neglected since the year 1727, that there are scarce any left now in the island; in short, these productions are such, that the discoverers, comparing it with the other islands, distinguished it by the name of The *Paradise*.

In this island there are three distinct *ridges of mountains*, the *northern*, *middle* and *southern*, which are mostly inaccessible, and covered with all kinds of incorruptible woods proper for ship-building.*

The rivers, several of which are considerable, have been traced and examined as to what distance they are navigable, and also with respect to the improvements they may be capable of by deepening their beds, new canals, &c.

The navigable rivers on the west coast or gulph, are the Caroni, Guaracara, Coura, and Siparia; those on the east coast are the Ortoire, Neg, Lebranche, and the Oropuche, all which abound with many kinds of fish; but those on the east coast are particularly frequented by sharks; by the lamentin (sea cow or manattee) weighing generally from 500 to 800 wt. sometimes 1600 wt. it is harpooned like the whale, and its flesh is very good fresh or dry: some of this species have been caught in the French Antilles, measuring 20 feet in length and 10 in breadth; you meet also with the pantouflier, or zigene, a dangerous and voracious monster, about 10 or 12 feet long, and thick in proportion; its head is shaped like a hammer, having large round terrific eyes, a wide mouth well armed with teeth, and more conveniently disposed for biting than those of the shark, whose body it most resembles. This fish is common in the French Antilles, and hath been often found at Guadaloupe, in the road of Basse-Terre.

The Caroni is the principal river of the island, being navigable from its entrance in the Gulph of Paria to the Aripo, a distance of nearly 20 British miles.

The Aripo, a branch of the Caroni, is navigable; which, by means of a canal to connect it with the Guaro, (a branch of the Oropuche also navigable to the sea); a communication might be opened from the west coast or Gulph of Paria to the east coast or Atlantic.

The Guanape, or Guanaba, a branch of the Caroni, is also navigable, but hath less depth of water than the Aripo.

Coura River, on the west coast is capable of being made navigable, to the distance of 5,000 paces.

The River Siparia is navigable to the distance of 3,000 paces, and might be extended to 7,000.

The Ortoire or Guataro, is the principal river on the east coast. having from its entrance to the Morne Orange (a distance of about 20 miles) two, four, and five fathoms; but the mouth of this river being shoal water, it would be requisite to cut a navigable canal of 2,600 paces from the Ortoire (between the

* The island, says Alcedo, is a continual forest of precious timber, such as cedars, walnut-trees of several sorts; palm trees of various kinds, guayacum tree, &c.

settlements of Guias and Thomazo) to the Bay of Mayaro, thereby giving the utmost facility of exportation to the productions of this immense tract of cultivable land. The anchorage in Mayaro Bay is safe, having good holding ground with a bottom of sand and gravel. You may embark or disembark in this bay at any time of the tide. The tide is perceivable in this river about the junction of the Moura.

The Neg or Nariva River runs parallel to the shore at a short distance from it, forming a canal of about five or six miles in length, with three, four, and five fathoms; it receives the waters of the Mangrove trees, which spread over all this part. The water of this river is black, and so much tainted as to render the sea frothy throughout the bay. There are two navigable channels, connecting the Rivers Neg and Ortoire, which greatly facilitate the draining of those rivers when inundated.

Lebranche, this river is navigable to the distance of 6,000 paces, the marshes at the entrance might be drained with facility.

The River Oropuche is navigable to the uppermost branch, called the Guaro (a length of 18 miles) from which a canal might be made to the Aripo, and thereby connect the two opposite streams of the Oropuche and Caroni.

Savanas, of which there are several in this island. Savana Grande, or Great Savana of Caroni, is a large tract of drowned land, part in Savana, although flooded in the rainy seasons. Notwithstanding the center of this marsh is level with the sea, yet a considerable portion of it might be successfully drained by making straight cuts to connect the inflections of the River Caroni; the narrow channels of which from becoming encumbered at the time of the inundations, overflow all the lands adjoining thereto.

The Laguna Grande, or the Great Lagoon, is another tract of marsh land, inaccessible.—These Savanas produce a great quantity of the Mangrove trees.

Marsh of Icaque, in this Savana, which is level with the sea, are two gulphs; one of which hath an elevation of seven feet, the other thirteen; mud and calcareous earth are continually gushing out of them. Two of the principal mouths produce detonations in the months of March and June, throwing up at the same time metallic particles, stones rounded by friction, and other heterogeneous substances.

The other marshes are those of Ortoire, Oropuche, and the Mangroves.

At Cape de la Brea (the western extremity of the Great Lagoon) is a lake of bitumen or pitch, situated 80 feet above the level of the sea, and very extensive; good water may always be found in some of the openings at two, four, and eight feet depth; there are also some small islands of the Mangrove trees. The sort of pitch which is best for the use of shipping, is found in the center of the lake; upon any pieces of it being cut out with an axe or otherwise, the chasms will fill up immediately.—The several branches of this lake are level throughout, extending towards the sea, but are all sustained by the main spring or focus. The village of la Brea is established upon one of these branches, but the pitch that is found near the sea has received more heat, and contains a greater quantity of heterogeneous substances. Father Gumilla tells us, that about 60 years ago, a little before he came to Trinidad, a spot of land on the western coast, near half way between the capital and the Indian village, did sink suddenly, and was immediately replaced by a small lake of pitch to the great surprise and terror of the inhabitants.

The western coast of the Isle of Trinidad, with the opposite coast of the Province of Cumana, form the extensive Gulph of Paria, named by Columbus, Golfo de Ballena, or Gulph of the Whale. There is good anchorage in this gulph on the coast of Trinidad, having from 3 to 10 and 16 fathoms water, mud bottom.

Chaguaramas Harbour lies on the north shore of this gulph, about three leagues west of Port of Spain; is capable of receiving the largest ships of war, having from 4 to 25 and 40 fathoms water, gravel and ooze bottom; the shores are bold and steep. When the British forces attacked the island in 1797, the Spaniards burnt in this harbour one ship of 80 guns, two of 74 guns, and one frigate of 32 guns.

The Careening Place (le Carenage) is shallow, having from two to four fathoms water, and therefore is suitable for merchant ships only.

Gaspar Grande,—on this island the Spaniards have constructed a battery of masonry to protect the harbour; it is ill situated, and without solidity.

Port of Spain (Puerto d'Espana) is situated on the north-east coast of the Gulph of Paria, having a jetty or quay of masonry, with a battery en barbette even with the water's edge for the defence of the town; here are also two other batteries on the east side.

The bay before this port is one of the safest and most extensive in the world; ships being able to anchor there in a superficial space of above 70 miles, with a depth of water from twelve to five fathoms only one mile off shore, and all good holding ground. Should they drive from their anchors, they go on shore in soft mud, and are got off without damage. A white half-moon battery, just above the town, on the brow of the hill, is a good mark for the bay, and may be seen a long way off: this battery, by large ships, should never be brought to the northward of N. N. E. and the best anchorage is in the north-west bight of the bay.

St. Joseph de Oruna, the capital town of the island, is situated seven miles east from the Port of Spain; on the road between these two places, is the village St. John.

Indian missions in this island, among the few caribs which remain of its first inhabitants, are those of Arima, Toco, Gayaro, Cumana, Monserat, Savana Grande, and Siparia.

The population of Trinidad, according to the account taken in July, 1797 (see the annexed table) amounted to seventeen thousand, seven hundred and eighteen souls, including all descriptions.

Near Cape la Brea, a little to the south-west, is a gulph or vortex in the sea, which, in stormy weather, gushes out, raising the water five or six feet, and covers the surface for a considerable space with panoleum or tar.

On the east coast in the Bay of Mayaro, there is another gulph or vortex, similar to the former, which, in the months of March and June, produces a detonation like thunder, having some flame with a thick black smoke which vanishes away immediately; in about 24 hours afterwards is found along shore of the bay, a quantity of bitumen or pitch, about three or four inches thick, which is employed with success.

Along the shore of Cocos Bay to the distance of about 50 paces, are found a great quantity of palm or cocoa trees, whose species is not natural to the island; a launch coming from the River Orinoco, laden with cocoa nuts, was wrecked in this bay, by

which accident these trees were planted and continue to multiply.

We shall conclude this short, but perhaps comprehensive account, considering the scantiness of our materials, with some observations on the Gulph of Paria, and the lands which surround it; and on the River Orinoco, a great part of whose waters are discharged in that gulph.

The *Gulph of Paria*, received at first the several names of Gulph of the Whale, Gulph Triste, and Fresh Water Sea; its length from east to west is about 30 sea leagues, and its breadth from north to south about 15: the lesser arm of Rio Orinoco, named Cano de Pedernales ("channel of the Pebbles") and an immense number of smaller branches of various widths, all flowing in a northerly direction from the main stream of the Orinoco, bring the tribute of their waters to this inland sea. It has two great issues into the Atlantic Ocean; namely, the northern mouth divided into four openings, three small ones on the eastern side, and a large one about two leagues broad on the west part, adjoining to Paria the Continent. To this Columbus gave the name of the Dragon's Mouth, as he had given that of the Serpent's Mouth, to the eastern issue of the gulph in the Atlantic, which is about three leagues broad, with a small island (called Soldier's Island) belonging to Trinidad in the middle of it.

On the north side the gulph is separated from the Atlantic Sea by a narrow neck of fertile land, which Columbus has named Paria, it is occupied by a few Indians, whose villages, chiefly along the coast, are thinly scattered; the Spaniards had lately in that part some settlements of French emigrants from the Antilles; but according to report these colonists have been lately expelled.

The west and south sides of the gulph are all low, swampy grounds, but especially the south side as far as the Cano de Pedernales, where the Orinoco might be said to begin, and which is the canal of communication with the main stream of the river; the length of this channel is about 50 leagues, and its navigation not difficult.

All the part belonging to the river is remarkable for its periodical overflowing; the Orinoco beginning to swell in April, increases progressively during five months, and rises on the sixth to its greatest height. In October it begins to decrease gradually till the month of March, during the whole of which it is at the lowest level of its diminution. These alternate variations are regular and even invariable.

This phenomenon, the cause of which is unknown, appears according to Abbé Raynal, to depend more on the sea than on the land: during the five months of the river's increase, the hemisphere of the new world, in some degree exposes only seas, and scarce any lands to the perpendicular action of the solar rays: during the following six months of the river's decrease, the immense Continent of America only is presented to that same action; the sea then is less subject to the active influence of the sun, or at least its shelving towards the eastern coast is counterbalanced, and broken in a stronger degree by the lands; it must therefore leave a greater freedom to the course of the rivers, which being in that case not so closely kept back by the sea, can be swelled only by the melting of the snow in the southern Cordilleras, or by the rains. Perhaps also it is the rainy season which determines the increase of the Orinoco; we shall add that this is the opinion of Father Gumilla, who seems to have examined this singular effect with great attention. "When some enlightened nation, concludes Abbé Raynal, shall become acquainted with the banks of the Orinoco, the phenomena of its course will be known, or at least they will be thoroughly studied."

The branches of the Orinoco, as numerous as they are intricate, form a multitude of islands of different sizes, which you find covered with palm trees; although their soil lies under water during six months of the year, and the tide covers it twice a day; they are inhabited by the Guaraunas, who have found the means of constructing commodious huts on high piles deeply driven in the mud, and sometimes to build them in the trees themselves. which at the same time supply them with food, drink, household furniture, canoes, &c. &c. These Indians are supposed to be about six thousand, their language is spoken by all the Spanish traders of Guyana; they are very expert fishermen, and trade in fish, nets, baskets, &c. made with the leaves of their palm trees.

The land capable of cultivation is divided into lots of 100 squares or 320 acres English statute measure. The whole number of lots is 2720 of which 1313 are suitable for the cultivation of sugar, 945 for coffee, 158 for cotton, and 304 for cocoa.

The annexed table will give a view of the population.

	Whites.	*Colour.*	*Slaves.*	*Indians.*	*Total.*
Men....	994	1196	4164	305	6659
Women.	590	1624	3505	401	6120
Boys....	301	898	1232	190	2621
Girls....	266	758	1108	186	2318
Total...	2151	4476	10009	1082	17718

By a report laid before Parliament on the 19th of May, 1802, it appears that about 400 lots of the land had been appropriated by the Spanish Government, but the portion of this land actually under cultivation was very small. The exports and imports were of very trifling amount.

SIERRA LEONE.

An account of the rise, progress, and present situation of this colony cannot be unacceptable to the readers of a work like this. The colony of Sierra Leone was established with the intention of producing *the abolition of the Slave Trade* by shewing that negroes were capable of enjoying liberty, without danger to the government under which they might live. How this position has been made out in practice the history of Leone will sufficiently explain.

The following account is taken, verbatim, from a report made to the House of Commons (by a committee appointed to examine the peti-

tion of the directors of the Sierra Leone Company), on the 25th of May, 1802. They petitioned for an aid of £10,000, which was finally granted. Vide Debate, p. 723.—The account, which is here given of the colony, forms an appendix to the report of the committee, who merely referred the house to it. This appendix, it must be observed, was drawn up by the petitioners, by men whose reputation as politicians and philanthropists was at stake, and part of whose *property* also was at stake, they being the principal holders of the shares of the company. If the colony met with no aid from government, it must fall at once, and with it all the schemes of these projectors; and, as the aid of government entirely depended upon its opinion as to the final success of the colony, it is to be presumed, that the directors have given an account full as favourable as the truth would bear, if not rather more so.

HISTORY OF THE SETTLEMENT.—The Sierra Leone Company was instituted about one year before the commencement of the late war. Its capital was about £230,000 *.

The general object of the founders of it was the introduction of civilization into Africa. The principal means proposed for effecting this end, was the establishment of a secure factory at Sierra Leone, with the view to a new trade in produce, chiefly with the interior; but the reception into the settlement of near 1,200 blacks, who had taken part with Great Britain in the American war, in consequence of a proclamation from the commander in chief, and who had petitioned the government to be removed from Nova Scotia on account of the coldness of the climate, gave a new character to the undertaking. The want of a sufficient power and authority to control these colonists has proved, as will hereafter be shewn, a principal hindrance to the progress of the settlement, and a chief cause of the disappointments of the company †.

The Nova Scotia Blacks landed at Sierra Leone in March 1792. The rains commencing in the following May, and an almost universal sickness then taking place, no opportunity was afforded to the colonists of cultivating their lands, until the succeeding dry season.

The expense of an undertaking of such magnitude must, in any case, have been considerable. In the present instance, that expense was so much increased by various unforeseen difficulties experienced in the first two years, as to amount to more than £110,000 ‡.

In February 1793 the war broke out; which, as will hereafter be more particularly shewn, has proved one principal obstacle to the progress of the settlement.

It was the wish of the company to direct the labour of the colonists to cultivation on their own account; but most of them were at first indisposed to speculations of this sort, choosing rather to live in the town as long as they could by any means earn a subsistence there, than to engage in the work of cultivating their uncleared lots of land in the country.

The following circumstance has also hindered cultivation. The colonists drew lots for their lands. The lands of some, though fertile and contiguous to the town, fell into the hands of individuals who neglected to till them. These lands were forfeitable after a certain period; but the weakness of the government rendered them fearful of exercising their right of enforcing the forfeiture. The temper of the Nova Scotians was such from the first as to give a very extraordinary degree of trouble to the government.

The company established a plantation on their own account, and a garden of experiment. The object of these was chiefly to provide plants and seeds, and to encourage cultivation in others. A botanist was retained for two years in the settlement. His report is favourable to the hopes of the company.

In 1794 an expedition was made to the interior by two of the company's servants, who travelled three hundred miles inland, as far as Teembo, the capital of the Foulah kingdom, and in consequence a deputation of chiefs came from the king of that country to Sierra Leone, for the purpose of opening a trading communication with the company. The town of Teembo has about eight thousand inhabitants, and another town near to it contains upwards of four thousand. The people of that part are far more civilized than those on the coast. The children learn to read and write Arabic.

A factory was in consequence established by the company in the higher part of a river lead-

---

* The shares were at £50 each. It was stated, in the debate, by Mr. Dent, that they had fallen to £5 each, and that, in fact, they were worth nothing at all. To this Mr. Thornton replied, that the object of the holders was not to gain money by the establishment.

† The Nova Scotia negroes were quiet enough in Nova Scotia, where they had no share in the government

‡ Expended in the first two years and a half; viz.

In provisions, granted by the company to the Nova Scotians, about £.	20000
In providing shipping for the temporary accommodation of the colonists, and other shipping expenses	30000
In buildings	25000
In laying out lands, and in cultivation	5000
By the accident of the company's store ship taking fire	15000
Salaries of servants, expense of passage, &c.	12500
Expense of home establishment, act of incorporation, &c.	4000
£.	111500

ing to the Foulah country; but partly through disturbances which have arisen in that kingdom, and partly through other causes, no great intercourse with the interior has yet taken place.

Hopes were about this time entertained that some of the African chiefs might considerably enlarge their plans of cultivation, an interruption of the demand for slaves on the coast inducing some of them to employ their unsold slaves for a short time in cultivating the soil; but the revival of the slave trade frustrated that expectation. About the same time a neighbouring slave factory set on foot a cotton plantation, by the medium of the labour of slaves, which is still continued.

In October 1794, the colony was attacked and taken by a French squadron. All the moveable property of the company was either carried off or destroyed; several ships were captured, and every building belonging to the company was burnt. The company's loss on this occasion has been estimated at £.52,000.

This calamity, combined with the circumstances of expense already noticed, so greatly diminished the company's funds, as to lay them under a necessity of contracting their trade, and reducing considerably the scale of their establishment, which had been at all times so limited as scarcely to afford sufficient means of transacting the business, and attending to the various wants of an infant settlement. In consequence of this reduction, and of the sense of general insecurity produced by the war, and by the refractory tempers of the settlers, it now became more than usually difficult to induce a sufficient number of Europeans of good character, and of the requisite abilities, to undertake offices at Sierra Leone. A large portion indeed of that class of men who were most adapted for the company's service, were engaged in the army or navy, and these could not obtain leave of absence.

The trade of the company appears to have been successful, supposing it to have been burthened only with those charges which were strictly commercial, and to have been exempt from those very extraordinary losses by fire and French captures, which it has had to sustain.

The coast of Africa has been so peculiarly exposed during the war, as to make the expense of insuring cargoes very enormous, and in some cases it has been impossible to effect insurance at all. The company moreover have been obliged to send out armed vessels to Sierra Leone, and to detain them there for the sake of securing the settlement.

The company's expense in shipping has therefore been far greater than any commercial profits could be expected to compensate.

In the year 1798 the colony had made considerable progress, notwithstanding the powerful obstacles to its advancement, which shall hereafter be enumerated.

Freetown consisted of about 300 houses, laid out with regularity, and of many public buildings. One principal wharf had been erected by the company, and two others by individuals. The government house, which stands on high ground about one-third of a mile distant from the water, and commands the town and harbour, was protected by a pailisade, and also by six pieces of cannon.

The inhabitants of the colony were about 1,200. The heads of families were about 300. Of these about one-half were supported by their farms, many were mechanics, about fifteen were retail shopkeepers, 20 or 25 followed the business of fishing, 10 or 15 traded in small vessels of their own, 4 were employed as schoolmasters, 12 or 15 as seamen, and about 20 as labourers under the company. A few Nova Scotians resided among the natives, and a few acted as servants or mechanics at slave factories. The number of Europeans residing in the colony was from 20 to 30.

At the period now spoken of, about 3 or 400 native labourers, called Grumettas, worked in the settlement for hire, chiefly on the farms, which were increasing rapidly; some in the service of Europeans, some in that of the Nova Scotians. These native labourers were freemen, who came from neighbouring parts—They received monthly wages, the whole of which was their own. It was usual for most of them to return home for a short time, after remaining five or six months in the colony; but the place of those who went was always supplied by a succession of other labourers.

These Grumettas improved greatly in their dress; and scarcely any part of the money which they earned was expended in the purchase of spirits, to the use of which both the Africans in general and many of the settlers are much addicted.

Freetown was at this time a place of considerable resort. It is estimated that from one to two hundred natives visited the settlement every day for the sake chiefly of exchanging articles of African produce for British manufactures. Many of these natives came in canoes, some of them from a distance of 80 or 100 miles. The intercourse however from these more distant parts was exceedingly discouraged and interrupted by the general insecurity of the African coast, the natives not being able to put into an intermediate creek, on the occasion of any stress of weather, without imminent hazard of being seized and sold for slaves. Numerous instances have occurred of the seizure of canoes coming to the colony, and of the sale of the natives found in them. The company's government had also succeeded in some degree in extending its influence among the natives, whose confidence was strongly indicated by many circumstances, but particularly by the readiness with which they sent some of their children to the colony, and even to this country, for education.

The Nova Scotians, as has been already observed, began in an early period of the settlement to manifest a great spirit of turbulence and insubordination; and a party of them had on one occasion *made an attempt on the life of the governor*. This spirit received a considerable

check by the defeat of the attempt; but it again revived, and continued to increase so rapidly, as to threaten the overthrow of the colony.

The directors, anxious to repress the growing evil, obtained from the crown, in the year 1800, a charter of justice; and a captain of one of His Majesty's ships of war was charged with the delivery of it. Directions were also given, that a small force should be detached from Goree for the purpose of being stationed in the colony of Sierra Leone, and the commandant of Goree received instructions to extend such farther assistance as might be asked by the governor of Sierra Leone, and could properly be afforded to this colony.

The sum of £7,000, being a part of £20,000 voted in parliament for African forts, was granted to the company, for the erection of a fort; and an expectation was given of a further sum of £8,000 for the same purpose. £10,000 was about the same time received from government as a partial indemnification for the expense to which the company had been put in settling the Nova Scotians. £4,000 was also voted for the support of the civil government of the colony.

The directors of the Sierra Leone company about this time undertook to take the Maroons under their protection. They at first expressed a wish to decline receiving them, chiefly in consequence of their experience of the difficulty of governing the Nova Scotians. They were led to give their consent to a proposition made to them by the Duke of Portland on this subject, partly by an inclination to comply with the wishes of government, partly by an idea that the Maroons *might form some counterpoise to the Nova Scotians* (for which reason the directors were very desirous of planting them in a somewhat distant town), partly by an opinion that the Maroons and their children, if placed under the company's care, would have a better chance of civilization than if landed, as they were otherwise likely to be, in some part of Africa which was independent of the company.

The directors were promised payment of the actual expense incurred in settling them in Africa; and they meant afterwards to propose that some increase of the sum annually voted in parliament should be made in consideration of the government being exempted from future expense on this account.

The Maroons arrived in October 1800, and *assisted in quelling an insurrection among the Nova Scotians, who, understanding that means were about to be taken for establishing the company's authority, had endeavoured to possess themselves of the government.* Several of the insurgents were *killed in this conflict*; many were taken and tried, of whom *three were executed*, and *several were banished.*—Some of the ringleaders *escaped among the natives.*

The governor and council employed their new power and authority in introducing a system of order, and were beginning to witness the happy effects of it; when a sudden and unexpected blow was aimed at the very existence of the settlement by some native chiefs in the neighbourhood, who had previously evinced no hostile intentions, nor alledged any cause of complaint against the colony.—About day break on the morning of the 18th November last, a body of natives, headed by two of the Nova Scotia insurgents, who had effected their escape after the insurrection of the former year, made an assault on the unfinished fort in which the government house was situated. After some loss of men had been sustained on both sides, the assailants were repulsed, and they have since been forced to withdraw from the situation they occupied in the immediate neighbourhood of the colony. A truce had been concluded, when the last accounts came away; but it was conceived that the chiefs engaged in the attack, who were entirely of the Timmaney nation, were endeavouring to gain over people of other nations to their cause, by exciting among them an apprehension of the consequences of the growing power of the Sierra Leone settlement.

About *sixty-five* additional British troops had arrived from Goree, and one of His Majesty's ships of war remained in Sierra Leone river, *for the purpose of protecting the colony.* Some friendly chiefs had sent a large force to Freetown; but the government, unwilling to burthen itself with the expense of maintaining them, and not wishing to employ in its defence allies of this description, unless there should be a strong necessity for it, had allowed them to return home.

No immediate danger to the settlement was apprehended; but a necessity is stated to exist for the maintenance of an European force, for the completion also of the fort, and for the enlargement of the annual expenses of the company's establishment. The sum of £4,000 per annum, which has been already twice voted in parliament, has been far from sufficient to supply the whole annual expense of protecting and maintaining the settlement.

OBSTRUCTIONS TO THE PROGRESS OF THE SETTLEMENT.—It appears from the preceding history, that the colony in the few first years after its establishment made some progress, in spite even of the war with France, and of the want of an efficient government; and that it acquired the respect and confidence of the natives, many of whom courted its friendship; but that the radical defect of the want of a sufficient power in the government created difficulties, of which it is not easy to calculate the extent, and with which, as no remedy was applied before October 1800, the colony may be considered as having had to struggle almost until the present period.

This weakness in the colonial government has led to two insurrections. It has tended to lower the company in the eyes of the natives, and thus to invite the attack on the settlement: it has encouraged the growth of immorality: it has retarded the progress of industry, cultivation, and civilization; and has made Europeans unwilling to enter into the company's employ. Those who have held the principal situations at Sierra Leone

have been compelled to give their chief attention to the redress of evils, the growth of which ought to have been prevented; and instead of being employed in adapting laws to the state of the settlement, and in devising measures for its benefit, they have been occupied in the preservation of its peace, and even of their very existence.

This defect has been done away by obtaining a charter of justice *, as well as a force which has been adequate to the maintenance of the internal order of the settlement. Many of the evils, however, which are to be traced to this cause still exist, and can only be gradually removed.

The directors will now proceed to enumerate the various other causes which appear to them to have obstructed the advancement of the settlement.

A second obstacle of its progress (an evil arising partly out of that which has been recently described, though requiring separate consideration) has been the unfavourable character of the Nova Scotia colonists. Forty or fifty heads of families have conducted themselves in an exemplary manner, and a few individuals have shewn an extraordinary degree of zeal for the maintenance of good order. A large portion of them, however, have proved to be idle, turbulent, and unreasonable; and there have been among them a few *desperate and designing individuals, who, though as ignorant as the others, have been allowed to take the lead.* The assumption of the supreme power had long been the object of those individuals; and the neighbouring natives, especially one or two of the more unprincipled chiefs, had been courted by them, with the view of effecting the overthrow of the European influence in the colony. The power of this Nova Scotian *party* was broken at the time of the late insurrection, when, as has been already noticed, several of them were killed in the conflict. Three were executed, and many more were banished. A large portion of the more unprincipled Nova Scotians have lately been *removed* from Freetown by *other causes.* The internal peace of the settlement is therefore no longer endangered by the number of disaffected Nova Scotians. The character of the Maroons is now become a subject of more importance; for the male adults among the Maroons are full as numerous as the remaining male adults of the other class of settlers †.

A third obstacle of the progress of the colony has been the insufficiency of its force to check the encroachments, or discourage the aggression of the neighbouring natives.—The only natives who come into immediate contact with the colony, are those of the Timmaney nation, from whom the lands occupied by the company were originally purchased; and whose country is of small extent, and thinly peopled. *The Timmaneys have the general character of being remarkably indolent, faithless, and ferocious; and their chiefs, who were also the principals in the late attack on the settlement, have proved to be rapacious, drunken, and deceitful; easily imposed upon by artifice and misrepresentation, and ready to promote any design, however flagitious, which promised to gratify their avarice or their passions.*

Under these circumstances, the want of a force adequate to the protection of the colony, led to many injurious effects. It produced a sense of insecurity, which was every way unfavourable to the promotion of industry. It fostered a disposition in the Timmaney chiefs, to harrass the colony with perpetual though groundless disputes; and to prefer unreasonable demands, which it was not always safe to refuse. It encouraged them likewise to encroach on the company's territory, and to interrupt the progress of cultivation, by assuming a right (which nothing but the weak state of the colony would have induced an acquiescence in for a moment) of commanding the free labourers belonging to other nations, who were employed on the farms at Sierra Leone, to quit the colony, on pain of being seized and sold as slaves; and it at length tempted them, when a large accession of force had left no hope of a compliance with their extravagant claims, to attempt seizing by surprize the yet unfinished fort, and extirpating the colony.

It may be proper to observe in this place, that the late attack on the settlement is the only act of hostility on the part of the natives, which the colony has yet experienced. No subject of dispute previously existed, so that it is not easy to state the real cause of this aggression; but it is not improbable that the measures taken for the defence and security of the colony, were represented by the company's enemies to be indications of a design to deprive the natives of their territory; and that the fears and jealousies thus instilled had united, with the hope of plunder, to produce the attempt to destroy the colony. Since the same causes will continue to operate, and since a party has been excited to make war upon the settlement, it is to be apprehended that

* The charter creates the company's settlement an independent colony; authorizes the directors to make laws not repugnant to those of England; and to appoint a governor and council, who have a similar power of making laws, subject to the revision of the court of directors. It places the criminal jurisdiction in the hands of the governor and council; but it appoints a mayor's court for the determination of civil suits, and a court of requests for the recovery of small debts. It gives, both in civil and criminal cases, the right of trial by jury.

† The present population is no were clearly stated in the account. The Nova Scotia blacks were at first, 1,200 in number, the Maroons 550, the Europeans about 40, and the military are now about 100. The Nova Scotians appear to be greatly reduced in number, as also the Maroons. The Europeans and soldiers have died very fast; and the whole population can, at this time, contain scarcely 1,200 persons.

the seeds of future hostility may have been sown, and that a temporary combination may be formed against the company. If, however, a sufficient fort were erected, such a combination would be of small moment, and probably of short duration.

The chiefs of all the other neighbouring nations have hitherto manifested a friendly disposition to the company, and several are much attached to it, as appears from the circumstance of some of them having sent a number of men to its assistance, soon after the rumour of the war had reached them, and of others having promised aid should it be deemed necessary.

4thly. The climate of Sierra Leone has presented another difficulty with which the company has had to contend. It has, however, proved quite as healthy as was expected. It is true that the first British adventurers suffered greatly by sickness, and that *a large proportion of them died.* But the chief sufferers were *men of the lower class.*

Of the principal servants of the company who first went out, very few lost their lives. It may be inferred from this fact, that supposing any great mortality to take place at Sierra Leone, it may almost invariably be referred to want of accommodations, to a general inattention to health, or to excessive exertions; rather than to any insurmountable obstacle to the preservation of life, which is created by the climate. The European deaths at Sierra Leone will be found to have been very few, if those which happened a few months after the first settlement of the place, and those which followed the capture of the colony by the French, and those also which were occasioned by the late attack of the natives, are excluded from the account.—It may be affirmed, that, generally speaking, not more than about one white servant of the company has died in the colony in each two years, or, at most, about two servants in three years, out of the 20, 25, or 30 white servants who have been usually resident.

Out of about 50 soldiers, however, who lately were sent thither from Goree, the governor and council observe, not without some surprize as well as concern, that no less than *ten died* within *six months* after their arrival, and that *five women* and *two children* also died. But the governor and council state, that the men were, with only one exception, much given to liquor; and that no small part of the corps to which they belonged had been formed from the invalids of other regiments*.

On the whole it *seems reasonable to assume*, that, although the climate of Sierra Leone is *equal*, in point of healthiness, to that of the West-Indies, and although British subjects are not likely to be deterred by it from emigrating thither, it must be exiremely desirable to limit, as much as possible, the number of British troops on such a station.

5thly. Another obstacle to the progress of the colony, has been the inexperience of the conductors of it in the earlier period of the undertaking; but a maturer, and therefore a better judgment, upon almost all points, may now be supposed to be exercised. The directors have no hesitation to admit, that the knowledge obtained by their experience has enabled them to correct their ideas on many points, on which in the outset of the establishment, they could form no precise judgment.

6thly. Another obstacle (which has been already briefly noticed) has been the too great limitation of the company's establishment, especially since the year 1794. It has seldom had in its employment in the colony a number of persons sufficient for the various duties of an infant settlement; and the salaries which it has given, have scarcely been sufficient to reward the heavy labour and the meritorious services of many of those whom it has placed in the higher situations.

This topic will again be touched upon, in speaking of the expense of maintaining, in the time to come, a sufficient establishment, and of giving due encouragement to the settlement.

7thly. The war has injured the company's affairs in many important respects; namely, by interrupting the communication between this country and the colony, and preventing the regular arrival of intelligence; by causing a frequent disassortment of the trade goods in the settlement, and an occasional scarcity of the supplies necessary for the colonial consumption; by creating an opinion of the insecurity of the place, and thus indisposing persons in Great Britain to enter into the company's service; by augmenting the price of British articles at Sierra Leone, and thus exciting discontent both among the colonists and the natives, who imputed the rise in the cost of European goods to the avarice of the company; by causing much expense in arming vessels, and in providing for military defence; by exposing, in a remarkable degree, the African coast to the men of war and privateers of the enemy, and thus occasioning the capture of many valuable cargoes belonging to the Sierra Leone company, some of which it was not possible to insure; by often calling the attention of the colony from its ordinary pursuits to the duty of providing against an apprehended attack; and by leading, in the year 1794, to the capture and destruction of the settlement. One principal impediment to the advancement of the colony may be considered as removed, by the establishment of peace.

8thly. The obstacles which the slave trade has presented, and which it still offers, to the progress of the settlement, are of the following kind:

It creates a strong and active interest in Africa, which is opposed to that of the Sierra

* These are pitiful shifts. The fact of the deaths could not be denied; it was on record at the war-office; but it was of a nature too hostile to the success of the petition to be suffered to remain unsoftened.—Yes, it is, indeed, "extremely desirable to *limit* the number of British troops on such a station;" and for *such a purpose.*

Leone company, and is industriously employed in misrepresenting their designs, and exciting jealousy in every quarter. To this cause may be traced much of the ill will, and consequent hostility, of the natives, and of the turbulence and insubordination of the colonists. It renders the European traders, in particular, the natural enemies of the company. It supplies the chiefs with the means of acquiring British articles, without their being at the trouble of collecting produce, or cultivating the soil. It interests the leading men in the maintenance of those superstitious practices, which, while they form a great obstacle to civilization, are, on the coast, the main source from which the slave trade obtains its victims. It gives to the slave factories a great superiority over the company, even in the traffic of produce, inasmuch as they are able to conduct a trade in both produce and slaves, at nearly the same expense at which a trade in produce alone can be carried on. It affords also to the slave factor an advantage, in respect to the means of recovering debts for produce, for he has only to seize and sell his debtor, or the family, or even townsmen of his debtor, in order to secure himself against loss; he can therefore generally gain some preference over the company, by affording a larger credit to the natives. The slave trade also renders the Africans, especially those who live near the coast, drunken, idle, and ferocious; and by the high profits which it presents, *it has tempted some settlers at Sierra Leone, and even a few individuals who had gone out in the company's employ, either to embark in the service of slave factories, or to enter on their own account into that traffic**.

Many of these obstacles may now be said to have ceased. The slave trade still opposes its influence. The *climate* also, though *constantly improving*†, will continue to be unfavourable to those Europeans who are negligent of their health. Some of the Timmaneys moreover may be expected to continue to form designs against the colony, so long as the idea of its insecurity remains. On the other hand, the termination of the war has removed a chief impediment to the advancement of the company's views. The character of the Nova-Scotians, *supposing the government to be strong*, may be expected to improve, as may also that of the Maroons; who, on the contrary, if the ruling power should be weak, will possess a very dangerous influence.

On the whole, it appears, that the full establishment of the authority and power of the governor and council, together with the erection of a fort, and the maintenance of a force sufficient to secure the colony from any attempts of the Timmaneys, are the points on which the hopes of the success of the undertaking must principally rest. Unless the colony is likely to be rendered permanently safe, the directors are of opinion that it ought to be relinquished. It is indeed obvious, that the slow progress of African civilization in general is to be ascribed to the insecurity, both of persons and property, on that continent.

PROSPECTS OF BENEFIT FROM THE MAINTENANCE AND DUE ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE COLONY.—The directors will next proceed to state the benefits which, as it appears to them, may reasonably be expected to arise from the maintenance and due encouragement of the colony of Sierra-Leone. These shall first be considered under the three heads of—TRADE,—CULTIVATION,—and CIVILIZATION.

OF TRADE.—As a means of improving the property of the company, little mention need be made, since the company does not possess a capital sufficient for the conduct of any considerable undertakings. Independent merchants residing in the colony, may be expected to trade to advantage, in the productions of Africa. Of this, the success of some British settlers at Sierra Leone is a sufficient proof. Some new trade with the interior is likely to be introduced, but no confident expectation can be entertained of its being carried to any very considerable extent, within a short period, should the slave trade continue. The extension of the British trade with Africa must depend chiefly *on the creation of new exportable produce*, and consequently on the introduction of a new spirit of cultivation among the people of that continent, a point which is next to be considered.

CULTIVATION.—This subject may be regarded in three points of view; as applicable to the lands of the black settlers—to plantations attempted by Europeans—and to those which may be undertaken by the natives of Africa, on their own account. The Nova-Scotians and Maroons are not likely to employ their own lots of land in the production of any material quantity of articles of exportable produce, for though they have at different times cultivated ground to a considerable extent, no great dependence can be placed on their steady pursuit of any agricultural plans. Past experience affords better reason to hope for success from the efforts of Europeans. Mr. Ludlam, a member of the council at Sierra-Leone, now in England, as well as some other servants of the Company, have made experiments in cultivation, with a view to profit; and they were expecting to begin to reap an advantage adequate to the expense incurred, when the labour of their Grumettas was interrupted, in the end of the year 1799, by the interference of the native chiefs. Cultivation had indeed revived in a considerable degree during

* This is a pretty satisfactory elucidation of the characters of those canting wretches, who have embarked in this philanthropic scheme.

† "Constantly *improving!*" From what cause? There has been nothing done on the *earth* to change it, unless we are weak enough to believe, that such change has been produced by the clearing of about 300 acres of land.

the last year, but the recent disturbances have for the present frustrated the hopes to which this circumstance had given birth.

Mr. Ludlam, on whose accuracy as well as knowledge of this subject much reliance may be placed, has stated to the court, "that the difficulties of constantly superintending his plantation, which was situated on the summit of a mountain, about three miles from his ordinary place of residence, as well as the hazard which must attend the experiment in the present insecure state of the colony, would, in his judgment, be greater than could be compensated by any returns which he could reasonably expect; but that if his plantation were so situated as to admit of his frequent inspection, and if the colony were secured from future attack, he would continue to cultivate his present coffee field, in confidence of a profitable return."

Some time may possibly elapse before the opinion of the security of Sierra-Leone can be such as to encourage plans of cultivation at a considerable distance from the town, and an apprehension may also be entertained, in consequence of what has already happened, of the recurrence of some difficulty in procuring labourers. The probability, however, is, that if the settlement were rendered sufficiently secure (a point which is for the present assumed) the influence of the colony would be so preponderating as to prevent the chiefs from unjustly calling off their Grumettas, and that native African labourers might, in process of time, become subjects to the Sierra-Leone government. It may be remarked, that the Maroons and the Nova-Scotians would probably supply, as they have hitherto done, a part of the necessary labour, in the event of any future interruption of the accustomed labour of Grumettas; and that there is usually in the settlement, a body of Crewmen (men coming from a distant part of Africa) who, though preferring employment on the water, might be induced, by an advance of wages, to assist for a time in cultivating the soil. At present, cultivation among the natives is almost entirely confined to the raising of rice, which in some places is produced in considerable quantities. How far they may be induced, by an example of successful cultivation at Sierra-Leone, to engage in the growth of other articles of exportable produce, is questionable, at least while the slave trade continues. In case of the abolition of that traffic, there seems little room to doubt, that such example, aided by a variety of other powerful motives, would have its full effect.

Coffee, which in 1796 was discovered to grow in the mountains of Sierra-Leone, is the principal article of cultivation, when considered with a view to commercial profit; the quality of that produced in the colony, as far as a judgment has been formed from samples of no great magnitude, has been pronounced excellent; *but* it is yet to be ascertained, whether the quantity of produce is equal to the quantity usually obtained from an equal number of plants in the West-Indies, although there does not appear any reasonable ground of doubt. The long red pepper and ginger have proved very profitable articles; *but* the demand for them being very limited, they cannot be cultivated to any great extent. Considerable efforts have been made to establish cotton plantations in the colony, *but* without success, owing principally to a worm which has destroyed it. It has nevertheless proved a very productive article of culture in the neighbourhood of Sierra-Leone. The soil is favourable for sugar, and the sugar-cane grows in much perfection; *but* the labour and expense attending the cultivation of this article are so considerable, that sugar is not likely to be produced in an early period of the settlement, except in such quantity as may be wanted for the colonial consumption. Black pepper has not yet been tried in the colony; and of its success, supposing the means of cultivating it attainable, the court can only judge from the nature of the soil and climate in Sierra Leone, compared with that of the countries where it is found to thrive, and on this ground, hopes may be entertained of its proving a productive article. Cinnamon grows well in the colony; *but* more experience is required to determine whether it will ultimately succeed. Rice is the staple of the country, and *if much new industry were exerted*, might be produced in large quantities for the purposes of exportation, and for the supply of the English markets, *on the occasion of any future scarcity*. On the whole, there is strong *reason to hope* that much new exportable produce *might* be created by the cultivation of the soil at Sierra-Leone, and its neighbourhood *.

Civilization.—The probability of success in promoting civilization in Africa, by means of the settlement at Sierra-Leone, depends partly on the character of the present settlers, and on the change it is likely to undergo; and partly on the effects to be produced in the neighbouring countries by the efforts and the example of the settlement. These points shall be separately considered. The Nova-Scotians have not improved in morals since their residence in the colony. This is to be attributed chiefly to the weakness of the colonial government, which, tempting them to continual opposition, placed them in a constant state of hostility with the Europeans at the head of that government. This circumstance naturally led them to cherish those vices and bad habits, which it was the endeavour of the government

* Such are the prospects of advantage, which are to induce the British government to bestow £10,000 a year on this colony, exclusive of the expenses of the military, and the loss of lives amongst British troops.—The possibility of raising rice to feed England, "on the occasion of "*any future scarcity*," is a most curious argument. This rice, this *possible* rice, will be sure to cost the nation forty times as much per pound as the rice of Carolina.

to eradicate, and to instil into their children such prejudices against the Europeans, as counteracted all endeavours to promote a love of right principles, and orderly and virtuous conduct. The Nova-Scotians are now much awed by the Maroons, and look up to Europeans for protection. They are also impressed by the punishment which has followed insubordination in the colony, and by the great additional strength which the government has lately acquired. Add to this, the worst members of that body are no longer in the colony, and the heads of families which remain are most of them orderly, and some of them exemplary, in the discharge of their social duties. More benefit, therefore, may now be expected from the Nova-Scotians, than has hitherto been experienced. The Maroons are active and intrepid, prodigal of their lives, confident of their strength, proud of the character of their body, and fond, though not jealous, of their independence. *They universally harbour a desire of going back, at some period of their lives, to Jamaica**, and therefore may with more difficulty be induced by prospects of future benefit to labour for the improvement of their habitations or plantations. These circumstances render them a people not easy to be governed, and to be brought into that state of society which would best promote the civilization of Africa. The suppression of polygamy among them has been hitherto deemed an experiment *too hazardous to be tried*, and no fair opportunities have yet occurred of ascertaining how far they will submit quietly to such restraints of the civil power as are most repugnant to their inclinations and habits. But there are favourable points in their character. Though they do not desire instruction for themselves, they are glad to have it communicated to their children, who appear to possess very good capacities. They have no jealousy of Europeans; on the contrary, they appear to be cordially attached to them, and wish to see an increase of the number of white colonists. They are generally disposed to labour for hire; many of them shew a great desire to acquire a knowledge of handicraft trades; and some of them, who have turned their attention to such trades since their arrival at Sierra-Leone, have become far more expert workmen than could have been expected. This desire will probably be stronger in their children, who will be brought up in habits very different from those which were formed and confirmed in their parents by their situation in Jamaica. But even though the improvement of the settlers within the colony should proceed more slowly than there is reason to hope, great and extensive moral benefit may be expected from the maintenance of the Sierra-Leone settlement. It need scarcely be remarked how much civilization is forwarded by promoting regular industry and good order, by affording complete protection, by facilitating the fair acquisition of property, and by securing the quiet enjoyment of legitimate influence and power. In order to appreciate the effects likely to be produced by the settlement at Sierra-Leone, conducted according to the principles proposed by the Sierra-Leone company, it will be necessary to take a view of some peculiar circumstances in the state of the neighbouring parts of Africa. The state of society in Africa affords to any individual of superior knowledge and activity, ready means of raising himself to a state of wealth and power. Whoever can possess himself of a few slaves, may become the head of a town. Success in the cultivation of rice, or in the trade between Europeans on the coast and the natives of the interior (and in trade or cultivation almost every headman is engaged) will enable him to increase the number of his domestic slaves, and consequently his strength and influence. Many freemen then seek his protection, and put themselves under his government. In this way some of the most considerable towns in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone have arisen in the course of a single generation. A feeble-minded or debauched successor, by selling, under a variety of pretexts (most of which the superstitions of his country supply) those whom in policy as well as in justice he ought to protect, destroys, in a still shorter period, the power which has been thus raised. The free people desert him, and possibly his town falls a prey to some enterprizing chieftain in the neighbourhood. It will be immediately seen, that the plans of the Sierra Leone company have been expressly calculated to remove the evils which thus impoverish and depopulate the coast. The example of a secure and permanent establishment, and of the successful cultivation, even though to a small extent, of new and valuable articles, would powerfully illustrate, enforce, and support the principles of sound policy for African chieftains, and those principles would be carefully instilled into the children, who might be educated under the company's care. Nor are the advantages and effects of such a system merely conjectural. A remarkable proof exists in the neighbourhood of Sierra-Leone, of the very great advantages of a permanent though very imperfect system of government, and of the abolition of those African laws, which make slavery the punishment of almost every offence. Not more than 70 years ago, a small number of Mahomedans established themselves in a country about 40 miles to the northward of Sierra-Leone, called from them the Mandingo country. As is the practice of the professors of that religion, they formed schools, in which the Arabic language and the doctrines of Mahomed were taught, and the customs of Mahomedans, particularly that of not selling any of their own religion as slaves, were adopted. Laws, founded on the Koran, were introduced. Those practices, which chiefly contribute to depopulate the coast, were eradicated; and, in spite of many intestine convul-

* This is one proof, amongst ten thousand that might easily be cited, of the falsehood that has been circulated respecting the attachment, which the negroes retain for Africa.

sions, a great comparative degree of civilization, union, and security was introduced. Population, in consequence, rapidly increased, and the whole power of that part of the country in which they are settled has gradually fallen into their hands. Those who have been taught in their schools, are succeeding to wealth and power in the neighbouring countries, and carry with them a considerable portion of their religion and laws. Other chiefs are adopting the name assumed by these Mahomedans, on account of the respect which attends it; and the religion of Islam seems likely to diffuse itself peaceably over the whole district in which the colony is situated, carrying with it those advantages which seem ever to have attended its victory over negro superstitions. If the establishment of even Mahomedan power, and the institution of Mahomedan schools, have produced these beneficial consequences, what may not reasonably be expected from the influence of British power and Christian education in the same region? But the most important subsidiary assistance will be afforded to the influence of the colony on the neighbouring nations, by giving instruction in England to some African children, who are either most promising in themselves, or most important from their African connections. About twenty-four such children are now under education in this kingdom, who will carry back to their own country minds considerably enlightened, and will be particularly well instructed in the Christian religion. Several of these are the sons of chiefs; and if the colony should be firmly established, the general and warm desire of the leading men in Africa to have their children educated by the Sierra-Leone company, affords the strongest reason to believe that a large proportion of the kings and headmen of the surrounding countries would receive their education either in England or at Freetown, and would value the friendship, and in a good measure adopt the views, of the Sierra-Leone government. As the governments in Africa are in a great degree hereditary, these youths would succeed to power; and there would be a fair prospect of their carrying into effect in the countries which they would respectively govern, plans more or less similar to those inculcated in England, and pursued in the colony.

Having considered the present state and prospects of the colony under the heads of trade, cultivation, and civilization, there remains one view of the subject which ought not to be omitted; viz. The advantages, in a national and political view, of maintaining the present settlement at Sierra-Leone. The river Sierra-Leone is in many respects an important station to a commercial nation. Its harbour is safe and commodious, and at all times easy of access; while there is no other river, for a vast extent of coast, into which ships of large burthen can enter. Wood and water of the best quality are to be procured with very little trouble. It is situated in the vicinity of rivers, from whence an abundant supply of rice and fresh provisions may be always drawn; and it is comparatively healthy, as has been proved by the experience of all the King's ships which have visited it. The nation which possesses Sierra Leone, may command, to a very considerable degree, the trade of a large part of Africa, and will enjoy a very paramount influence throughout the whole line of coast from Gambia to Cape Palmas.

No other situation on the whole coast, from the Mediterranean to the equator, an extent of not less than 3,600 miles, possesses all these advantages. Should the colony be abandoned, there will be no British station between Gibraltar and the Gold Coast, and no convenient and safe British harbour between the same place and the Cape of Good Hope.

EXPENSE OF GIVING SECURITY TO THE COLONY, AND MAINTAINING ITS ESTABLISHMENT.—The directors are of opinion, that until the fort is so nearly finished as to be a post of security from its own strength, a force of 200 men, half European soldiers, and half Maroons and Nova-Scotians, will be requisite for the protection of the colony. When the fort becomes a place of security, 50 Europeans, added to 100 black settlers, and such of the company's servants as would take arms in case of emergency, will probably be sufficient. The fort is at present in a very imperfect state. Its completion is indispensable to the security of the colony, and will require an expenditure of seven or eight thousand pounds, in addition to the £7,000 already granted by government. The Court of Directors conceive, that besides the pay of European troops, and every charge connected with them, which they wish to be defrayed by government, an annual sum of not less than £10,000 will be necessary for the due support of the establishments of the company at home and abroad, and for all contingent expenses. Much of the disappointment which has been experienced may be traced, as has been already shewn, to the inadequacy of the establishment hitherto maintained, and to the too rigid economy which the Directors acting on the behalf of the Proprietors have deemed it necessary to enforce, especially during several of the last years. It is important that premiums should be granted to those who take the lead in the cultivation of the soil; that the charge of a few small experiments, of a hazardous kind, should be borne by the company; that plants should be collected at some expense; that journies into the interior should occasionally be taken; that a free passage home should be afforded to those servants of the company, to whose constitution the climate of Africa may prove particularly unfavourable: that the income of the principal servants should be such as to induce men of experience and ability, as well as of the best moral character, to accept of employment under the company, and that in general the salaries of all their servants should be sufficient to induce married persons to go to Sierra-Leone with their families. The expenses of an establish-

ment at Sierra-Leone materially differ from those incurred in most other foreign settlements; the chief difference is in contingencies, and arises from the peculiar objects in view; these expenses may in some measure be calculated from the experience of ten years; and there would, therefore, be no great danger of the estimate being exceeded by the expenditure.

The directors conceive the sum which has been mentioned of £10,000 to be an ample one; but it is only on the supposition of a liberal allowance being afforded, that they entertain any confident hopes of effecting the great objects, with a view to which the annual sum of £4,000 has been already granted *.

OBJECTIONS TO THE ABANDONMENT OF THE COLONY, AND TO THE MAINTENANCE OF IT ON A VERY CONTRACTED SCALE.—If the settlement at Sierra Leone is abandoned, not only the hope of accomplishing those great objects which have been already spoken of, must be renounced, but much expense and difficulty must also be incurred in consequence of the government having to provide for the present colonists.—The Nova Scotians, while in America, brought some expense, and the Maroons imposed a heavy charge on the British government. The expense of transporting these two bodies of colonists to Sierra Leone, as well as settling them there, has been considerable. They are now placed in a climate congenial to them. The right of the company to the land occupied by the settlers, is undoubted. The soil is fruitful. The lots of ground have been laid out. Between one and two square miles of country have been cleared; roads have been cut, and many buildings erected. To remove the colonists from their present situation, would probably therefore be deemed inexpedient. Indeed, in whatever part of Africa they may be supposed to be planted, some obstacles to the comfortable settlement of them must be apprehended. Attempts were made by the Sierra Leone company to provide for the Maroons a situation somewhat distant from Freetown, but the difficulties were such as at length to leave the governor and council without any other alternative than that of placing them on the territory already belonging to the company. It may moreover be doubted whether the Maroons would readily acquiesce in any new plan which might be devised.—If it is assumed that the colonists are to maintain their present position, it cannot admit of doubt that sufficient means of protection ought to be afforded them, and the measures which in consequence of the late hostilities of the natives are become necessary for the security of the settlers, must, even according to the lowest calculation, involve the government in a very considerable expense; for it will be absolutely necessary to complete the fort, and to retain, for the present, all the British troops now at Freetown, consisting of near 100 men, and to support also some civil establishment. It will probably also be difficult for the government to induce any large or valuable part of those white servants, who are now in the company's employ, to remain in the settlement, even though these 100 men should be retained, and the fort should be directed to be built, provided the present civil establishment, which costs much more than the sum now annually voted in parliament, should be reduced.—It is the clear opinion of the directors, that there is now no medium between the measure of totally abandoning the place, and that of rendering it secure by the expenditure of a sum which shall at least be nearly equal to that which has been proposed. Moreover the permanent maintenance of some British force appears to the directors to be highly desirable, if not necessary, with a view to the good government of the Maroons; for there will otherwise be much danger, lest the British authority and influence within the settlement should not be sufficiently predominant. The Maroons, if unawed by any British force, may not improbably deem themselves superior both to the Nova Scotians and the Europeans, may be disposed to disobey the civil power, and may also involve themselves in offensive war against the natives. They would probably be successful in merely offensive operations, and by selling their captives as slaves, they would find a constant motive for the continuance of hostilities. Africa, according to this supposition, instead of receiving that compensation for injuries sustained through the slave trade, which the Sierra Leone company has wished to bestow upon her, would be plundered of her inhabitants by a body of men, who have been cast upon her shores by Great Britain, and whose right to land there is derived from a grant of territory originally made to the captain of a British man of war, in the name of His Majesty; a grant consented to by the Africans in consequence of their reliance in the good faith of Great Britain, and of their persuasion of the benevolent designs of the society which was party to the transaction.—The Maroons, it may be remarked, were originally Africans of the Coromantine nation. Their ancestors having been carried off as slaves to Jamaica, fled after a time from their masters, and lived in the mountainous parts of that island. Proving formidable to the people of Jamaica, they were deemed inconvenient neighbours, and were removed from the island. While they resided in Jamaica, no means were taken to soften the ferocity of their disposition, and to improve their minds, by affording religious and moral instruction to them and to their children. May it not be inferred from these considerations, that the British

* The estimate subjoined to this account, allows £3,750 for the civil officers, £3,750 for the judiciary, £1,300 for general contingencies, and £1,500 for additional garrison expenses, sending information on extraordinary occasions, objects of civilization, maintaining schoolmasters in the native towns, printing books in the native languages, surveys, travels, &c.—The expense of the military is not included in this estimate, nor of the school at Clapham, for the genteel education of young blacks.

government is under some obligation both to prevent the savage and warlike spirit of the Maroons from being turned against the Africans and to introduce among them some system both of suitable civil government and of christian education, even though there should be some doubt of the full success of the attempt, and though a more than ordinary degree of expense should attend it?—If it is admitted that the Maroons have that sort of claim on the British government which has been spoken of, and if moreover it is allowed, as it probably may, that the Nova Scotians now in the colony, who are the more meritorious of the body, have a fair title to be considered, the question which will remain for determination will then be, whether it is not desirable to combine the attempt to govern and to civilize these colonists with another and still greater object, that of forwarding, by a moderate additional expense, the cultivation and the civilization of the continent of Africa? and whether also the work which has been already begun through the voluntary efforts of the Sierra Leone company, may be considered as a ground on which the Parliament of Great Britain ought to proceed, or whether any change of plan may be deemed necessary?

This statement was signed by;—*H. Thornton*, chairman. *Charles Grant*, deputy chairman. *Teignmouth. W. Wilberforce. T. Babington. Thomas F. Forster*, jun. *Joseph Hardcastle. John Inglis. John Kingston. Samuel Parker. Edward Parry. Grenville Sharp. George Wolff.*

EVIDENCE IN SUPPORT OF THE STATEMENT.

Mr. Zachary Macaulay, secretary to the said company, and formerly a governor of the colony, being desired to state such further particulars in addition to, and in confirmation of the above-named statement, as came within his knowledge; observed, that the greatest number of Grumettas, or free labourers, whom he remembers to have been employed in the colony at any one time, was from three to four hundred. A greater number might have been easily obtained if a demand for more had existed in the colony—the facility of obtaining them continued till the chiefs of the neighbouring nation interfered to prevent their resorting to the colony. He did not include the Croumen in this number, who, though occasionally employed on shore, are chiefly occupied in ships on the coast, and in managing small craft. Their number did not at any time exceed sixty. They come from the coast between Cape Mount and Cape Palmas, a distance of about three hundred and fifty miles to the southward of the colony.—Of negro children, there have been generally from 150 to 300, of whom from 20 to 30 were native Africans, at the schools within the colony; and the number now in England for the purpose of education is 25.—The children educated in the colony have been instructed in writing and reading English, arithmetic, and the principles of religion. They have shewn considerable facility in learning.—Those who have been educated in England have been instructed with much more effect than those educated within the colony, owing in some degree to parents in the latter case frequently interfering with their education.—Being asked, upon what authority does the account of the Mandingoes rest, as stated in the paper delivered in? Mr. Macaulay replied: upon the information of many of the Mandingoes themselves, who were in the habit of frequently visiting the colony, sometimes to the number of 40 or 50 at a time—upon the information also of many Europeans who had been among them: it was also a matter of general notoriety.—The Mandingoes appeared, in point of acquirements, far superior to the other natives: they read the Arabic language. The extent of their country is about 900 square miles, and the number of its inhabitants about 48,000, which is about six times the usual average population of the sea coast of Africa in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, that being reckoned not to exceed eight persons to a square mile. This calculation, however, is necessarily a loose one.—With reference to the Foulah country, his information was derived from various authentic sources, but particularly from the narrative of two servants of the company, who travelled into the interior, whose journals he had perused with care, and with whom also he had had much conversation.—Civilization in Africa, has been observed by him, to be generally in proportion to the distance of the situation from the coast.—The harbour of Sierra Leone, formed by the river of the same name, is perfectly safe and commodious, has good anchoring ground, and sufficient depth of water for vessels of all burthens. The most dangerous winds are those which blow from the land, against which the shore forms a perfect protection.—There have occasionally ships of war called at the settlement, and the officers have expressed themselves fully satisfied with the goodness of the harbour, particularly Captain Ball of the Dædalus, and Commodore Cornwallis of the Sheerness. Captain Ball was there in the month of January 1798. Captain Ballard of the Pearl, Captain Nash of the Hornet, and Admiral Thompson, and several others, have also been there. The depth of water is sufficient to enable a frigate of 44 guns to lie within a furlong of the town.—With respect to the fort at *Thornton Hill*, when finished, it may be considered as a secure protection against any attempt either on the part of the natives or the colonists, and it also commands with effect the harbour; but being commanded by an adjacent hill, it would not be a defence against an European enemy with numbers considerably superior to the garrison, making a landing with artillery, and occupying the position alluded to. This position is too extensive to be fortified at present without considerable expense, probably double the expense of the projected *fort* on *Thornton Hill*.—The climate resembles much that of the West Indies, where the witness lived for some years, and may *reasonably* be expected

to improve in proportion as cultivation takes place. It is believed to be already considerably ameliorated. The thermometer varies throughout the year from 70 to 95, the average about 80. The rainy season, which is thought on the whole most unhealthy, begins about the latter end of May, and ends in October. An European, not exposed to excess of labour, and who is careful to guard against the effects of moisture, may enjoy there a good state of health. The Nova Scotians suffered in a considerable degree on their first settlement, from causes not strictly attributable to the climate. The Maroons suffered in a much less degree. Latterly it has suited both as well as the natives.

Mr. Thomas Ludlam, who is at present a member of the council at Sierra Leone, and formerly acted as governor, confirmed the evidence of Mr. Macaulay in every material particular.

Mr. Macaulay further stated, that rice may be had from the natives at from £7. to £8. per ton. The quantities grown in the Mandingo country, where they are more industrious, is greater in proportion than what is found in any of the neighbouring states. The land on this part of the coast of Africa is generally of equal fertility with the land in Jamaica. The expense of clearing the land is, upon an average, about £3. per acre; the usual crop of rice per acre is about half a ton. The expense of cultivation, after clearing the ground, is not very great, the planting of rice being attended with little labour. The great disadvantage attending the culture of rice with a view to export, at present, is the want of machinery for the purpose of cleaning it.

Mr. William Greaves stated, that he lives at Clapham, and has the care of the Africans now in England for education, as their schoolmaster. He has had other boys under his care, but at present is charged solely with the education of the children in question. They were placed under his care about two years-and-an-half ago. Their ages are from 10 to 17. He instructs them in reading, writing and arithmetic; and one of them, who is the most forward, in mensuration. Almost all of them can speak and read English tolerably well. Pains are taken to give them information on general subjects; as, history, geography, natural philosophy, and mechanics. He had not observed any inferiority of capacity, allowance being made for the deficiencies under which they laboured when they came under his care. They converse together in their own language, but more frequently in English. Three of the children having learned to read and write, have been put out to learn boat-building; and it is proposed to place the others, as they get forward, to learn different trades. They also learn various useful arts within the school.—They retain a strong attachment to their own country; but do not appear impatient to return home till their education is completed, being sensible of the advantages to be derived therefrom. The children shew a great disposition to adopt the principles of the christian religion; and several of them have written letters to their parents in Africa, expressive of their opinions on this subject. Books have been prepared, principally on religious subjects, for the use of the children, with the native language of some of them, called "The Susoo "Language," on one side, and the English on the other; which the children now read.

Mr. Macaulay, and Mr. Ludlam fully confirmed the evidence of Mr. Greaves: and added, that this is the first attempt made to reduce to writing the Susoo language; which is not a written language in Africa, and the orthography of which has been collected only from the sounds. As now printed, it is perfectly intelligible, not only to the boys now in England, but also to the natives of the Susoo country, when read to them in Africa.—Some of the books prepared as above described, have been sent out recently to the colony; and it is hoped by these means, with proper assistance, education may be much facilitated amongst the native Africans.—They further stated, that all the children had come for education to this country at the desire and consent of their parents, or other friends. The intention of the company has been to continue them in England for seven or eight years, in order the better to prepare them, on their return to Africa, either to fill offices under the company, or to promote civilization in any other way, by means of the advantages which an European education will naturally give to them in in their intercourse with their own people. Many of them also will succeed to power, being children of the chiefs of the country.

John King, Esquire, under secretary of state, having been examined; stated, that the Maroons were removed from Jamaica by the governor to Nova Scotia, without any order from government at home, and attempts were made to settle them there. The general expense attending their subsistence (exclusive of their removal) upon a rough calculation, was nearly one shilling a day per head, which, as the number removed was about 550, amounted to not less than £10,000 a year.—In consequence of the heavy expense thus incurred, and the difficulty in settling them, application was made to the Sierra Leone company for their removal to Africa, which was complied with.—Mr. King was of opinion, that if the colony of Sierra Leone were to be given up, very great difficulty must necessarily arise in finding a proper place for the Maroons; and even if one were found, which he considered to be a matter of considerable doubt, much expense must be incurred in removing them to it.—With reference to the Nova Scotians, they also were removed to Africa at the public expense—they were moreover a considerable expense to the public previous to their removal to Sierra Leone; and in the event of the colony being abandoned, he conceived nearly the same difficulty and expense would occur in disposing of them, as in disposing of the Maroons. He farther conceived, that it would not be consistent with the general views which led to their removal to the coast of Africa to leave them there without the protection of an European colony.

An Account of the Territorial Revenues and Commercial Duties collected within the Islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino, previous to the Occupation of the Fort Valette by the French, in the year 1798.

	Scudi.Tari.Gr.	*£.*	*s.*	*d.*
Estates allotted to the grand master	81756 8 13	8175	13	5½
Estates belonging to the treasury, or *commun tesoro*	9721 7 15	972	3	3½
Estates of different foundations, become the property of the government	78328 7 5	7832	17	2
Estates belonging to the respective *langues*.....	10884 4 12	1088	8	9
Estates formerly belonging to the college of the Jesuits	6189 8 0	618	19	4
Interest of money lent by government upon mortgage ..	1756 1 1	175	12	2
Customs.....	100000 0 0	10000	0	0
Excise on wine	50000 0 0	5000	0	0
3½ per cent. on the sale of real property	8000 0 0	800	0	0
	346637 1 6	£34663	14	2

Essay on those Articles of the Treaty of 1794, *between Great-Britain and the United States of America, which relate to the Rights of Neutrality at Sea. By* ALEXANDER HAMILTON, *Esq. Lieutenant-General of the American Army, and formerly Secretary of the Treasury of the United States**.

The seventeenth article, which respects the capture and detention of the vessels of the parties on just suspicion of having on board enemy's property, or contraband of war, has been the object of intemperate censure—with how much justice it shall be the business of this paper to examine.

The principal complaint, is not, that the article exposed our own property to loss by capture, for this is not the case, but that it does not protect enemy's property on board our vessels. The defence of the article will rest upon the proofs which shall be exhibited, that it is in conformity with, and supported by, the clear and acknowledged law of nations—that law which pronounces that enemy's goods on the high seas are liable to capture, and as a necessary mean to this end, that neutral ships are there liable to examination or search.

The law of nature (as heretofore observed) applicable to individuals in their independent or unsocial state, is what, when applied to collections of individuals in society, constitutes the natural or necessary law of nations. An individual in a state of nature, for reparation of injuries, or in defence of his person and property, has a right to seize the property of his enemy, and to destroy his person.

Nations always succeed to the rights that the individuals who composed them enjoyed in a state of nature: and hence it is that by the law of nations from the earliest annals of society, the goods or property of one enemy has been considered as liable to be seized and applied to the use of another. This right must be so used as not to injure the rights of others: subject to this limitation it is perfect, and an interruption of it by another is an injury. As in a contest between two individuals in a state of nature, no third has a right, without becoming a party in the controversy, to protect the property, or defend the person of either of the parties: so in a war between two nations, no third nation can act out of its own jurisdiction, consistent with the duties of neutrality; or, without becoming a party in the war, protect the property of, or defend either of the parties. Though nations are, in respect to each other, like individuals in a state of nature, the resemblance is not in every particular perfect. Individuals, in a state of nature, have not only the inferior dominion or private ownership of property, but the entire and perfect dominion over it. In society the latter right belongs exclusively to the nation, while the former belongs to the several members that compose it. Immoveable things, such as lands, which are denominated the territory of a nation, are the immediate and special objects of this perfect dominion or paramount property. Moveable things are the proper objects of inferior dominion or private ownership, and are no otherwise the objects of the national or paramount property, than as they happen to be within its territorial limits. The perfect dominion, or jurisdiction of a nation, in respect to property, extends over, and is bounded by, the lands thereof and the waters appurtenant to the same.

As soon, therefore, as moveable things pass out of these limits, they cease to be under the dominion or jurisdiction of the nation, the private property of whose members they may be.

This private property, in moveable things, may be enjoyed within the territory of a nation, by those who are not members thereof. Hence, in a war between two nations, a member of one of which owns moveables within the territory of a third or neutral nation, such moveables or property are not liable to seizure by reason of the war; because, being within and under the exclusive jurisdiction of a third nation, it would be an injury to the right of such nation to go there and seize the same. So long as such moveables remain within a foreign territory, they are objects of its dominion and protection; but as soon as they are carried out of the same, they cease to be any longer under its jurisdiction or protection.

In a war between two nations, all the members of each are enemies to the other, and all the property of the several members, as well as the strictly national property, is liable to seizure. In general the character of the owner, whether enemy or friend, decides whether property is liable to capture by reason of war; but the validity of

* This essay, which I regard as a most able performance, is no where to be found in England: for this reason I have thought proper to give it a place here. It is of importance from its intrinsic merit, and also from its origin. The other works to be consulted on this subject will be found enumerated in my edition of Martens's Compendium of the Law of Nations, p. 341.

the capture depends not only on the goods being enemy's property, but likewise on the fact that the place of capture is one in which the right may be exercised without injury to the rights of a neutral nation. Hence the property of an enemy is liable to capture only within the respective territories or jurisdiction of the belligerent nations, or in a place not within the territory or jurisdiction of any nation. In either of these places the right may be exercised without injury to the rights of neutral nations—The limitation of this right, so far as respects enemy's property found within the territory of one of the parties on the breaking out of war, has before been discussed and placed, I flatter myself, on solid principles.

The main ocean not being within the territory, or subject to the exclusive dominion of any nation, is a place, where enemy's goods may lawfully be captured. An impediment by any third nation to the exercise of the right of capture on the ocean by either of the belligerent parties, would be an injury.

As the goods of an enemy, within the territory of a neutral state, are under the protection thereof, the law of nations, for the reasons that have been stated, will not permit us to take them; in like manner, we have no right to take them if they are on board a ship, whilst the ship is in a neutral port, whether the ship itself is a neutral one, or belongs to an enemy, because the port is a part of the territory. When the goods of an enemy are on board the ship of an enemy, and the ship is in the main ocean, there is no doubt of our right to capture both the goods and the ship, because they are then in a place which is not the territory of any nation. But when the goods of an enemy are on board a neutral ship, and the ship is in the main ocean, though we have a right to take the goods, we have no right to take the ship, or to detain her any longer, than is necessary to obtain possession of the goods—for the ocean itself is no territory—and neutral ships, as they are moveable goods, cannot be parts of the neutral territory; and consequently are no more under the protection of the neutral state, than the same goods would be, if they were passing through an unoccupied country in neutral carriages, or on neutral horses.

A neutral ship (says Rutherford in his institutes, whose reasoning on this question I adopt) may indeed be called a *neutral place*; but when we call it so, the word *place* does not mean territory, it only means the thing in which the goods are contained. Though the goods of the enemy had been on board a ship belonging to the enemy, we might have said, in the same sense, that they were in a neutral place, if they had been locked up therein a neutral chest. But no one would imagine, that such a neutral place, as a chest, can be considered as a part of the territory of the neutral state, or that it would protect the goods. Notwithstanding, a neutral chest is as much a neutral place as a neutral ship.

A ship, though a moveable thing, is under the jurisdiction of a nation whilst it continues in one of its ports—but as soon as it is out at sea, only the private ownership, or inferior dominion, of the ship remains, and it ceases to be under the dominion or jurisdiction of the nation. The case will be the same, if, instead of supposing the ship to be the property of a merchant, we suppose it to be the property of the nation.

For though we cannot well call the property which *the nation* has in such a ship, by the name of private ownership: yet, when the ship comes into the main ocean, the jurisdiction or paramount property ceases, and the right that remains is an inferior kind of property, which has the nature of private ownership. If the jurisdiction, which a neutral state has over the ships of its members, or even over its own ships, ceases when the ships are out at sea; the goods of an enemy, that are on board such ships, cannot be under the protection of the nation, in the same manner as if the ships had been in one of its ports, or as if the goods had been on its land *.

Notwithstanding a neutral nation, when its ship is in the main ocean, has no jurisdiction over the ship itself, as if it was a part of its territory, yet the nation, or some of its members, which is the same thing, will continue to have the inferior sort of property, or ownership in it. This species of property will protect the ship from capture, though the enemy's goods on board her may lawfully be taken.

But here a difficulty occurs—This inferior kind of property, called private ownership, to distinguish it from the jurisdiction over things, is an exclusive right; those who have such ownership in things, whether private or public persons, have a right to exclude all others from making use of such things; and by this means, the rights of others are often hindered from taking effect.

Wild beasts, birds, and fishes, are, til they are catched, in common to all mankind: and I, in common with others, have a right to take them, and thereby to make them my own—But I cannot hunt, or shoot, or fish, without perhaps sometimes using the soil or water of another man; and as I have no right to use these without his consent, he may justly hinder me from doing any of these acts, as far as his right of property extends. Thus by private ownership I am prevented from taking such things, as I should otherwise have a right to take, if they did not happen to be in such places as he had an exclusive right to. In like manner, though I have a right to take the goods of my enemy, when they are out at sea, yet may not the effect of this right be prevented by the inferior property or ownership, which a neutral nation, or its members, have in the ship in which the goods are? If the law of nations is nothing but the law of nature applied to the collective persons of civil societies, instead of saying that the law of nations has decided otherwise, we should disclose a natural reason why it should determine otherwise. When I have merely a right to acquire property in a thing that is common to all mankind, but cannot do it without the use of what is already the property of some other man; this man neither does me an injury, nor encourages or protects others who have injured me, by excluding me from the use of what belongs to him. But when we have a right in war, upon account of the damage which the enemy has done us, to take goods of the enemy, and these are in a neutral ship: if the neutral state, though it has property in the ship, should make use of its right of property to protect the goods

* The jurisdiction here spoken of is relative to property, and altogether distinct from what is termed personal jurisdiction, which respects the relations between the society and its members—This latter species of jurisdiction is not confined to the territorial limits of a nation.

against us, this protection makes it an accessary to the injury, which is the foundation of the claim upon the enemy to obtain reparation of damages, and consequently is inconsistent with the notion of neutrality.

But whilst this answer removes one difficulty, it brings another. If a neutral nation makes itself accessary to the damages done by the enemy, by protecting such enemy goods as she has a right to take for reparation of damages, when these goods are out at sea in one of its ships: why might the same nation, without becoming in like manner an accessary, protect the same goods when the ship is in one of its ports, or when the goods are on land within its territory? A law of nations, which is natural as to the matter of it, and positive only as to the objects of it, will furnish an answer to this question.

Every state has, by universal acknowledgment and consent, by the law of nations, an exclusive jurisdiction over its own territory. As long, therefore, as a state keeps within its own territory, and exercises its jurisdiction there, the protection in question is not a violation of our rights—but when its ships are in the main ocean; as they are then in a place out of its territory, where, by the law of nations, it has no jurisdiction, this law will allow us to take notice of the protection, which it gives to the goods of an enemy, and to consider it as an accessary to the damages done by the enemy, if it gives them protection.

In respect to the right of examination or search, if the end is lawful, and the examination or search a necessary mean to attain this end, the inference is inevitable, that the examination or search is likewise lawful.

If the question, whether enemy goods are seizeable on board a neutral ship, were really doubtful; yet the right to search neutral ships must be admitted for another reason. All agree that arms, ammunition, and other contraband articles, may not be carried to an enemy by a neutral power—without searching vessels at sea, such supply could not be prevented. The right to search, therefore, results, likewise, from the right to seize contraband goods. Again, the state of war authorizes the capture of enemy ships and goods—But on the main ocean, which is the great highway where the ships and goods of all nations pass; how are the ships and goods of an enemy to be distinguished from those of a friend? No other way than by examination and search. Hence then the right of search is deducible from the general right to capture the ships and goods of an enemy.

It would undoubtedly disembarrass the commerce of neutral nations were passports and ships' papers received, in all cases, as conclusive evidence of the quality and property of the cargo. And did treaties, in fact, effectually secure an exemption from rude and detrimental inquisitions upon the ocean, they would become objects of inestimable worth to the neutral powers. But, notwithstanding the existence of stipulations in our other treaties which aim at giving some force to similar credentials, can it be said, that our ships have been visited with less ceremony, by one party, than by the other? And may not the experience of other nations, as well as that of our own, be appealed to, in proof of the opinion, that these stipulations, however exact and positive, are too little regarded by that class of men, to restrain and govern whose conduct they are instituted?

The right of search ought to be used with moderation, and with as little inconvenience as possible to the rights of nations not engaged in the war. And the law of nations, on the other hand, requires the utmost good faith on the part of the neutral powers. They are bound not to conceal the property of the enemy, but on the contrary to disclose it when examination shall be made; in confidence of this impartiality, the law of nations obliges the powers at war to give credit to the certificates, bills of lading and other instruments of ownership, produced by the masters of neutral ships, unless any fraud appear in them, or *there be be good reason for suspecting their validity*. The right of search is always at the peril of those who exercise it; the right, notwithstanding, must be acknowledged to be indubitable.

The reasoning employed to prove that all neutral ships, on the main ocean, are liable to search, and enemy goods on board them to capture, is supported by the ablest writers on public law, and their decision is believed to be unanimously in its favour.

The Italian states were the first among modern nations, who cultivated the interests of commerce, and before the passage of the Cape of Good Hope, Venice, and Genoa, distributed the manufactures of Asia throughout Europe. They, therefore, first defined the rights of navigation. Their maritime regulations are collected in a work called "Consolato del Mare;" I do not possess the collection, but find the following quotation from it in Grotius*.

"If both the ship and freight belong to the "enemy, then, without dispute, they become lawful prize to the captor; but if the ship belong to "those that be at peace with us, and the cargo "be the enemy's, they may be forced by the "powers at war, to put into any of their ports, "and unlade; but yet the master must be *satisfied* "*for the freight of them.*"

Grotius, that learned, and persecuted friend of liberty, whose life and great talents were dedicated to the service of mankind, and who displayed so much ability and learning in defending the freedom of the seas, and of commerce, is clearly of opinion, that enemy goods are not protected by neutral bottoms; he even goes farther, and allows that *such property* occasions great presumption, that the vessel is, likewise, enemy property†. Bynkershook is of the same opinion‡. Puffendorff‖ and Heinecius§ agree in this law, and Vattel who is the latest writer, is explicit in his opinion; "without searching neutral ships at sea," says he, "the commerce of contraband goods cannot "be prevented—There is then a right of searching. Some powerful nations have, at different "times, refused to submit to this. At present a "neutral ship refusing to be searched, would, from "that proceeding alone, be condemned as lawful "prize."—"Effects belonging to an enemy, found "on board a neutral ship, are seizable by the "rights of war; but by the law of nature, the "master is to be paid his freight, and not to suf-

* Grotius. Book 3. chap. 1. sect. 5. Note.

† Grotius. Book 3. chap. 4. sect. 8—Book 3. chap. 6. sect. 6.

‡ Bynkershook, quest. jur. pub. lib. 1. cap. 13 and 14.

‖ Puffendorff.

§ Heinecius de navibus, cap. 2. sect. 114, 115, 116.

" fer by the seizure. The effects of neutrals, " found on board an enemy ship, are to be re- " stored to the owners, against whom there is no " right of confiscation."

Other authors of respectability might be quoted; but those already named will be acknowledged as the ablest, and their authority the most decisive of any that can be cited—so strong, clear, and uninterrupted, are the authorities of the writers on public law in relation to these points, that the advocates of an opposite rule, may be challenged to produce a single authority of approved respectability in support of their opinion.

Admitting that it was the law of nations that enemy goods might be seized in neutral ships, it is alleged by Cato and other writers, who have appeared on the same side, that the treaties which have been formed between nations have annulled this law, and established another in its stead, equally extensive and binding on the whole civilized world.

In discussing this allegation, we should remember, that all nations are in a state of equality, and independent of each other. No law, other than the necessary or natural law of nations, is binding on any nation without its consent, expressly or tacitly given. A law among nations cannot, like a civil or municipal law, be annulled, or enacted by a majority, or any portion short of the whole. By agreement between two or more nations, the operation of a law already in existence, may be suspended so far as respects themselves; but such agreement works no change of such law, in relation to the rights or duties of other nations. The same is true of any rule of action, established by convention between two nations; such rule is obligatory on the parties that form the contract, but is wholly without effect and nugatory in respect to all other nations. Unless then all nations have concurred in the design to annul this law, it must still exist; and treaties, containing opposite stipulations, can be considered in no other light, than as exceptions to the same, in which certain nations have seen it their interest to agree.

Though one nation may have agreed with another to suspend the operation of this law, and to substitute the rule that free ships make free goods, and enemy ships enemy goods, there may have been some peculiar reason that induced the parties to form this convention with each other, that would not apply in respect to any other nation.

A nation may advance its interest perhaps by forming such a treaty, with one nation, and injure it by forming it with another—Because a nation has, in some instances, or for a limited time, formed stipulations of this sort, it cannot from thence be inferred, that it has thereby, in any sense, expressed its consent to a total repeal of a law, the operation of which it has agreed to suspend only for a limited time, and in respect to a particular nation. Commercial treaties, in which we discover these stipulations, though not always, are commonly limited in their duration. This limitation is a strong argument against the doctrine which these treaties are cited to establish. For so many years, say the parties, we will suspend the operation of the law. When the treaty expires by its proper limitation, or is dissolved by war, the rule of the treaty ceases, and the law is again in force between the parties, and prescribes to them, in common with other nations, their rights and duties in this respect.

The law of nations, that authorizes the capture of enemy goods in neutral ships, requires the restoration of neutral goods captured in enemy ships. The treaties, which stipulate that free ships make free goods, stipulate also that enemy ships make enemy goods. I have discovered no instance of the former stipulation, that has not been accompanied by the latter; though I have found instances of the latter stipulation unaccompanied by the former. This is the case in the treaty of peace, commerce, and alliance, between Spain and England, concluded at Madrid in 1667. Those, therefore, who contend that the law of nations has been repealed in one instance, must also insist that it has been repealed in the other. If the number of stipulations is to be received as evidence, the proof is stronger of a repeal in the latter than in the former case. But will any one seriously maintain, that a nation would have a right to confiscate the goods of a neutral power found on board an enemy ship, without an express stipulation on the part of such neutral state consenting to the same? Would England or Spain, for example, have a right to confiscate American property, captured in a French ship? Would America, if at war, have a right to confiscate the neutral property of Spain, Portugal, Denmark, or Russia, found on board an enemy ship? Has any nation ever confiscated property under this circumstance? If not, the inference is clear, that these stipulations are exclusively relative to the parties who form them, and that the rights of other states remain under the protection of the law of nations.

But, according to Cato, this reasoning may be just, yet inapplicable; for he maintains that *all nations* have consented to the establishment of this conventional law. " As far back as 150 years," says this writer, " and ever since, I find that the " commercial nations have stipulated in their " treaties, that free ships shall make free goods, " that full credit shall be given to ship's papers, " and that armed vessels shall not come within " cannon shot of a neutral ship, but send their " boats on board with only two or three men at " most, to examine papers, but *not to search*, and " that the treaties (by which is understood all the " treaties) for 150 years back, relative to this ob- " ject, are drawn in the words of the treaty, be- " tween the United States and France."

Struck with the fulness of this assertion, I have carefully examined such collections of treaties, as I have been able to procure, and going back to the year 1645, I have given a patient search to all the public conventions between Great-Britain and the several powers of Europe since that period. I find, that since that epoch, Great-Britain has concluded commercial treaties with Spain, Portugal, France, Holland, Dantzic, Denmark, Sweden, and Russia.

In the treaties with Holland and with France, she has agreed to the stipulation, that free ships should make free goods, and enemy ships, enemy goods. In *Chalmers*'s Collection of Treaties, a similar stipulation is contained in the 23d article of the treaty of alliance, concluded in 1564, between Oliver Cromwell and the King of Portugal; but in other collections, in which that treaty is found it does not contain a stipulation that free ships shall make free goods; and it has been denied

from a reputable quarter on the part of Great-Britain, that she has ever acceded to this principle, except in the instances of her treaties with Holland and France; neither of which exist any longer, the former having expired long since, and the latter being dissolved by the present war. Her treaties with Spain, Dantzic, Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, do neither of them contain this stipulation. On the contrary, the 12th article of the treaty with Sweden, and the 20th of the treaty with Denmark, each of which is now in force, and has been so for more than a century, as likewise the 14th article of the treaty with Dantzic, declares, that "lest the enemy's goods and merchandize should be concealed under the disguise of "the goods of friends, it is stipulated, that all ships "shall be furnished with passports and certificates, by which it shall be manifest to whom "the articles, composing the cargoes, belong:" and the two first of these treaties, moreover, declare it "to be injurious to protect the property of "enemies," and establish special guards to prevent the same.

In relation to the full credit to be given to ships' papers, and the manner of boarding neutral vessels—in the treaties with Spain, France, and Holland, it is stipulated, that full faith shall be given to the passports, and that the boarding shall be by two or three men only. But the treaties with Portugal and Russia are destitute of any stipulation on this subject, except that in the latter it is agreed*, that "the searching of merchant ships shall be as favourable as the reason "of the war can possibly admit, toward the most "favoured neutral nation, observing, as near as "may be, the principles of the law of nations "that are generally acknowledged†." In the treaties with Dantzic, Denmark, and Sweden, passports are required for the purpose of distinguishing, according to the solemnities of those treaties, the enemy property on board the ships of the parties; and it is stipulated, that credit shall be given to such passports, except in cases of just and urgent cause of suspicion, when, say these treaties, the ship ought to be searched; an exception, that fully recognizes the right to search, essentially does away the security intended by the passports. But neither of these treaties contain any regulation relative to the manner of boarding neutral vessels.

This research, though made with care, may have been imperfect; the result thereof is, that there are only two, possibly three, of these eight nations, with whom Great-Britain has ever agreed to the stipulation, that free ships shall make free goods; only three of them with whom she has stipulated, that full credit shall be given to passports or ships' papers, or with whom the manner of boarding is settled. Instead, therefore, of that uniformity and universality in the stipulations in the commercial treaties, concluded within the last 150 years, so confidently asserted by Cato, we see that in five instances out of eight, of treaties concluded between Great-Britain and the principal powers of Europe, within that term, they have on each of these points, given their sanction to a law directly in opposition to the assertion of this adventurous writer.

"Yet," says Cato, "the principles of the armed "neutrality, by the general consent of the great "community of the civilized world, changed the "law of nations."—It is a singular logic that proves the agreement of nations by their disagreement, and their consent to a principle, by their drawing forth their fleet to dispute it. The armed neutrality, with those who understand its history, will not be relied on by way of proving a change in the law of nations, brought about by universal consent.

It will not be denied that this league, which was aimed principally against Great-Britain, failed to accomplish its purpose, and that it expired with the American war. Nothing has been heard of it during the present war; and it is notorious, that Russia and Holland, before its conquest, were under agreements incompatible with the views of that association. The northern powers of Europe, under the countenance of France, united to support the principles of the armed neutrality; but the league did not include all the neutral powers; and of the powers engaged in the war, at that period, Spain consented to observe the principles contended for by the confederacy, on condition that Great-Britain would agree to them, who, so far from agreeing, openly resisted them.

On the same principle, by which it is contended that this association introduced a new law of nations, might the armed leagues between certain nations to prohibit all commerce whatever with an enemy, be appealed to in proof of an alteration of the law of nations in this respect. England and Holland entered into such a league against France, in the year 1689; and other instances are mentioned by Grotius; yet no one has ever imagined that thereby any change was wrought in the law of nations.

The objection that has arisen from the dissimilarity between this article, and those relative to the same subject in our other treaties, is equally defective with those already considered. The objection proceeds from an opinion, that the law of nations has been changed, and that the stipulations in our other treaties are evidence thereof. The observations that have been offered on this subject, are equally applicable to this objection, and it is therefore unnecessary to repeat them.

Not only reason, and the authority of jurists, but likewise the practice of nations, where they have been unrestrained by particular conventions, may be appealed to in support of this doctrine.

The practice of France, of Holland, even subsequent to particular stipulations, regulating this subject between themselves, has, in respect to other powers, been conformable to the law of nations—The ordinances and maritime decisions of France may be consulted to show what her practice has been, and that of Holland is evident by the convention of 1689, between her and England. The practice of Spain is understood to be the same; and, in an instance that occurred during the American war, she carried the law to its utmost rigour, in assigning as a cause of condemnation of a neutral Tuscan ship, her forcible resistance of the right of search. Her capture of American ships, during the present war, on suspicion of their cargoes being enemy property, affords additional evidence, of her practice and opinions on this subject. In respect to Great-Britain, from the general notoriety of the fact, it seems, in some sort, unnecessary to add, that she has immemorially adhered, in her general practice, to the law of nations in its widest interpretation on

* Treaty of 1776, article 10.

† Treaty with Dantzic of 1706, article 20.

this subject. In a few instances, and perhaps for special reasons, as was the case in respect to the treaty with Holland, concluded in 1667, she has entered into opposite stipulations; but, at this time, unless it may be with Portugal, Great-Britain has no such treaty with any nation.

So undisputed was the law on this subject, and so uniform the practice of nations in cases, not governed by a conventional rule, that congress, in the commencement, and through the greater part of our revolution war, authorized our ships of war and privateers, to capture enemy property on board neutral ships, and our admiralty courts uniformly restored neutral property found on board enemy ships. This practice continued years after the conclusion of our treaty with France, which contains a stipulation, that free ships shall make free goods, and enemy ships enemy goods; no person, during that period, having supposed that thereby the law was altered in respect to other nations.

Towards the close of the war, to favour the views of the armed neutrality, in which league the United States were not a party, but whose opposition to Great-Britain they naturally approved; congress, in an ordinance on the subject of captures, ordained that neutral bottoms should protect enemy goods—but here they stopped. Thus far the authority was indubitable, because it was exercised only in abridgment of their own rights. Being engaged in war, they could not, by their own act, enlarge their rights, or abridge those of neutral ships; the extent of both being defined and settled by the public law of nations. They, therefore, never authorized the capture and condemnation of neutral goods found in enemy ships, nor could they have authorized the same, without a manifest violation of the rights of the neutral powers.

It is finally alleged that the article, if sound in its principles, is defective in those provisions which are requisite to protect and secure the neutral rights of the parties; inasmuch as it does not contain an explicit stipulation for the payment of freight on enemy goods, nor for the payment of damages for the detention or loss of neutral ships taken without just cause. I do not recollect to have met with any precise stipulation on these points, in the commercial treaties between other nations.—None such, if my recollection be right, are found in any of our other treaties; and I think it would be somewhat difficult to form such as would afford to the parties a more satisfactory security than that which arises from the law of nations, a neutral ship is entitled to freight for enemy goods captured on board her; but this right, if so admitted, may be forfeited by the irregular conduct of the neutral, by the possession of false or double papers, by the destruction of papers, or by those fraudulent concealments and evasions, which are inconsistent with fair and impartial neutrality. A ship taken and detained without just cause, is, together with her cargo, at the risk of the captors from the moment of capture; and in cases of partial or total loss, or of damages by detention, the owner is entitled to full and complete indemnification. But in case the neutral ship is under such equivocal and doubtful circumstances, as afford probable cause to believe that either the ship, or cargo, is enemy property, a situation not to be reconciled with an open and fair neutrality, *in such case*, though on trial both ship and cargo should turn out to have been *bonâ fide* neutral property, yet the captors may avail themselves of her equivocal situation and character, in mitigation, if not, under very peculiar circumstances, in total discharge of damages. No stipulation, therefore, without these exceptions, would have afforded to the parties adequate security against such irregularities, and with them, its want of precision would have left the subject as it now stands, to be regulated by the known and approved provisions of the law of nations.

These provisions being well understood, the article concludes with a stipulation against delays in the admiralty, and in the payment and recovery of the damages it shall decree.

This examination, I flatter myself, has fulfilled its object, which was, to prove, that the article relinquishes no right that we possessed as a nation, that it is agreeable to, and supported by, the law of nations. A law in relation to this subject, coeval with the origin of maritime commerce, and the principles whereof have immemorially operated among nations.

It was desirable that a stipulation, similar to that contained in our other treaties, should have been obtained. But the time was unfavourable to the attainment of this object: and, as with great propriety has been observed by Mr. Jefferson, in behalf of our government—"Since it depends on the will of other nations as well as our own, we can only obtain it, when they shall be ready to consent." By the 12th article, the parties agree to renew the negotiation on this point, within the compass of two years after the conclusion of the present war; when perhaps the restoration of peace, and other circumstances, may prove more propitious to our views.

The objections to the treaty, for not containing the principle, "that free ships make free goods," as being the relinquishment of an advantage, which the modern law of nations gives to neutrals, have been fully examined, and, I flatter myself, completely refuted.

I shall, however, add one or two reflections by way of further illustration. A pre-established rule of the law of nations, can only be changed by their *common consent*. This consent may either be express, by treaties, declarations, &c. adopting and promising the observance of a different rule, or it may be implied, by a course of practice or usage. The consent, in either case, must embrace the great community of civilized nations. If to be inferred from treaties, it must be shown that they are uniform and universal. It can, at least, never be inferred, while the treaties of different nations follow different rules, or the treaties between the same nation and others, vary from each other. So also as to usage. It must be uniform and universal, and, let it be added, it must be continued. A usage, adopted by some nations, and resisted by others, or adopted by all temporarily and then discontinued, is insufficient to abolish an old, or substitute a new rule of the law of nations. It has been demonstrated, that no consent of either description has been given to the rule, which is contended for in opposition to the treaty.

The armed neutrality, so much quoted, is entirely deficient in the requisite characters. Its name imports that it was an armed combination of particular powers. It grew up in the midst of a war, and is understood to have been particularly levelled against one of the belligerent par-

ties. It was resisted by that power. There were other powers, which did not accede to it. It is a recent transaction, and has never acquired the confirmation of continued usage. What is more, it has been virtually abandoned by some of the parties to it—and among these, by the principal promoter of it, the politic and enterprising Catherine. It is, therefore, a perversion of all just ideas, to ascribe to such a combination the effect of altering a rule of the law of nations.

In most important questions, it is remarkable, that the opposers of the truth are as much at variance with each other, as they are with the truth they oppose. This was strikingly exemplified when the present constitution of the United States was under deliberation. The opposition to it was composed of the most incongruous materials—the same thing is observable in relation to the treaty. And one instance of the contrariety applies to the rule cited above.

While some of the adversaries of the treaty complain of the admission of a contrary principle by that instrument, as the abandonment of a rule of the present law of nations; others, conceding that there is no such rule yet established, censure that admission as a *check* to its *complete* and *formal establishment*, and as a retrograde step from this desirable point.

The objection in this form is more plausible than in the other, but it is not less destitute of substance. If there has been any retrograde step, it was taken by the government prior to the treaty —authentic documents, which have been communicated by the executive to congress, contain the evidence of this fact.

Early in the year 1793, some British cruisers having stopped vessels of the United States, and taken out of them articles which were the property of French citizens, Mr. Genet, the then minister of France, in a letter of the 9th of July of that year, made a lively representation upon the subject to our government, insisting, in a subsequent letter of the 25th of that month, in which he recurs to the same point, that the principles of neutrality established, that friendly vessels make friendly goods; and in effect, that the violation of this rule by Great-Britain was a violation of our neutral rights, which we were bound to resent.

The reply of our government, is seen in a letter from our secretary of state to that minister, of the 24th of July—It is in these terms—"I believe," says Mr. Jefferson, "it cannot be doubted, but "that by the general law of nations, the goods "of a friend, found in the vessel of an enemy, "are free, and the goods of an enemy, found in "the vessel of a friend, are lawful prize. Upon "this principle, I presume, the British armed "vessels have taken the property of French citi- "zens found in our vessels in the cases above "mentioned; and, I confess, I should be at a "loss on what principle to reclaim them. It is "true, that sundry nations, desirous of avoiding "the inconveniences of having their vessels stop- "ped at sea, ransacked, carried into port, and "detained under pretence of having enemy goods "on board, have, in many instances, introduced, "by their special treaties, another principle be- "tween them, that enemy bottoms shall make "enemy goods, and friendly bottoms friendly "goods; a principle much less embarrassing to "commerce, and equal to all parties in point of "gain and loss; but this is altogether the effect "of particular treaty, controuling, in special "cases, the general principles of the law of na- "tions, and, therefore, taking effect between "such nations only as have so agreed to continue "it."

Nothing can be a more explicit or unequivocal abandonment of the rule, that free ships make free goods, and *vice versa*, than is contained in this communication. But this is not all: in the letter, from Mr. Jefferson to our minister in France, of the 26th of August, 1793, instructing him to urge the recall of Mr. Genet, the subject is resumed, the position asserted in answer to Mr. Genet, insisted upon anew, and enforced by additional considerations: among other suggestions, we find these, "We suppose it to have been long "an established principle of the law of nations, "that the goods of a friend are free in an enemy's "vessel, and an enemy's goods lawful prize in "the vessel of a friend. The inconvenience of "this principle has induced several nations, lat- "terly, to stipulate against it by treaty, and to "substitute another in its stead, that free bot- "toms shall make free goods, and enemy bot- "toms enemy goods. We have introduced it into "our treaties with France, Holland, and Russia; "and French goods, found by the two latter na- "tions in American bottoms are not made prize "of. It is our wish to establish it with other "nations: but this requires their consent also, "is a work of time, and, in the mean while, they "have a right to act on the general principle, "without giving to us, or to France, cause of "complaint. Nor do I see, that France can lose "by it on the whole—for though she loses her "goods, when found in our vessels, by the nations "with whom we have no treaties—yet she gains "our goods when found in the vessels of the "same, and all other nations; and we believe the "latter mass to be greater than the former."

Thus, then, stood the business, antecedent to the treaty. Great-Britain, adhering to the principle of the general and long established law of nations, captures French property in our vessels, and leaves free our property in French vessels. We acquiesce in this practice, without even a remonstrance or murmur. The French minister complains of it, as contrary to the principles of neutrality. We reply, that, in our opinion, it is not contrary to those principles; that it is fully warranted by the general law of nations; that treaties, which establish a different rule, are merely exceptions to that law, binding only on the contracting parties; that having no treaty of the sort with Great-Britain, we should be at a loss on what ground to dispute the legitimacy of her practice. We do not simply forbear to oppose; we do not offer to France as an excuse for our forbearance, that it is inconvenient to us, at the moment, to assert a questionable right at the hazard of war; but we tell her peremptorily, that, in our opinion, no such right exists, and that the conduct of Great-Britain, in the particular case, is justified by the law of nations; neither do we wrap the motive of our forbearance in silence, nor content ourselves with revealing it confidentially to France alone; but we publish it, without reserve, to the world, and thus, in the presence of Great-Britain, and of every other nation, make a formal renunciation of the pretension, that "free ships "shall make free goods, and enemy ships enemy "goods:" no counter declaration is heard from either house of congress.

It was impossible to give a more full sanction to the opposite principle than was given by this conduct, and these public and positive declarations of our government. It was impossible more completely to abandon the favourite ground. It is puerile to attempt to discriminate between the force of this species of renunciation, and that of an admission of its propriety by treaty The conduct of a government avowed and explained, as to motives, by authentic public declarations, may assert or renounce a pretension as effectually as its compact. Every nation, with whom we had no contrary stipulation, could say to us as well before as since the treaty with Great-Britain, "your government has explicitly admitted that "free ships do not make free goods, and you "have no right to complain of our not observing "that rule towards you." Candour, therefore, would oblige us to say that the treaty has left this point where it found it; that it has only not obtained from Great-Britain a concession in favour of an innovation upon the law of nations, which it is desirable to establish, but which cannot be claimed as matter of right. Though, therefore, it may not have the merit of strengthening, it has not the demerit of weakening the ground.

The difference in our position, in this respect, before and since the treaty, amounts to this, that before the treaty the government had abandoned the ground through one organ, Mr. Jefferson; by the treaty, it continued the abandonment through another organ, Mr. Jay; if we consider the organ as the voluntary cause in each case, (the presumption of which is equally fair in both cases) and if there be any blame, it falls more heavily on Mr. Jefferson than on Mr. Jay; for the former sounded and made the retreat, and the latter only did not advance from the disadvantageous post to which he had retreated. In other words, Mr. Jay did only not recover the ground which Mr. Jefferson had lost. And we know that, in general, it is a far more difficult task to regain than to keep an advantageous position.

But, in truth, no blame can justly be imputed in either case. The law of nations was against the rule which it is desired to introduce. The United States could not have insisted upon it as matter of right; and, in point of policy, it would have been madness in them to go to war, to support an innovation upon the pre-established law. It was not honourable to claim a right, and suffer it to be infracted without resistance. It is not for young and weak nations to attempt to enforce novelties, or pretensions of equivocal validity. It is still less proper for them to contend, at the hazard of their peace, against the clear right of others. The object was truly not of moment enough to risk much upon it. To use a French proverb, *The play was not worth the candle.* In every view, therefore, it was wise to desert the pretension.

So also, in the midst of war, like that in which Great-Britain was engaged, it were preposterous to have expected, that she would have acceded to a new rule, which, under the circumstances of her great maritime superiority, would have operated so much more conveniently to her enemy than to herself. And it would have been no less absurd to have made her accession to that rule the *sine qua non* of an arrangement, otherwise expedient. Here again, *the play would not have been worth the candle.*

The importance of the rule has artfully been very much magnified, to depreciate proportionably the treaty, for not establishing it. It is to be remembered, that if something is gained by it, something is also given up. It depends on incalculable circumstances, whether, in a particular war, most will be lost or gained. Yet the rule is, upon the whole, a convenient one to neutral powers. But it cannot be pretended that it is of so great a value, as that the United States ought to adopt it as a maxim, never to make a treaty of commerce, in which it was not recognized. They might by this maxim forego the advantages of regulating their commercial intercourse in time of peace with several foreign powers, with whom they have extensive relations of trade, by fixed and useful conventional rules, and still remain subject in time of war to the inconveniences of not having established, with those powers, the principle to which they make that sacrifice.

Though, therefore, it be a merit to a certain extent in a treaty to contain this principle, it is not a positive fault or blemish, that it does not contain it. The want of it is not a good cause of objection to a treaty otherwise eligible.

Let me add, too, in the spirit of Mr. Jefferson's letter, that however it may be our wish to establish the rule with other nations besides those with whom we have already done it, this requires their consent also, of course their conviction, that it is their interest to consent; and that, considering the obstacles which lie in the way, the attainment of the object must be "*a work of time.*" It pre-supposes, in some of the principal maritime powers, a great change of ideas, which is not to be looked for very suddenly. It was not, therefore, to have been expected of our envoy, that he was to have accomplished the point at so premature and so favourable a juncture.

The assertion, that he has abandoned it, is made in too unqualified a manner. For while he admits the operation for the present, of the general rule of the law of nations, he has, by the 12th article, engaged Great-Britain in a stipulation, that the parties will, at the expiration of two years after the existing war, *renew* their *discussion*, and *endeavour to agree* whether in any, and what cases neutral vessels shall protect enemy's property. It is true, it will be in the option of Great-Britain then, to agree or not, but it is not less true that the principle is retained with consent of Great-Britain in a *negotiable* state. So far, perhaps, some ground has been retrieved.

I confess, however, that I entertain much doubt as to the probability of a speedy general establishment of the rule, that friendly ships shall make friendly goods, and enemy ships enemy goods. It is a rule against which, it is to be feared, the preponderant maritime power, to whatever nation this character may belong, will be apt to struggle with perseverance and effect, since it would tend to contract materially the means of that power to annoy and distress her enemies, whose inferiority on the sea would naturally cause their commerce, during war, to be carried on in neutral bottoms. This consideration will account for the resistance of Great-Britain to the principle, and for the endeavours of some other powers to promote it; and it deserves notice, that her last treaty with France was severely assailed by some of the chiefs of opposition, for containing a stipulation in favour of that principle. The motive for consenting to it, in this instance, probably was, that the sti-

pulation was likely to be rendered, in a great degree, nugatory by the relative situation of the two nations, which, in almost any war in which one of the two was engaged on one side, would probably render the other a party on the opposite side.

If these conjectures be right, there is a reflection which lessens much the value of stipulations in favour of the rule; that so long as one or more of the maritime powers disavow it, there will be a strong temptation to depart from a scrupulous observance of such stipulations, as we, in relation to France, have experienced in the present war.

In the course of the arguments against the 17th article, for virtually admitting the right of search in time of war, the objectors have had the temerity to cite the opinion of *Vattel*, as being opposed to that right; and a mutilated quotation has given an appearance of truth to the assertion. It has been heretofore shewn, by passages extracted from his work, that his opinion, so far from denying explicitly, supports the right to search. But it may be useful to examine the part of it which has been tortured into a contrary inference.

After affirming the right of search (B. 3. chap. 7, 8. 14.) he proceeds thus, "but to avoid inconve-"niences, violence, and every other irregularity, "the manner of the search is settled in the trea-"ties of navigation and commerce. According "to the present *custom*, credit is to be given to "certificates and bills of lading produced by the "master of the ship" Hence it is alleged the right to search is turned into the right of inspecting the ship's papers, which, being entitled to credit, are to preclude further scrutiny.

But what immediately follows, destroys this conclusion; the words "unless any ground ap-"pear in them, or there be very good reasons for "suspecting their validity," are subjoined to the clause just quoted. This admits clearly, that the ship's papers are not to be conclusive—But that, upon just cause of suspicion, the papers may be disregarded, and the right of search may be exercised.

Who is to be the judge of the credit due to the papers and of the just cause of suspicion? Manifestly the officer of the belligerent party, who visits the neutral vessel. Then, what does the whole amount to? Merely this—that the ship's papers are entitled to a certain degree of respect and credit; how much is left to the discretion of the officer of the belligerent party!—who, if he be not satisfied of the fairness and validity of the papers, may proceed to their verification, by a more strict and particular search, and then if he still sees, or supposes he sees, just cause of suspicion, he may carry the vessel into a port of his own country, for judicial investigation—In doing this, he acts at his peril, and for an abuse of his discretion exposes himself to damages and other punishment.

This is the true and evident sense of Vattel, and it agrees with the doctrine advocated in these papers, and, I will add, with the treaty under examination.

The 17th article admits, that the vessels of each party for *just cause* of suspicion of having on board enemy's property, or of carrying to the enemy contraband articles, may be captured or detained, and carried to the nearest and most convenient port of the belligerent party, to the end that enemy's property, and contraband articles on board may become lawful prize. But so far from countenancing any proceeding without *just cause* of suspicion, or from exonerating the officer of the belligerent party from a responsibility for such proceeding, it leaves the law of nations, in this particular, in full force, and contemplating that such officer shall be liable for damages, when he proceeds without *just cause* of suspicion, provides that all proper measures shall be taken to prevent delay in deciding the cases of ships or cargoes brought in for adjudication, or in the *payment or recovery of any indemnification adjudged or agreed to be paid to the masters or owners of such ships.* Besides which, the 19th article stipulates, in order that more abundant care may be taken for the security of the respective subjects and citizens of the contracting parties, and to prevent their suffering injuries by the men of war and privateers of either party, that the commanders of ships of war and privateers, shall forbear doing any damage to those of the other party, committing any outrage against them; and that, if they act to the contrary, *they shall be punished*, and shall also be bound in their persons and estates, *to make satisfaction and reparation for all damages, and the interest thereof, of whatever nature the said damages may be.* And further, after establishing that the commanders of privateers shall, before they are commissioned, give security to satisfy all damages and injuries, it adds, that in all cases of aggressions their commissions shall be revoked and annulled.

These provisions not only conform to, and corroborate the injunctions of the laws of nations: but they refute the assertion, that the treaty is altogether deficient in precautions for guarding neutral rights; since those above mentioned are among the most efficacious. It is not presumable that any stipulations have been or can be made, which will take away all discretion from the marine officers of the belligerent parties; for this would be a total surrender of the rights of belligerent to neutral nations, and so long as any discretion is left, its right or wrong exercise will depend on the personal character of each officer: and abuses can only be restrained by the penalties that await them. Those stipulations of treaties, then, which re-inforce the laws of nations as to the infliction of penalties, are the most effectual of the precautions which treaties can adopt for the security of neutral rights; and, in this particular, the treaty with Great-Britain is to the full as provident as our other treaties. In one point I believe it is more so; for it expressly stipulates a revocation of the commissions of the commanders of privateers, for the aggressions they may commit.

Is not the passage last cited from Vattel a true commentary on those stipulations, for regulating and mitigating the right of search, which are found in our own and other treaties? Do they not all intend to reserve to the belligerent party a right of judging of the validity and fidelity of the papers to be exhibited, and of extending the search or not, according to the circumstances of just suspicion which do or do not appear? and, if this be their true construction, as it certainly is their construction in practice, which our own experience testifies, to what, after all, do they amount, more than without them the laws of nations, as universally recognized, of themselves pronounce? What real security do they afford more than the treaty with Great-Britain affords?

It is much to be suspected, that there will always be found advantages essentially nominal, operating or not according to the strength or weakness of the neutral party; which, if strong, will find abundant foundation in the acknowledged laws of nations on which to rest the protection of its rights.

It has been said to be just matter of surprize, that these precautions should have no place in a treaty with Great-Britain, whose conduct on the seas, so particularly suggested and enforced every guard to our rights that could be reasonably insisted on. Observations of this kind assume constantly the supposition, that we had it in our power to fashion every provision of the treaty exactly to our own taste, and that the ideas of the other contracting party were to have no influence even upon the minor features of the contract. But this supposition is absurd; and a treaty may still be entitled to our approbation, which adjusts acceptably the great points of interest, though in some of its details it falls short of our desires. Nor can any well-informed man sincerely deny that it was to have been expected, that an adjustment of the particulars in question, would fall short of our ideas. It may be answered, that we were then at liberty not to make the treaty; so we were; but does it follow that it would have been wise to split on such points?—upon a just estimate, their intrinsic value is very moderate.

The eighteenth article of the treaty, which regulates the subject of contraband, has been grievously misrepresented; the objections used against it with most acrimony, are disingenuous and unfounded! Yet while I make this assertion, which, I flatter myself, I shall be able to prove, I shall not pretend to maintain that it is an article completely satisfactory. I even admit that it has one unpleasant ingredient in it, and I am convinced that our envoy must have consented to it with reluctance.

But, while candour demands this concession, it equally admonishes us, that, under the circumstances of the moment, the points in this respect to be adjusted were peculiarly unmanageable—that the position of the other party rendered an arrangement, entirely agreeable to us, impracticable; that without compromise nothing could have been regulated; that the article made no change for the worse in our prior situation, but in some particulars made our ground better; and that estimating truly the relative circumstances of the parties, there is no probability that any thing more acceptable could have been established.

I will add, that a degree of imperfection, which may fairly be attributed to this article, is far from being of such importance, as, on solid calculations, ought to defeat the treaty—No clear right is abandoned, no material interest of the nation injured.

It is one thing, whether every part of the treaty be satisfactory—another, and a very different thing, whether in the aggregate it be eligible or not, and ought to be accepted or rejected. Nations could never make contracts with one another, if each were to require that every part of it should be adjusted by its own standard of right and expediency. The true question always is upon the collective merits of the instrument; whether, upon the whole, it reasonably accommodates the opinions and interests of the parties. Tried by this test, the treaty negotiated with Great-Britain, fully justifies the acceptance of it by the constituted authorities of our country, and claims the acquiescence of every good citizen.

The most laboured, and, at the same time, the most false of the charges against the eighteenth article is, that it allows provisions to be contraband in cases not heretofore warranted by the laws of nations, and refers to the belligerent party, the decision of what those cases are.—This is the general form of the charge. The draft of a petition to the legislature of Virginia, reduces it to this shape. The treaty "*expressly* "admits, that provisions are to be held contra-"band in cases other than when bound to an in-"vested place, and *impliedly* admits, that such "cases exist at present."

The first is a palpable untruth, which may be detected by a bare perusal of the article. The last is an untrue inference, impregnated with the malignant insinuation that there was a design to sanction the unwarrantable pretension of a right to inflict famine on a whole nation.

Before we proceed to an analysis of the article, let us review the prior situation of the parties. Great-Britain, it is known, had taken and acted upon the ground, that she had a right to stop and detain, on payment for them, provisions belonging to neutrals, going to the dominions of France. For this violent and impolitic measure, which the final opinion of mankind will certainly condemn, she found colour, in the sayings of some writers of reputation, on public laws.

A passage of this kind, from Vattel, has been more than once quoted, in these terms, "Commo-"dities, particularly used in war, and the im-"portation of which, to an enemy, is prohibited, "are called *contraband* goods. Such are military "and naval stores, timber, horses, and *even pro-"visions in certain junctures, when there are hopes of "reducing the enemy by famine.*" Heinecius * countenances the same opinion, and even Grotius seems to lean towards it †.

The United States, with reason, disputed this construction of the law of nations! restraining the general propositions which appear to favour it, to those cases in which the chance of reducing by famine was *manifested* and *palpable*, such as the cases of particular places, *bonâ fide*, besieged, blockaded, or invested. The government accordingly remonstrated against the proceeding of Great-Britain, and made every effort against it which prudence, in the then posture of affairs, would permit. The order for seizing provisions, was, after a time, revoked.

In this state our envoy found the business, pending the very war in which Great-Britain had exercised the pretension, with the same administration which had done it, was it to have been expected that she would, in a treaty with us, even virtually or impliedly have acknowledged the injustice or impropriety of the conduct? Here was no escape, as in the instance of the order of the 6th of November, 1793, in the misconceptions of her officers. The question was to condemn a deliberate and unambiguous act of the administration itself. The pride, the reputation, and the interest of that administration forbade it.

---

* Law of Nature and Nations. B. 2. c. 9. s. 201. Navibus ob vect.

† Book 3. chap. 1. and v. 3. chap. 1. and 10.

On our side, to admit the pretensions of Great Britain was still more impossible.—We had every inducement of character, right, and interest against it. What was the natural and only issue out of this embarrassment? Plainly, to leave the point unsettled; to get rid of it; to let it remain substantially where it was before the treaty. This, I have good ground to believe, was the real understanding of the two negociators; and the article has fulfilled that view.

After enumerating specifically what articles shall be deemed contraband, it proceeds thus, "And whereas the difficulty of *agreeing* on the "*precise cases*, in which alone *provisions* and *other* "*articles*, not generally contraband, may be regarded as such, renders it expedient to provide against the inconveniences and misunderstandings which might thence arise: it is further agreed, that whenever any such articles, "so becoming contraband *according to the laws of* "*nations*, shall, for that reason, be seized, the "same shall *not be confiscated*, but the owners "thereof shall be *speedily* and *completely indemnified*; "and the captors, or, in their default, the government under whose authority they act, shall "pay to the masters or owners of such vessels, "the full value of all articles with a reasonable "mercantile profit thereon, together with the "freight and also the demurrage, incident to "such detention."

The difficulty of agreeing on the precise cases in which articles, not generally contraband, become so, from particular circumstances, is expressly assigned as the motive to the stipulation which follows. This excludes the supposition that any cases whatever were intended to be admitted or agreed. But this difficulty rendered it expedient to provide against the inconveniences and misunderstandings which might thence arise; a provision, with this view, is therefore made, which is that of liberal compensation for the articles taken—The evident intent of this provision is, that in *doubtful* cases, the inconveniences to the neutral party being obviated or lessened by compensation, there may be the less cause or temptation to controversy and rupture—the affair may be the more susceptible of negotiation and accommodation. More than this cannot be pretended; because it is further agreed, "that "whenever any such articles so become con- "traband, *according to the existing laws of nations*, "shall, for that reason, be seized, the same shall "not be confiscated, but the owners thereof shall "be speedily and completely indemnified," &c.

Thus the *criterion* of the cases, in which articles, not generally contraband, may, from particular circumstances, become so, is expressly the *existing laws of nations*; in other words, the law of nations at the time the transaction happens. When these laws pronounce them contraband, they may, for that reason, be seized; when otherwise, they may not be seized. Each party is as free as the other to decide whether the laws of nations do, in the given case, pronounce them contraband or not, and neither is obliged to be governed by the opinion of the other. If one party, on a false pretext of being authorized by the laws of nations, makes a seizure, the other is at full liberty to contest it, to appeal to those laws, and, if it thinks fit, to oppose, even to reprisals and war. This is the express tenour of the provision—there is nothing to the contrary; nothing that narrows the ground; nothing that warrants either party in making a seizure, which the laws of nations, independent of the treaty, permits; nothing which obliges either party to submit to one, when it is of opinion the law of nations has been violated by it.

But, as liberal compensation is to be made in every case of seizure, whereof difference of opinion happens, it will become a question of prudence and expediency, whether to be satisfied with the compensation, or to seek further redress. The provision will, in doubtful cases, render an accommodation of opinion the more easy, and, as a circumstance conducing to the preservation of peace, is a valuable ingredient in the treaty. A very different phraseology was to have been expected, if the intention had been, to leave each party at liberty to seize, agreeably to its own opinion of the law of nations, upon the condition of making compensation—The stipulation would thus have been: "It is agreed, that whenever "either of the contracting parties shall seize any "such articles so *becoming* contraband, and which "shall, for that reason, be seized;" this makes, not the opinion of either party, but the fact of the articles having *become* contraband by the laws of nations, the condition of the seizure.

A cavil has arisen on the term "*existing*," as if it had the effect of enabling one of the parties to make a law of nations for the occasion. But this is a mere cavil.

No one nation can make a law of nations; no positive regulation of one state, or of a partial nomination of states, can pretend to this character. A law of nations is a law which nature, agreement, or usage has established between nations; as this may vary from one period to another by agreement or usage, the article very properly uses the term "existing," to denote that law, which at the time the transaction may happen, shall be then the law of nations. This is a plain and obvious use of the term, which nothing but a spirit of misrepresentation could have perverted to a different meaning.

The argument against the foregoing construction is in substance this (viz.) it is now a settled doctrine of the law of nations, that provisions and other articles, not generally contraband, can only become so when going to a place besieged, blockaded, or invested—cases of this kind are fully provided for in a subsequent part of the article; the implication therefore is, that something more was intended to be embraced in the antecedent part.

Let us first examine the fact, whether all the cases of that kind are comprehended in the subsequent part of the article. I say they are not—the remaining clause of the article divides itself into two parts. The first describes the case of a vessel sailing for a port or place belonging to any enemy, without knowing that the same is either besieged, blockaded, or invested; and provides, that, in such case, the vessel may be turned away, but not detained, nor her cargo, if not contraband, confiscated, unless after notice she shall again attempt to enter: the second describes the case of a vessel, or goods, which had entered into such port or place before it was besieged, blockaded, or invested, and declares that the one or the other shall not be liable to confiscation, but shall be restored to the owners thereof. These are the only cases described or provided for. A third, which occurs on the slightest reflection, is not mentioned; the case of a vessel going to a

port or place which is besieged, blockaded, or invested, with notice of its being in that state when she commences her voyage, or previous to her receiving notice from the besieging, blockading, or investing party. This is left to the operation of the general law of nations, except so far as it may be affected in respect to compensation by the antecedent clause. Thus the fact, which is the foundation of the argument, fails, and with it, of course, the argument itself.

But had this been otherwise, the conclusion would still have been erroneous—the two clauses are entirely independent of each other, and though they might both contemplate the same cases in whole, or in part, they do it with an eye to very different purposes.

The object of the first is to lessen the danger of misunderstanding, by establishing this general rule, that wherever articles, not commonly contraband, become so from particular circumstances, according to the law of nations, they shall still not be confiscated, but, when seized, the owners of them shall be indemnified.

The object of the last is to regulate some special consequences with regard to vessels and goods going to, or which had previously gone to places besieged, blockaded, or invested; and in respect to which the dispositions of the laws of nations may have been deemed doubtful or too rigorous. Thus it is held, that the laws of nations permit the confiscation of ships and goods going to places besieged, blockaded, or invested; but this clause decides, that if going without notice, so far from being confiscated, they shall not even be detained, but shall be permitted to go whithersoever they please. If they persist after notice, then the contumacy shall be punished with confiscation. In both instances the consequence is entirely different from every thing in the antecedent clause.

There, there is seizure, with compensation. Here, in one instance, seizure is forbidden, and permission to go elsewhere is enjoined. In the other instances, the offending things are confiscated, which excludes the idea of compensation. Again, the last part of the last clause stipulates in the case, which it supposes, the restoration of the property to its owners, and so excludes both seizure and compensation. Hence it is apparent the objects of the two clauses are entirely foreign to each other, and that no argument nor inference whatever can be drawn from the one to the other.

If it be asked, what other cases there can be, except those of places besieged, blockaded, or invested? and if none other, what difficulty in defining them? why leave the point so vague and indeterminate? One answer, which indeed has already been given in substance, is, that the situation of one of the parties prevented an agreement at the time; that not being able to agree, they could not define; and the alternative was to avoid definition—The want of definition only argues want of agreement. It is strange logic to assert, that this or that is admitted, because nothing is defined.

Another answer is, that even if the parties had been agreed that there were no other cases than those of the besieged, blockaded, or invested places, still there would have remained much room for dispute about the precise cases, owing to the impracticability of defining what is a besieged, blockaded, or invested place. About this there has been frequent controversy; and the fact is so complicated, puts on such a variety of shapes, that no definition can well be devised, which will suit all. Thence nations, in their compacts with each other, frequently do not attempt one; and where the attempt has been made, it has left almost as much room for dispute about the definition as there was about the thing.

Moreover, is it impossible to conceive other cases than those mentioned above, in which provisions and other articles not generally contraband might, on rational grounds, be deemed so? What if they were going expressly, and with notice, to a besieging army, whereby it might obtain a supply essential to the success of its operations? Is there no doubt that it would be justifiable in such case to seize them? Can the liberty of trade be said to apply to any instance of direct and immediate aid to a military expedition? It would be at least a singular effect of the rule, if provisions could be carried without interruption for the supply of a Spanish army besieging Gibraltar, when, if destined for the supply of the garrison in that place, they might, of right, be seized by a Spanish fleet.

The calumniators of the article have not had the candour to notice that it is not confined to provisions, but speaks of provisions and other articles. Even this is an ingredient which combats the supposition that countenance was intended to be given to the pretension of Great Britain with regard to provisions, which, depending on a reason peculiar to itself, cannot be deemed to be supported by a clause including other articles, to which that reason is entirely inapplicable.

There is one more observation which has been made against this part of the article which may deserve a moment's attention. It is this, that though the true meaning of the clause, be such as I contend for, still the existence of it affords to Great Britain a pretext for abuse which she may improve to our disadvantage I answer, it is difficult to guard against all the perversions of a contract which ill faith may suggest. But we have the same security against abuses of this sort, which we have against those of other kinds, namely, the right of judging for ourselves, and the power of causing our rights to be respected. We have this plain and decisive reply to make, to any uncandid construction which Great Britain may, at any time, endeavour to raise, "The article pointedly "and explicitly makes the existing law of nations, "the standard of the cases in which you may "rightfully seize provisions and other articles "not generally contraband. This law does not "authorize the seizure in the instance in ques- "tion; you have consequently no warrant under "the treaty for what you do."

The same disingenuous spirit which tinctures all the conduct of the adversaries of the treaty, has been hardy enough to impute to it the last order of Great Britain, to seize provisions going to the dominions of France.

Strange, that an order issued before the treaty had ever been considered in this country, and embracing the other neutral powers besides the United States, should be represented as the fruit of that instrument!* The appearances are, that a motive no less imperious than that of impending scarcity, has great share in dictating the measure, and time, I am persuaded, will prove that it

* As reasonable would it be to place to its account the similar order which was issued before the mission of an envoy was thought of.

will not ever be pretended to justify it by any thing in the treaty.

The course thus far pursued in the discussion of the 18th article, has inverted the order of it, as it stands in the treaty. It is composed of three clauses; the two last of which have been first examined—I thought it adviseable, in the outset, to dispose of an objection which has been the principal source of clamour.

The first clause of that which remains to be examined, enumerates the articles, which it is agreed, shall be deemed contraband of war. These are, "all arms, and implements serving for the purpose of war, such as cannon, musquets, mortars, petards, bombs, grenadoes, carcases, sausses, carriages for cannon, musquet-rests, bandoliers, gunpowder, match, saltpetre, balls, pikes, swords, head-pieces, cuirasses, halberts, lances, javelins, horse furniture, holsters, belts, and generally all other implements of war; as also timber for ship-building, tar, or rosin, copper in sheets, sails, hemp, and cordage, and generally whatever may serve directly to the equipment of vessels, unwrought iron and fir planks only excepted."

All which articles are declared to be just objects of confiscation, when attempted to be carried to any enemy of either party.

It is well understood, that war abridges the liberty of trade of neutral nations; and that it is not lawful for them to supply either of two belligerent parties with any article deemed contraband of war; nor may they supply any article whatever to a place besieged, blockaded, or invested. The former case includes a special catalogue of articles which have an immediate reference to war—The latter extends to all kinds of goods and merchandize. The penalty in both cases is confiscation.

These positions have not been disputed. The only question which has been or can be raised, must respect the enumeration of the articles which are to be considered as contraband.

In comparing the enumeration in the present treaty, with that of our former treaties, we find the differences to be these. Our former treaties include "*horses*," and one of them "soldiers," which our present does not; but our present includes "timber for ship-building, tar or rosin, copper in sheets, sails, hemp, and cordage, and generally "whatever may serve directly to the equipment "of vessels, unwrought iron, and fir planks only "excepted," which are not to be found in our former treaties.

It is alleged that the including of these articles is an extension of the list of contraband beyond the limit of the *modern* law of nations; in support of which allegation, it is affirmed, that they have been excluded by the uniform tenour of the treaties which have been formed for more than a century past.

Though this position will not, upon careful examination, appear correct; yet it is so far founded, as to claim an acknowledgment, that the article under consideration has, in this instance, pursued the *rigour* of the law of nations. It was to this, I alluded, when I observed that it contained one unpleasant ingredient.

It is a fact, that far the greater proportion of modern treaties exclude naval stores or articles for ship-building; yet this is not universally the case.

By the third article of the treaty of alliance and commerce between Great Britain and Denmark, in 1670, the parties agree "not to furnish the "enemies of each other with any provisions of "war, as soldiers, arms, engines, guns, ships, or "other necessaries for the use of war, nor to suffer the same to be furnished by their subjects." An explanation of this article was made by a convention, dated the 4th of July, 1780, which, after enumerating as contraband, the usual catalogue of military implements, adds, in the precise terms of our article, "as also timber for ship-building, tar, "rosin, copper in sheets, sails, hemp, and cordage, and generally whatever may serve directly "to the equipment of vessels, unwrought iron, "and fir planks only excepted."

In a series of treaties between Great Britain and Portugal, down to the year 1703, I do not discover that there has ever been a regulation of the articles which are to be treated as contraband, between these powers.

And between Sweden and Great Britain, the 11th article of a treaty, entered into in 1661 (and still in force unaltered, though a subsequent commercial treaty was made between those powers as late as 1776) subjects to confiscation equally all articles called *contraband*, and *especially money, provisions, &c.* The specification not being complete, naval stores are left upon the open ground of the law of nations; but money and provisions are superadded—This latitude would bear little doubt as to the intention to include naval stores*.

---

* An opinion has been propagated that Sweden armed in concert with Denmark, in order to maintain the neutral right of carrying corn and flour to France, in opposition to the convention of March, 1793, between Great Britain and Russia; and that, in consequence of this proceeding, the remonstrances of these powers have proved more successful than we have been in obtaining satisfaction from Great Britain.

This opinion is, throughout, an error, made use of by those whose persevering aim has been, by silencing truth, reason, and moderation, and inflaming the angry passions of the community, to *involve* the country in anarchy and war.—The authors of this imposture, as well as the exalted patriots who have seen in the memorial of our envoy, the humiliation of our country, are referred to a "Collection of State Papers relative to the "War against France," published by Debret, in 1794. The perusal of the Swedish state papers, as well as the memorials of the able and prudent Bernstorff, may teach these gentlemen a little of what is deemed good manners on these occasions.

So far from even remonstrating, much less arming on account of the British instruction of June, 1793, when that order was notified at Stockholm, by the British resident there, the government of Sweden, by their resident at London, acknowledged, in terms too respectful to be repeated in the hearing of our exclusive patriots, that Sweden was perfectly satisfied with the instruction; since, instead of payment, which the order insured, all provisions, in virtue of an existing treaty between the two nations, were liable to confiscation when seized, on their way to an enemy.

This note is added for the purpose of refuting a popular error, and not to vindicate the instruction alluded to, which I consider as an injury to the rights of neutral nations, that has not been justified by the answers that have been given by Great Britain to the American and Danish memorials.

It appears from these specimens, that there is not a perfect uniformity in the conventions between nations; and that no purely positive law of nations can be deduced from that source.

If we call to our aid the principles of reason and natural justice, which are the great foundations of the law of nations, we shall not discover, in this instance, *data* as certain as could be wished, for a satisfactory conclusion; and the soundest determination, which we can adopt, will be, that beyond a certain point, the question is in a great degree arbitrary, and must depend materially upon conventional regulation between nation and nation.—Hence it is there is so great a diversity in the stipulations of different parties on this point; indicating that there is no absolute rule. Hence also it is, that several nations, at different times, being at war, have thought themselves authorized to regulate and announce, by public declarations, the article which they would consider and treat as contraband.

The opinion of writers will be found to support the article as it stands, in the particular, which is now the subject of discussion.

Vattel, we have before seen, (B.B.C. 3, 6, 7. s. 112) expressly ranks *naval stores* and *timber* under the denomination of contraband goods.

Hiencecius (de navibus, &c. chap i. S. 10, 11 and 14) accords in the same position to the extent of whatsoever appertains to to the equipment of vessels *.

Bynkershoek is less explicit. After laying it down as the general rule that naval stores or the materials of ships are not contraband, he proceeds thus—"Yet it sometimes happens that the materials of ships may be prohibited, *if an enemy is "in great want of them, and without them cannot conveniently carry on the war*;" † and he afterwards cites, with approbation, several edicts or proclamations, which the states-general, in different wars with different nations, have published, declaring those articles contraband—thus referring it to the belligerent party to judge of, and pronounce the cases when they may rightfully be deemed so—And the same idea seems to have been adopted by *Grotius* ‡ and some other writers on public law—I have not met with one whose opinion excludes naval stores from the list of contraband.

Grotius, in discussing this question, divides goods into three classes, 1. Those which are of use only in war, as arms, &c. 2. Those which serve only for pleasure; 3. Those useful for peaceable as well as for warlike purposes, "as money, "*provisions*, ships, and *naval stores*"—concerning which he argues in substance, that the first class are clearly contraband; that the second class are clearly not contraband; and that the third class may or may not be so, according to the state and circumstances of the war; alleging, that *if necessary to our defence, they may be intercepted*, but upon condition of restitution, unless there be just cause to the contrary; which just cause is explained by the examples of sending them to a besieged, or blockaded place.

The reasoning about the third class has a very inconvenient latitude. It subjects the trade of neutral nations too extensively to the discretion of belligerent powers; and yet there is a serious embarrassment about drawing the true line, one which will duly conciliate the safety of the belligerent, with that of the neutral party.

What definition of contraband, consulting reason alone, shall we adopt? Shall we say, that none but articles peculiar to war ought to receive this denomination? But is even powder *exclusively applicable* to war? Are nitre and sulphur, its chief ingredients, *peculiar* to war? Are they not all useful for other purposes; some of them in medicine, and other important arts? Shall we say, that none but articles prepared and organized for war, as their primary object, ought to have that character? But what substantial difference can reason know, between the supply to our enemy of powder, and that of sulphur and saltpetre, the easily convertible materials of this mischievous compound?

How would either of these definitions, or any other, comport with what those of our treaties which are thought unexceptionable, in this particular, have regulated, or with what is common in the treaties between other nations? Under which of them shall we bring horses and their furniture?

If we say, that in wars by land, these are instruments little less important than men, and, for that reason, ought to be comprehended; it may be asked in return, what can be more necessary in wars by sea, than the materials of ships, and why should they not, for the like reasons, be equally comprehended?

In wars between maritime nations, who transfer its calamities from the land to the ocean, and wage their most furious conflicts on that element, whose dominions cannot be attacked or defended without a superiority in naval strength, who moreover possess distant territories, the protection and commercial advantages of which, depend upon the existence and support of navies, it is difficult to maintain, that it is against reason, or against those principles which regulate the description of contraband, to consider as such the materials which appertain to the construction and equipment of ships.

It is not a sufficient objection, that these articles are useful for other purposes, and especially for those of maritime commerce—Horses are of primary utility in agriculture; and it has been seen that there are other articles indisputably on the list of contraband, which are entirely within the principle of that objection.

Rutherforth, a sensible modern writer *, after truly observing, "that the notion of contraband "goods is of some latitude, so that it is not easy "precisely to determine what are and what are "not of this sort—that all *warlike stores* are cer- "tainly contraband, but that still the question "returns, what are to be reckoned warlike "stores?"—after noticing the division of articles by Grotius and the difficulties with regard to the third class—draws this conclusion, that, "where

* Vela, restes et si quæ alia ad apparatum nauticum pertinent.

† Quandoque tamen accidit ut et navium materia prohibeatur, si hostis ea quam maxime indigeat ut absque ea commode bellum gerere haud possit —Quæstionum juris publici, l. 1. chap. x. page 80.

‡ B. iii c. 1. v.

* Institutes of Natural Law, book ii. chap. x. xix.

" a war *is carried on by sea* as well as by land, not " only ships of war which are already built, but " the materials for building or repairing of ships " will come under the notion of *warlike stores*." This is a precise idea, and, it must be confessed, on principle, not an irrational one.

If we resort to the opinions which have been entertained and evidenced in our own country, they will be found to have given great extent to the idea of contraband—Congress, by an act of May the 8th, 1777, establishing the form of commissions for privateers, authorize them " to at- " tack, subdue, and take all ships and other ves- " sels whatever, carrying soldiers, arms, gunpow- " der, ammunition, *provisions*, or any other contra- " band goods, to any of the British armies or ships " of war, employed against the United States. And " in their act of the 27th of November, 1780, acce- " ding, in part, to the rule of the armed neutra- " lity, they declare, that contraband shall be " thereafter *confined* to the articles contained un- " der this character, in our treaty with France; " indicating, by this, their opinion that the list " of those articles is abridged by that treaty. If " the first-mentioned act was well founded (and " there are strong reasons for it) it establishes " that even provisions may be contraband, if " going directly to invading fleets and armies; " which affords an instance of their being so " (analogous to the case heretofore put of a be- " sieging army) in addition, to the cases of places " besieged, blockaded, or invested. And as to " naval stores, I assert a belief, that the common " opinion of those persons in this country, whose " contemplation had embraced the subject, in- " cluded them in the catalogue of contraband."

Nevertheless, from the number of modern treaties, which exclude from that list naval stores, and moreover from the manifest interest of nations, truly considered, to narrow the rights of war in favour of those of peace; this clause of the treaty, which takes a different route, is to be regretted as pursuing the rigour of the law of nations—Still, however, it cannot be objected to, as a departure from the law; and agreeing with the course observed by Great-Britain antecedent to the treaty, it does not place our trade in these articles upon a worse footing than it was, independent of the treaty.

The period of the negotiation was most unpropitious to a change for the better—in the midst of any maritime war, a belligerent nation, enjoying a naval superiority, was like to have been tenacious of a right which she supposed herself to possess to intercept naval supplies to her enemy—But in a war, in which it was more than ordinarily possible that the independent existence of a nation might depend on the retaining a naval superiority, it was to have been foreseen that she would not consent to relinquish such a right. The alternative was, to insert the article as it stands, or to omit it wholly.

Had it been omitted, the condition of naval stores would have been the same as with it. But our merchants would then have continued to be exposed to uncertain risks, which is always a great inconvenience. It is desirable, in similar cases, to have a fixed rule. Merchants can then accommodate their speculations to the rule; and causes of national contentions are avoided.

It is in this view to be regretted, that the cases when provisions may be treated as contraband, could not have been agreed upon; but as this was impracticable, the next best thing has been done, by establishing the certainty of compensation in all such cases. This gives one important species of security, obviates one source of contention. And if really there may be other cases than the universally admitted ones, in which provisions can fairly be deemed contraband (as that designated by the act of congress of May 1777) the securing of compensation was truly a point gained by the article.

But while I confess, that the including of naval stores, among contraband articles, is an inelligible feature of the treaty, I ought to declare, that its consequences to the interests of the United States, as it regards the trade in those articles in time of war, do not appear to me important—War between other nations, when we are at peace, will always increase the demand for our bottoms, so as to require much additional building of vessels, and probably in that way to produce a more beneficial species of employment of the naval stores our country affords, than that of their exportation for sale.

SLAVE TRADE.

After the rejection of the bill for the abolition of the slave trade by the late House of Commons, a fresh attempt was made to destroy that branch of the commerce of Great-Britain by another bill, which, under pretence of making further regulations in the mode of transporting the negroes across the *Atlantic*, would have so far increased their price, that the British planter must have been obliged to seek them from foreigners; but this attempt was also defeated.

Upon a supposition that the abolitionists would have succeeded in their endeavours to deprive the British merchants of this beneficial branch of commerce, the Americans not only purchased some of the *Liverpool* ships, employed in this traffic, but fitted out a considerable number of ships from the port of *Charles-Town*, in *South Carolina*, and ordered 200,000 gallons of *British* corn spirits, and other goods, to be purchased for assorting their cargoes.

To shew the gentlemen who, before their re-election to parliament, declared their intention to renew their attempts to abolish a trade, which their most successful efforts could only drive into the hands of foreigners, that such abolition is equally contrary to policy and religion, it has been thought proper to publish the substance of a letter, written to the Lord Bishop of Rochester at the time of its date; which, although his lordship has not thought worthy of his notice, may induce some other of those persons, who considered themselves as actuated by the motives of piety and virtue, to pause before they again prefer the theoretic devices of modern philosophers, to the precepts and laws of God, contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

It is to be observed, that the selling of the debtor and his family to satisfy the creditor, is a very ancient usage.—II. Kings, ch. 4. v. 1, 2.

Wimpole-Street, 15th March, 1796.

My Lord,

Your lordship's unremitted zeal in support of the endeavours of Mr. Wilberforce and the sectaries to abolish the slave trade, and the declaration lately made by your lordship, that the honour of the House of Lords was engaged to entertain the bill, now on its passage from the other House, occasions my giving you this trouble.

I think myself entitled to your lordship's pardon for thus addressing you, rather than in the more public mode of a newspaper or a pamphlet.

It will make me happy if I am able to covince you, that the attack made on the property and reputation of the West-India planters and African merchants, is not only contrary to honour and justice, but to the religion which I have the happiness, in common with your lordship, to profess.

I beg to recall to your lordship's recollection, that as the inquiry before the Lords of the Privy Council, and the examination before the Committee of the House of Commons, were not upon oath, no legal testimony has ever been given respecting the slave trade, the treatment of the negroes in the middle passage, or in the islands, until after the resolutions, which passed the House of Commons in 1792, were sent to the Lords for their concurrence; in consequence of which, witnesses have been examined upon oath at your lordship's bar.

The result of such examination has been a solemn proof, that none of the tales picked up by Mr. Clarkson, or any of the other stories invented or told, respecting the cruel treatment of the slaves in the West-Indies, the enormities committed by the persons transporting them across the Atlantic, and the manner of obtaining them in Africa, were true.

On the contrary, they have been proved to be false, scandalous, and founded in ignorance, mis-apprehension, self-interest, or malice.

Your lordship, by referring to that evidence, will learn, that the labour of the slaves in the sugar colonies is lighter than that of the British peasantry; and that they are better provided for, in sickness and in health, in infancy and in old age, than the labouring poor in any part of Europe.

From thence it also appears, that crimes are never imputed to individuals in Africa, in order to procure their condemnation to slavery.

That breaking up towns and villages by their princes for the same nefarious purposses, is absolutely false.

That kidnapping negroes is not practised or practicable from one end of Africa to the other.

That wars are never made for the purpose of procuring slaves, nor are excited by Europeans; for that wars, whenever and from whatever causes they arise, put a stop to the slave trade.

That the abolition would be equally injurious in its effects to the negroes in Africa, to those already in the colonies, to the planters, and to the merchants; to the widows, orphans, mortgagees, and other creditors of the merchants and planters, who have contracted engagements, under the sanction of numerous acts of parliament, by which this trade has been approved of, supported, and encouraged, for near two centuries.

When your lordship seriously considers this evidence, can it be possible you should vote the slave trade to be either inhuman or unjust?

Your lordship, in the highest court of judicature in the kingdom, sits in judgment upon property to the amount of seventy millions sterling, acquired and invested in the colonies under the sanction and encouragement of the legislature.

The evidence given to your lordship, you are bound—religiously bound, to judge by. Can your lordship consent to abolish a trade, which the moral as well as the common and statute law of the kingdom justifies, without a full and ample compensation to those persons whose fortunes must be ruined by such abolition?

I might, my Lord, call to your lordship's remembrance that it is not very long since your lordship's predecessors, bishops of Rochester, had many slaves attached to the estates of the church of that diocese.

Villenage would still be the law of the land, did any of the subjects of it exist; at least, I do not recollect any act of parliament by which it has been abolished; and, as far as any small portion of legal knowledge enables me to form an opinion, I am inclined to believe, that if there was any villain now in England, or any negro slave born on the estate of the person from whom he had run away, his master would be intitled to sue out the *writ de nativo de habendo*, by virtue whereof, he would be entitled to recover the possession of him. Upon this subject I take the liberty to refer your lordship to 1st institute, title Villenage, and 2d Blackstone, 96. Neither did Lord Mansfield, in the case of Somerset, deny the master's title to his negro's services.

Upon these principles my lord, I should have a right to claim your lordship's protection against passing a bill, the preamble of which declares the slave trade to be contrary to justice and humanity.

The planters have a right, my lord, upon every principle of law and justice, to carry on that trade, in order to be supplied with negroes to cultivate their lands; and the evidence upon their lordships' table shews how much humanity will be outraged, should it be abrogated: but, my lord, our cause does not rest solely on human laws. If the doctrine taught by your lordship, and the other prelates and ministers of the Christian church, be true, the slave trade is sanctioned by the divine law.

Your lordship has declared your unfeigned assent to the thirty-nine articles of the church of England. The 6th of these articles declares, the Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, and the 7th declares, the Old

Testament contains nothing contrary to the New.

The 13th Eliz. c. 12. sec. 2. enacts, "That if any person, ecclesiastical, shall advisedly maintain or affirm any doctrine repugnant to the articles of religion, and shall persist therein, such maintaining and persisting shall be just cause to deprive such person of his ecclesiastical promotions."

The 9th and 10th Will. III. c. 32. sec. 1. enacts, "That if any person, professing the Christian religion, shall deny the authority of the Holy Scriptures, of the Old or New Testament, they shall, upon conviction, for the first offence, be incapable to hold any office, ecclesiastical, civil, or military, or profit therefrom;" and, for the second offence, the penalties are still more severe.

That the sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testament authorize a slave trade, your lordship dares not deny: nay, my lord, you must allow they do more. Under the law, the slave trade is in a manner commanded by God Almighty, and under the Gospel dispensation, the holding in slavery persons purchased as slaves, is not only mentioned by our blessed Saviour and his apostles, without censure or disapprobation, but rules are given by St. Paul and 1st Peter, how slaves ought to demean themselves to their masters.

Was I publishing this letter to the world, which I hope will not be necessary, I would cite at length the words of the most material of the texts by which a trade in slaves is authorized: to your lordship it will be sufficient to mark the passages, to recal them to your lordship's recollection; those in the Old Testament, Gen. c. ix. v. 25. (*a*) c. xii. v. 16. (*b*) c. xvii. v. 27. (*c*) c. xx. v. 14. (*d*) c. xxiv. v. 9, 10, 34, 35. (*e*) c. xxvi. v. 14. (*f*) c. xxx. v. 43. (*g*) c. xxxvii. v. 27, 28, 36 c. xxxix. v. 1. (*h*) c. xlvii. v. 18, 19, 21, 23. (*i*) Exod. xii. v. 43, 44, 45. (*k*) c. xx. v. 17. (*l*) c. xxi. v. 2, 3, 4, 7, 20, 21, 32. (*m*) Lev. c. xix. v. 20. (*n*) c. xxv. v. 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46.

When God, by the mouth of his prophet Moses, says, Lev. c. xxv. v. 44, 45, 46. "Both thy bond men and thy bond maids which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen round about you; of them shall ye buy bond men and bond maids; moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families which shall be with you, which they begat in your land; and they shall be your possession: and ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bond men for ever." Will your lordship, or will any of the noble prelates who sit on the same bench with your lordship, say, that buying and selling slaves is unlawful? or venture to agree with the Commons, in asserting, that a trade so authorised and commanded by the Deity, is inhuman and unjust?

(*a*) "Cursed be Canaan. A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren."

(*b*) "And Pharaoh entreated Abram well for her (Sarah's) sake; and he had sheep and oxen, and men servants and maid servants and she asses and camels."

(*c*) "And all the men of his house, born in his house, and bought with money of the stranger."

(*d*) "And Abimelech took sheep and oxen, and men servants and maid servants, and gave them unto Abraham."

(*e*) Relates to the conduct of Abram's servant, who was sent to the city of Nahor.

(*f*) After God blessed Isaac, it is said, "he had possession of flocks, and possession of herds, and great store of servants."

(*g*) "And the man (Jacob) increased exceedingly, and had much cattle, and maid servants and men servants, and camels and asses."

(*h*) "Come and let us sell him to the Ishmaelites; and there passed Midianites, merchantmen; and they sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver; and the Midianites sold him into Egypt, unto Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh, and captain of the guard."

(*i*) "Buy *us* and our land for bread, &c."

(*k*) "This is the ordinance of the passover, there shall no stranger eat thereof; but every man's servant that is *bought for money*, after thou hast circumcised him, then shall he eat thereof; a foreigner, and an hired servant, shall not eat thereof."

(*l*) "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his man servant, nor his maid servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's." "And if a man sell his daughter to be a maid servant, she shall not go out as the men servants do."—"And if a man smite his servant, or his maid, with a rod, and he die under his hand, he shall surely be punished; notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished, *for he is his money*."

(*m*) "If thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years shall he serve, and on the seventh he shall go out free for nothing.—If he come in by himself, he shall go out by himself: if he were married, his wife shall go out with him. If his master hath given him a wife, and she have born him sons or daughters, the wife and her children shall be her master's, and he shall go out by himself."—"If an ox used to push with his horn shall kill a free man, the owner of the ox shall be put to death; but if such ox shall push a man servant or a maid servant, he (the owner) shall give unto their owner thirty shekels of silver, and the ox shall be stoned."

(*n*) "And whosoever lyeth carnally with a woman that is a bond maid, betrothed to a husband, and not at all redeemed, or freedom given her, she shall be scourged: they shall not be put to death, because *she* was not free."

The New Testament equally bears testimony to the lawfulness of the slave trade, and the absolute authority of the lord over the servant—Matt. c. xviii. v. 23, 24, 25. (*o*) Consult also Epistle to the Eph. c. vi. v. 5. Col. c. iii. v. 22. Epistle to Tim. c. i. v. 1, 2, 3. Epistle to Tit. c. ii. v. 9. Epistle to Phil. 1 Pet. c. ii. v. 18. in all which places the slaves are exhorted to behave dutiful to their masters.

I need not to your lordship observe, that although the word δουλος, in the Greek sacred scripture, and the corresponding term in the Hebrew, are translated *servant*, they signify unconditional slaves, over whom the lord had the supreme authority, and the power of life and death; and in several passages those words are translated bond men and bond maids.

No such powers are exercised, or claimed by the owners of negroes in the colonies, where the authority of the planter is bounded by mild and humane laws; those formerly existing, which were imitated from the severe statutes of this country, having either become obsolete, or been repealed.

If the purchasing slaves be now inhuman and unjust, it must always have been so; and the keeping persons in slavery, so unjustly acquired, must have been equally so: and your lordship must either allow the purchase and possession of slaves to be consistent with the law of God (unless you can shew when that law was abrogated) or acknowledge that the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, saints, confessors, fathers, and bishops of the church of God, both under the law and the Gospel, who have purchased, sold, or possessed slaves (bond men and bond maids), have acted with cruelty, oppression, inhumanity, and injustice. Such an opinion would be directly contrary to those doctrines which your lordship teaches, and which you and Mr. Wilberforce profess to believe.

This notable discovery, of the inhumanity and injustice of the slave trade, has never been made until the present æra of anarchy and confusion, wherein impious men have presumed to set up their own ideas of humanity and justice (in contradiction to the laws of God) as the standard of perfection.

The pretences of such men to a superior degree of benevolence and philanthrophy, shall never prevail on me to consider or acknowledge a trade sanctioned by the laws of God and man for more than 4000 years, to be contrary to humanity and justice.

I hope I shall not incur your lordship's displeasure, in warning you against continuing your support to the philosophical, fanatical, and anti-scriptural doctrines, of those who have endeavoured to overturn all governement, law, and due subordination among mankind; and, on the ruins of religion, to establish fancied and fantastical notions of liberty, equality, and rights of man, alike inconsistent with the laws of nature, and the revealed will of God.

It may have hitherto escaped your lordship's attention, that the present attack on the property and reputation of the West-India planters, and the African merchants, originates from the same set of people who, one hundred and fifty years ago, voted peers and bishops to be useless. Do you think, my lord, these people to have so far changed their principles, as not to have as strong an inclination as formerly, "to bind kings in chains, and nobles in links of iron?" Can you, my Lord, suppose these people less capable of injuring your lordships than they were, in the middle of the last century, because they have for their allies the philosophers, the illuminers, the atheists, and the jacobins of France? What these people have been capable of, they have already shewn you; they have availed themselves of the mistaken zeal of Mr. Wilberforce, the humane society in the Old Jewry, and their missionary, the Rev. Mr. Clarkson, in preaching the doctrines of liberty and equality to the negroes.

Under pretence of abolishing slavery, and the slave trade, they have not only been the means of spreading ruin and desolation throughout the French West-India colonies, and in some of those belonging to Great-Britain (*St. Vincent's* and *Grenada*), inhabited by Frenchmen; but also of abolishing the Christian religion; imprisoning, banishing, or murdering nobles, bishops, and priests; and, as heretofore, of converting churches, and other buildings dedicated to religion, into arsenals, stables, and slaughter-houses; while the rents, revenues, and tythes of peers, bishops, and priests, have been the reward of the spoilers.

My Lord, the principal means whereby the anarchists of France have been enabled to effect their dreadful, rebellious, and anti-christian purposes, were by encouraging a disbelief of the sacred Scriptures, and revealed religion. Will the setting at naught and slighting the authority of the Scriptures (which are a strong support of our claim of right to buy slaves), strengthen that belief in them, which is the best and surest foundation on which the title of your lordships to the respect of the laity is built?

Will the acknowledgment of your lordship, that the scriptures you preach to us, which authorize, and in a manner command, the purchase of slaves, are not to be believed, or are unworthy our attention, reconcile us to the payment of the sums of money received by the clergy for employing themselves in expounding them to us; at the same time that, in the instance before us, we find them considered by

(*o*) Matt. xviii. v. 23, 24, 25. "Therefore is the kingdom of heaven likened unto a king who would take account of his servants, and one was brought unto him who owed him 1000 talents; but, forasmuch as he had not to pay, his lord commanded him to be sold, and his *wife* and *children*, and all that he had, and payment to be made."—That the selling of the children of the debtor, for the payment of his debts, under the Jewish law, is evident from 2 Kings, c. iv. v. 1. & seq.

you as contrary to humanity and justice, what you (but I hope no other of the prelates of the church of England) shew us, you have no reliance on or belief in; for if once we are taught that any part of the commands of God are to be explained away (the 10th commandment, for instance, which forbids men to covet the man servant and the maid servant of their neighbour), what regard will men pay to the other part of that or any other of those commandments?

If, my lords the bishops and the clergy claim the revenues and tythes they possess from Scripture, their right is certainly less positively and clearly ascertained than that of the merchant and planter to purchase, sell, and possess slaves; and if the title of both rests solely on acts of parliament, the superiority of the claim of the latter is equally clear;* consequently, if we are to be deprived of our property without compensation, a property the legislature has invited and encouraged us to purchase and improve by industry and diligence, at the risk of our fortunes, the pleasures of society, our healths, and our lives; because it is just now discovered, contrary to Scripture and the wisdom of ages, that it is unjust and inhuman to purchase slaves; will not the same argument be with more reason employed to deprive the clergy of every thing they possess?

The same people, who have raised the present outcry against slavery and the slave trade, have heretofore agreed in the present sentiments of those in France, who have found out, among other of their new discoveries, that there is great inhumanity and injustice in exacting the tythe of the produce of his industry from the farmer, and that there is the same in suffering the revenues of the superior clergy to be diverted from the service of the state, and the maintenance of the poor. In vain, my lord, would you plead acts of parliament in justification of your rights. Humanity and justice will be urged against you. If they have, in your lordship's judgment, been sufficient pleas to justify the repeal of the acts of parliament, under which we supposed our property was secured to us, the precedent will have been made by your lordship; and with what face can you oppose the repeal of those acts which are your only title.

I take the liberty, my lord, to beg your acceptance and perusal of the pamphlets which my servant brings you with this letter, which shew more at large the lawfulness and expediency of that trade, now attempted to be destroyed.

I have a right to call on you, my Lord, as a judge of a cause, in the decision of which my property is involved, to hear and read all that be urged in the defence of it.

If your lordship duly attends to the evidence and pleadings before you, it is impossible you should consent to the preamble of the bill about to be sent you, which, should it never pass into a law, holds up the West-India planters, and the merchants of the kingdom, to the detestation and abhorrence of their countrymen, as persons supporting a traffic contrary to humanity and justice, although such an assertion arraigns the wisdom and goodness of that Deity who authorised it, and by means whereof he was heretofore pleased to preserve a great and powerful nation, and the ancestors of his chosen people, from famine and destruction; and the abolition of which will most certainly involve the fortunes of the West-India planters and merchants, and, in all human probability, the greater part of the commerce, navigation, and manufactures of Great-Britain, in one common ruin.

I have the honour to be, with respect,

My Lord,

Your lordship's most obedient servant.

---

*Essay on the Means of recruiting the British Army.**

Few evils are more generally or justly complained of by the reflecting part of the British army, than the difficulty with which it is recruited, and the innumerable inconveniencies which arise at the commencement of a war from the necessity of seeking soldiers from the refuse of society.

Having no particular description of people to whom the country can apply for immediate external exertion against an enemy, we are too frequently, if not always, obliged to rely for our levies on the shameful *finesses* of crimps and recruiting serjeants, whose exertions operating chiefly on the thoughtless and abandoned, destroy that respect which both policy and principle should attach to the defenders of their country.

In this age of apathy when the enlighteners of mankind, as they have termed themselves, have endeavoured to destroy those enthusiastic principles of loyalty and patriotism, which are the vitals of a government, and to extend their frigid principles through all ranks; every attempt to restore to the lower classes, those noble ideas of the duty and honour of stepping forward when the country requires their services, may by some be deemed romantic, but as every description of the inhabitants of Great-Britain have recently proved, †

---

* To encourage the planter—15 Car. II. c. 7. 22, 23. c. 2. ch. 26.—7 and 8 W. III. c. 22.—9 and 10 W. III. c. 23.—3 and 4 Anne, c. 10.—6 Anne, c. 30.—6 Geo. II. c. 30.—27 Geo. 3. c. 27.—To protect and encourage the trade to Africa, Procl. 1662, 1672, 9 and 10 W. III. c. 26.—13 G. I. 23 G. II.—5 G. III. c. 44—7 G. III.—23 G. III.—27 G. III. To enable the planters to borrow money to improve their estates, 5 G. II. c. 7.—13 G. III. c. 14.—14 G. III. c. 79.

* This essay is the production of a gentleman, who was lately in the Royal Fuzileers. It was written in the year 1800.

† The numerous volunteer corps and associations amply prove it.

that the wild arguments of our modern philosophers have destroyed no portion of their public spirit; we may hope it is possible to inculcate the duty of more extensive services than that of arming only in moments of most imminent danger for the defence of their own doors.

It is neither the province nor the intention of the author of these pages, to enter into any disquisition on the expediency of carrying our arms abroad to prevent incursions at home, but as the necessity of a standing army is a point the most factious have ceased to dispute, it surely must be the wish of every one of his Majesty's subjects that we should have one worthy of the dignity of the British crown, worthy of a nation which with much propriety may be termed the chief bulwark of religion and civil society in Europe.

I am aware it will be objected that our insular situation renders such an army unnecessary, and the usual declamations against continental connexions may be opposed to the proposal; were my abilities competent to the discussion of this question, it would lead me too far from the subject, to attempt it. It is sufficient to observe, that, although this opinion has met with numerous supporters in every war in which we have been engaged since our navy first established its character, it has been practised in none, may it not thererore be inferred, that Great-Britain is so necessarily involved in the grand scheme of European politics, that its rulers are obliged in some measure to conform to the general plan, and to avail themselves of the same means, offensive and defensive, which are exerted against its interests, if not immediately against its territories.

It is the lot of humanity that singular and great advantages should have some attendant inconveniences. Of this our glorious constitution presents a proof; the privileges and immunities possessed by the inhabitants of Great-Britain, which the subjects of other nations do not enjoy, prevent their military services being commanded, and however popular a war may be, it will doubtless be admitted that the voluntary inlistment of individuals never allows us to bring an army into the field with so much expedition as those nations whose governments are more arbitrary.

As the greater and more permanent advantage cannot be sacrificed to that which is temporary and inferior, some credit would be due to him who could devise an efficacious plan for the enjoyment of both.

Of its efficacy or practicability, the author of the following scheme is probably too partial a judge; he therefore submits it to the knowledge, experience, and judgment of those who will honour it with a perusal.

As no nation is more eminently conspicuous for the courage and patriotism of its inhabitants than Great-Britain, it would appear a natural inference, that whenever the country found it necessary to arm, its subjects would flock round its standards. That this is not the case to the extent that might be wished, will not, I imagine, be disputed, and various are the reasons assigned for the reluctance with which our countrymen become soldiers. The prejudice against a standing army among a people jealous of their liberties, is said to render the profession unpopular, and this, it is admitted, formerly operated most powerfully. But custom, which reconciles every thing, has weakened, if not obliterated this prejudice. A standing army has now been so long incorporated in our constitution, that it has ceased to be viewed with terror, and its dismissal in times of profound peace, situated as Europe now is, so far from gratifying would occasion universal alarm and discontent; we may therefore conclude the recruiting service is but little affected by the jealousies of the people.

It has also been observed, that a military spirit seldom prevails in a commercial country, if the general observation is to be admitted as a truth, Great-Britain may, I think be adduced as an exception, the superiority of her navy over every other maritime power, and the spirit manifested by her inhabitants when the country was lately threatened with invasion amply prove the possession of it.

How then are we to account for this apparent inconsistency, that the inhabitants of a country who possess both valour and patriotism, should be unwilling to arm in its cause, certainly appears enigmatical; a very little reflection, however, will explain the enigma.*

The ideas of freedom and independence, which are so early instilled into the breasts of the British peasantry, render them averse to the necessary restraint of military discipline, and though zeal for the service of their king and country might induce them to subject themselves to it, they pause at the idea of deciding in one moment their lot for life, of renouncing for ever those privileges they have been taught to hold so dear, and revolt at the recollection, that the moment they step forward to support, at the hazard of their lives, the constitution of their country, they eternally exclude themselves from the enjoyment of its blessings,

To the impolicy of inlisting for life, therefore, may chiefly be attributed the difficulty of recruiting our armies. It is not my intention to write a philanthropic essay on the injustice of this practice, those who are acquainted with the modes usually adopted to obtain recruits, will admit, if it is not unjust, it is certainly the *extreme* of justice, to oblige men to abide for ever by the decision of a moment, and that probably a moment of intoxication.†

In the prejudice against the army to which I just alluded, this evil I imagine originated, when the profession of a soldier was unpopular, government of course found it difficult to obtain them, and having once obtained, were unwilling again to subject themselves to the difficulty, and therefore retained the man in the service during life—as the cause is now abated, we may hope the effect will be likewise diminished.

But concurring in the opinion, that the man who points out the defects of an institution, without suggesting a remedy, injures rather than benefits society, I would propose as a remedy for the evil I have complained of, that every soldier inlisted in time of peace should engage to serve the seven following years, and in case of a war breaking out in that period, should remain in the service during its continuance, and for one year afterwards—he should then receive a qualified discharge, stating that the bearer *is* a soldier, has served his Majesty for seven years, and holds himself bound to return to the service should

---

* I am at present speaking of war, which the majority of the country appear to think just and honourable.

† Every recruit by law must be inlisted 24 hours before his attestation, though this may be *always* complied with, the man is not *always* allowed much time for sober reflection in that interval.

he be required, whenever the country is involved in war; and I would have him remain under this obligation for twenty years from the date of his first inlistment. Such is the outline of the plan, by the adoption of which, the recruit who found himself dissatisfied with his situation, instead of meditating desertion as the only means of freeing himself from the chains he thought galling, would look forward to the day of his discharge, and remembering his hardships were but temporary, would first resolve to endure, and very soon cease to think them so. Desertion is rare among old soldiers, and the reason of its occurring so frequently among recruits is very obvious. A raw lad, totally unacquainted with the life of a soldier, joins a regiment where the restraints of military discipline soon become irksome, the repeated drilling, parading, &c. disgust him, and seeing no prospect of a change of situation, attempts desertion before he has allowed himself time to become reconciled to the service; but as every deserter when apprehended should invariably remain in the service during life, this crime would, I think, be rendered much less frequent, the recruit who is now tempted to desert lest he should always remain a soldier, would thus be restrained by the very motive which formerly induced him.* The soldier inlisted on these terms would feel himself more on a footing with his fellow subjects, and an army raised on this plan would be perfectly consonant to the principles of the constitution; it would be an army of the country, an army increasing by every man it discharged, as no man in time of peace should be retained in actual employment after the expiration of his time although he might wish it,† provided a recruit could be obtained in his place.

We should thus, without increasing the expense of our establishment, continue in peace to recruit our armies for war. The bounty would certainly be small, and instead of expending immense sums to procure an army of weavers, it would only be necessary to issue a proclamation‡ at the commencement of a war, commanding all soldiers to join their regiments§. Money now expended in obtaining would be reserved to maintain an army, and we should take the field with old soldiers instead of raw recruits.*

It would be necessary that a return of the men thus discharged should regularly be made to the War Office, giving an account of their place of abode or parish, where they shall be bound under the penalties of desertion to present or account for themselves once a year to some appointed person; a roll of them should be lodged at the Adjutant-Generals, either by districts or regiments, and it would be no bad addition to the plan, were such proportion of them, as his Majesty should think fit, ordered every year to join the regular regiments doing duty in Great-Britain and Ireland for one month between seed time and harvest.

As an encouragement to recruits, and to render the service more respectable, some privileges in society might be granted to men who had thus served the country, particularly to those who on their discharge should receive a certificate from some respectable board appointed for that purpose, that their conduct had been loyal, faithful, and respectable; an exemption from those duties usually disliked by the lower classes, serving as constables, on juries, &c. the freedom of particular towns or boroughs might be conferred on them, and various other expedients which men of more knowledge may devise.

This measure does not appear unconstitutional, and it is certainly just, that the subject who steps forward when the country requires him, should possess some few advantages over those who consult their individual comfort and remain inactive; by this means the profession of a soldier would acquire a degree of respectability among the common people, and might induce that class, from whom the service once derived so much benefit, again to enter it. I allude to the sons of our yeomanry, who formerly supplied us with non-commissioned officers, but of late years they have entirely declined† the army, and their loss has been most materially felt.

It may be objected that these privileges would tend to excite jealousy, and that the people of England, priding themselves on their freedom, have so long been accustomed to look on a soldier as a man debarred those privileges they so justly value, would be indignant at seeing him thus raised above them; but when we recollect that this man is at the time their fellow subject, enjoying every privilege with themselves, totally independent of all military jurisdiction, and can only be called into the service by a war, when recommencing soldier, those privileges are for the time suspended, the two situations differ so widely, that no inference can be drawn against the soldier I propose, from the ideas the people entertain of the soldiery at present.

A little adroitness on the part of government would perhaps give the popular opinion a different turn, and it might become the boast of the British

---

* The article of war ought to express, that any soldier convicted of desertion should suffer death, or be sentenced to serve during life wherever his Majesty should direct, and to receive such other punishment, &c. If sentenced death, and pardoned, still perpetual service should follow.

† This rule would admit of some exceptions.

‡ It is true this has the appearance of empowering the crown to raise an army without the consent of parliament, but I am supposing it an army (out of pay) already established by act of parliament.

§ But may there not be a difficulty in effecting this; may not the men who have remained so long out of the service be unwilling to return and endeavour to secrete themselves, or abscond into other counties; that this would be the case with some I have little doubt, but if this objection is supposed to render the plan impracticable, it might be urged with equal justice, that it is impossible to retain an army in our service because men will desert. The king has, I should imagine, 100,000 soldiers now in pay, the country might therefore supply 60,000 men of this description, and should a quarter, an immense proportion, conceal themselves, we should still commence a war with 45,000 soldiers more than our peace establishment.

* The expense would be comparatively trifling; it would be necessary to allow some small bounty on their return, not only to encourage, but to provide them with necessaries. The sum (one guinea) formerly given to soldiers on draughting them, would probably be sufficient.

† Although the yeomanry are not so numerous in England as formerly, there is still a better sort among the commonality, whose services would be very useful could they be induced to enter the army.

peasant, that he had served his five years *, should this idea ever prevail, our armies would reap an incalculable advantage from it, the manufacturing towns would no longer be our only resource, a greater proportion of the peasantry would enter the service, and as their constitutions are more robust, and their lives less dissipated than the lower classes in the great towns, it is obvious how much we should gain by such a change.

That many of the advantages I have suggested might be derived from the adoption of this plan, may be fairly inferred from the ease with which fencible and temporary corps are recruited, at times when the regiments of the line can scarcely procure a man for three times the bounty, and that this is not altogether owing to a disinclination to quit the country is proved by the numerous volunteers from the militia under Mr. Dundas's bill on the late expedition to Holland: that the dread of the West-Indies † may operate against the recruiting service I admit, and it is to be hoped government will find some method, by which our armies may be less exposed to the baneful effects of those pestilental islands, by garrisoning them in peace with colonial regiments; in war it becomes necessary they should be defended with the force of our own country, and we can only lament it, as adding to its horrors.

Should this proposal meet with approbation, no time can be more proper than the present for carrying it into execution, a military spirit is now widely diffused through the country, and the principles of a vast majority of the inhabitants of Great-Britain are most decidedly loyal; in the event of a peace with the present government of France any great reduction of our military force would surely be imprudent, and the expense of retaining an immense army in pay after hostilities had ceased would be extremely burthensome; what plan then can be followed which would relieve the country from the burthen, and secure to it the advantage of an army, by discharging the supernumerary soldiers of the regular regiments who had enlisted for life on the terms here proposed, and by giving a small bounty to as many of the fencible infantry and cavalry § as would complete the number required, to inlist on the same terms, an army might, I imagine, be secured without the expense of maintaining it. In the first instance, government certainly might grant a soldier who had engaged to serve during life his discharge on those comparatively easy conditions; and a small bounty would probably induce men, already soldiers, to enter into an engagement, where they would receive an immediate recompense for a distant and uncertain sacrifice (if such they should esteem it). I believe it will be admitted that, was Great-Britain to reduce her armies to the peace establishment, and the war should be renewed in two years, it would require a greater sum to procure an army equal in numbers to the one she now pays, than would have been saved by the reduction in that time, this expense would not only be prevented, but the expedients so injurious to the service of allowing private individuals to raise regiments, and conferring high rank on men who were never before in the army merely to obtain their influence in recruiting it, would be rendered unnecessary, we should then have but two descriptions of soldiers, the regulars and the militia, and the latter should positively be formed from their own counties. ||

To render this plan more efficient it would be necessary, instead of reducing the number of regiments, as was the case at the expiration of the last war, to reduce their strength only; that the soldiery, when ordered to join, may be incorporated in corps in which internal economy already exists, where the commanding, staff, and non-commissioned officers are known to each other, and system and discipline are established. Little or no confusion will be occasioned by doubling the strength of the companies; and few will dispute, that if the most intelligent officers are appointed to a newly formed regiment, they cannot, in many months, introduce the same order and regularity which prevailed in old corps, commanded by men even of inferior abilities. Another most important consideration is the very observable difference of health in old and new regiments. Where attention is habitually paid to the comfort of the soldier, regular meals, immediate supply of those articles of clothing which may be wanted, necessary regulations established for the hospital, &c. we seldom find the recruits become sickly, but young regiments have all these arrangements to make, they are not the work of a day, and however active the officers may be, the men suffer before they can be put in execution.

Every old officer in the service will bear witness to the truth of this observation, for which I claim no merit—it is of too old a date. I may here add, that I pretend little to the merit of originality in the whole proposal: something similar prevails in Prussia, our own militia is in some measure formed on this principle, and inlisting for life has frequently been inveighed against.

* Those who may ridicule this idea should recollect this sentiment once prevailed very strongly in France, and though the inhabitants of that country were then remarkable for their attachment to their sovereigns, I am unwilling to believe they possessed a greater portion of true loyalty and patriotism than the people of Great-Britain now do.

† As the defence of these islands can never be totally committed to colonial regiments, it is worthy of consideration whether it would not be adviseable to raise a British army for the service of that country exclusively, the men to be engaged for ten years, and such as voluntarily remain twenty to receive a pension for life, as a still greater encouragement the subaltern officers to be always taken from the ranks, two very beneficial effects would result from this, enterprizing young men would be induced to enter that army by the hopes of promotion, and that useful body of officers who being most exposed, have, perhaps, suffered more in that country than the higher ranks would be inured to the climate, and of course be more serviceable. The captains and other officers to be taken from the army at large, which would secure the connexion of those troops with the mother country, and the regiments might be removed from island to island often enough to prevent any danger from local attachments.

§ This mode of recruiting is, of course, intended to extend to the cavalry, though, perhaps it may be necessary to fix their time of service at nine instead of seven years.

|| It is a fact that some of the militia regiments send recruiting parties to manufacturing towns at great distance from their own counties, this is not only interfering with the army, but is unconstitutional and subversive of the principles on which the militia are formed.

My object is to extend to a free country an advantage hitherto exclusively enjoyed by arbitrary governments. To accomplish it I have been induced to hazard this proposal, and should it be found deficient, I trust candour will attribute the attempt to zeal rather than presumption.*

On the political Balance of Europe.

While Europe was governed by those principles of justice and equity which form the basis of social order, the nations which constituted this great political association could rely with confidence on the faith of treaties which acknowledged their independence, and credit with security the mutual guaranty of compacts which established their union. The repose of some was occasionally disturbed by war; but the general order was not thereby effected; the relations which connected them with the rest continued the same, and the reconciliation of the belligerent powers bound them more closely to the great political body.

Some elements there are which, at first view, appear destined by their natures for endless opposition or mutual destruction, but, more minute observation has discovered that on the union of these depend the preservation of man, and the existence of the globe. Like these, the nations of Europe would long since have destroyed each other by the excess of their ambition and the violence of their contests, if the wisdom of our fathers had not united them by reciprocal agreements, which as members of the same family, all were called by their general and common interests, to execute. From this union has resulted that judicious equilibrium which has existed for ages, and which is termed with great propriety, The Political Balance of Europe.

But now all is changed. This ancient and venerable social edifice which was reared with so much care lies buried in ruins. The continental powers, by their treaties with France, have surrendered their independence; and England, by the conclusion of the definitive peace is about to fix the last seal to the total subjection of Europe. That quarter of the world, instead of independent powers whose union would have ensured their existence and secured their liberty, will hereafter present to our view only France and her provinces, which, for the present, remain under the government of kings and emperors, possessing no other authority than that of prefects of the French republic. Such is the condition to which we are reduced, after twelve years of errors and of crimes, by the pusillanimity of some and the blindness of others, and more by the universal dereliction of sound principles by all.

I am not ignorant, that for many years, it has been the constant endeavour of some to propagate an opinion that no political equilibrium ever existed among those powers. The balance of Europe, which wise statesmen and learned politicians have always regarded as the keystone of the arch that supports the great fabric of political order, is now treated with contempt and ridiculed as a chimera. This opinion has, unfortunately, found many partisans. The support it has received from men eminent in rank, has in no mean degree contributed to its success. But, before I proceed to the refutation of an opinion so dangerous and destructive in its consequences, I am led to make this sad reflection: that those who, with dogmatic assurance declare that the balance of Europe is but a chimera, are equally disposed to regard as chimerical, not only the distinguishing characteristic of a people, but national honour and even patriotism itself. It is true that these words, abstractedly considered have no great force, but, they have, nevertheless, had more influence upon mankind than considerations of private interest. This observation, which is easily verified by a knowledge of the characters of these visionary innovators, proves that the revolution is not confined to things, but has extended even to the heart.

The first who denied the maintenance of a political equilibrium were the authors of the French revolution. The establishment of this principle was necessary to induce those whom they wished to conquer, to believe, that from other powers, no aid was to be hoped, and no assistance expected. Unfortunately they have succeeded, and this belief has even found its way into cabinets.

The innovating demagogues of the day adduce the recent conduct of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, towards Poland to support their opinion that the great powers, instead of protecting the weak, sought only to destroy them, and instead of securing their existence, plundered them of their dominions. It must be confessed that the odium they cast on these nations is but too just. We cannot but deplore the blindness of those ministers who advised the infamous partition of that unfortunate country; and it might not be difficult to prove this iniquitous act, to have been one of the principal causes of the actual misfortunes of Europe. The day may yet arrive when those who were concerned in this guilty proceeding will have cause to sigh at the recollection of former errors, and repent, when it is too late, the commission of former crimes.

If, instead of leaguing to wrest the sceptre from an amiable monarch, and plunder him of territories he was unable to defend, the powers of the North had united to crush the lawless force of republican France, and restore the unfortunate Lewis to the throne of his ancestors, Prussia would have been spared the shame of being the first to embrace the revolutionary tyrants; Austria the disgrace of accepting from regicides the dominions of a former ally; Russia the reproach of treacherously abandoning the kings of Naples and Sardinia; England the dis-

* In the statement of this plan I have endeavoured to be as brief as was consistent with perspicuity. It is of course but an outline: should it be so far favoured as to be taken into consideration, there are many necessary modifications and arrangements I could mention, which at present it would be useless to insert.

honour of aggrandizing her mortal enemy at the expense of her ancient confederates; in a word, all Europe would not have been reduced to the deplorable humiliation of rendering homage to successful villainy, and existing dependent on the caprice of the factious chiefs of the republic.

But without tearing away the veil which conceals so many horrors, let us content ourselves with pointing out the evils which others must remedy. It will be sufficient for us to make it appear, that the eagerness, with which those Northern plunderers seized upon that moment, for the commission of their base robbery, in which the King of France, held in captivity by his rebellious subjects, was unable to oppose them, is a convincing proof that the balance of power was then destroyed.

It is notorious that Russia had long formed the project of despoiling Poland of her territories, but dreading the opposition of Prussia and Austria, she resolved to associate them in her enterprise by proposing a division of the spoil. Even this proposal, which promised so many advantages, failed to attach her jealous neighbours, who doubted not that France would instantly and formally oppose them. Austria particularly knew that she would be the first victim in the immediate loss of Belgium. Thus Poland saw himself defended on the one side, by Prussia and Austria, against the invasion of Russia, and protected by France on the other, against the united enterprises of the whole.

It is then evident, that previous to the revolution, a balance really existed among the powers of Europe; that they were bound together, not by a general and positive treaty, but by reciprocal engagements contracted by mutual wants, and by a tacit convention strengthened by interest and supported by honour. As an evidence of the necessity of this balance, and the wretched consequences of its destruction, I have cited the example of Poland; and have dilated on the events of that fatal partition, because they happened under our own observation, and will, therefore, be more impressive than those drawn from history.

In vindication of the peace, it is pretended by some that a balance of power still exists, strengthened by the wealth and territory which Russia, Austria, and Prussia, have gained by the division of Poland, and the recent conquest of the Crimea, &c. An examination of the respective advantages of all their acquisitions for thirty years, would, however, immediately convince us that they are by no means equal to those of France, since the revolution; but without entering into a detail, I will content myself with one observation.

Notwithstanding the increase of power derived by these nations from the dismemberment of Poland, which was effected without the loss of a single man or a single shilling, France, although torn by the most horrid anarchy, and opposed by all Europe, has extended her victorious arms wheresoever ambition prompted, or revenge directed, and has even dictated to her humiliated foes, the terms of their existence. Where then, I ask, is this pretended balance? Is it reasonable to suppose that those states which were formerly unable to oppose France, will be able to resist the execution of her destructive projects when conquest has doubled her power, and when commerce, which she now has the means of extending, shall have doubled her wealth.

In the Porcupine of 18th December last, appeared a letter "On the Balance of Power," under the signature of Philanglus, in which the author endeavours to persuade us, that the security and prosperity of England are totally independent of the balance of European power, and that her safety is in no wise endangered by the recent aggrandisement of France.

We must refer to the treaty of 1648, says this author, for the origin and foundation of the balance of Europe. At this period, he observes, the principal powers were the House of Austria, one branch of which held Spain and the Netherlands, and another, the fairest portion of Germany; Holland, a wealthy and formidable republic; France, to whom were ceded the three bishoprics of Mentz, Toul, and Verdeen, the Landgraviate of Alsace and Brisac, with all its dependencies; and Great Britain, who was too much occupied with domestic calamities to interfere in the general politics of Europe. Prussia was then but a petty electorate, and Russia had not emerged from barbarism. After this statement of the situation of Europe, we are furnished with an account of the conquests and acquisitions of France during the reign of Louis the fourteenth. This monarch, by the conclusion of the Pyrenean treaty in 1659, not only acquired several places in Flanders, and Luxemburg, but the greatest part of Artois, Landrecy, and Quesnoy in Hainault; the Duchy of Bar, and other places in Lorrain and Roussillon. In 1662, he purchased Dunkirk from Charles II. of England, and by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, made in 1668, at the termination of another contest with Spain, he acquired Tournay, Lisle, Courtray, Oudenard, Aeth, Charleroy, and Douay. In 1768, Charleroy, Binch, Aeth, Oudenard, and Courtray, were restored to Spain; and France was indemnified by the cession of Valenciennes, Bouchain, Condé, Cambray, the remainder of Artois, and the whole of Burgundy and Franch-Comté.

The author then remarks, that while Louis XIV. was advancing with gigantic strides to the establishment of an universal monarchy, this country, either viewed with indifference or promoted with zeal, the attempts of her ambitious neighbour to subjugate the continent. He wishes to establish it as a principle, that experience ought to be a lesson for the future, and that by an investigation of the past, we may anticipate what will hereafter occur. The natural consequence resulting from this observation is, that as the independence and prosperity of England were not affected by the great conquests of France under Louis XIV. she can now have nothing to fear from the aggrandizement of the French republic.

But there are two causes which seem entirely to have escaped the observation of Philanglus, why Great Britain did not interfere in the affairs of Europe, previous to the year 1678. These, an attentive observer will immediately perceive to be the intestine dissensions of England, and the nature of her enemy's conquests. France, at that period, had not gained a single port, nor even a league of sea coast, but confined her conquesrs to the extension of territory in the interior of the continent. Now she possesses, either directly or indirectly, all the coast and ports of Holland. The Low Countries and Italy, by which she will acquire so many advantages for trade, as will, in a short time, render her as powerful by sea as she is formidable by land. Such an event, by destroying the commerce of England, would necessarily produce her immediate ruin, and would probably terminate in rendering her a tributary colony of the republic. All the security she now has, as it regards France, resembles that of a man who built on the brink of a volcano, with the hope that there would never be another eruption.

Notwithstanding the indifference and tranquillity with which England appeared to regard the conquests of Louis XIV. at their commencement, his acquisitions by the treaty of Nimeguen in 1678, caused some inquietude. She therefore joined the continental league against France in 1689, composed of Holland, Spain, and Germany. The principal objects of this great coalition were to reduce Louis to the Pyrenean treaty, to compel him to relinquish the pretensions of the Bourbons to the crown of Spain, and acknowledge those of the House of Austria. Neither of these objects, says Philanglus, was accomplished. But it must be confessed, that though those purposes were defeated, the resu't was no less favourable to the allied powers, since France was compelled by the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, to abandon all her conquests on the right bank of the Rhine, and restore to Spain part of the low countries, Mons, Courtray, Aeth, &c. So far from being discouraged, England persisted in the plans she had formed for reducing the power of France, and was engaged, during the peace, in forming a new alliance with Holland and the Emperor. In May 1702, hostilities commenced against France and Spain, and did not terminate till April 1713. The author confesses, with Mr. Burke, that this war was a convincing proof of the energy of our ancestors, but tells us, that glorious as it was, it added very little to the power of England. In this opinion I cannot concur, and I believe there are few who will not acknowledge the peace to have been as advantageous and as honourable as the war. Although, by the treaty of Utrecht, the crown of Spain was secured to the House of Bourbon, and although Louis preserved his conquests in Germany and the Low Countries, the acquisitions on the part of England, of Gibralter, Minorca, and St. Christophers, together with the slave trade, were undoubtedly equivalent, and not only guaranteed her independence but enabled her to check the power of her ambitious rival.

After a review of the state of Europe from 1648, to the present time, Philanglus considers the balance of power as it was in 1789, at the commencement of the French revolution. During the 18th century, says he, Spain and Holland have wholly decayed, and are become insignificant states entirely unable to cope with France or England; but their places in the balance are filled by Russia and Prussia, two powers whose voice has no small influence in the councils of nations.

It cannot be denied that Spain and Holland have long since lost all their former splendour, but though they had no weight in 1789 as independent powers, their influence will hereafter be immense as tributaries of the French republic, acting solely under her direction, and governed by her will. I readily grant that Russia and Prusia will form a great counterpoise in the balance, and that, if now united with Austria, might relieve Europe from bondage. I do not say, nor do I believe, that the equilibrium can never be restored; my object has only been to prove, that it is entirely destroyed by the late treaties, and that all the states of Europe, without distinction, are threatened by the fatal consequences of its destruction. I am well convinced that if sufficient time be allowed to France for the re-establishment of her marine, for repairing the losses which war and the revolution have caused, and to avail herself of the immense advantages presented by her conquests, that, notwithstanding the extensive territory, and numerous population of Russia, the great armies, and well disciplined troops of Austria and Prusia, and the formidable marine and riches of England, the united efforts of these powers, will in a few years avail nothing against that colossal monster, called, *The French Republic.*

If after all that I have said, any should be so prejudiced or so incredulous as not to acknowledge that the balance of power is entirely destroyed, and that all Europe is reduced to the most absolute dependence upon the French republic, I will call their attention to the treaties lately concluded by the European powers, and let them discover, if possible, any of that reciprocity which characterises the diplomatic arrangements of independent nations. If this is not to be found, it must be acknowledged that they are no more than subjugated states. How then, I ask, can any equilibrium exist between the power which governs and those which are governed; that which makes the law and those which receive it?

This subjection, to which I say all Europe is reduced, is not only declared by me, but has been openly and officially avowed by one of the members of the French government. When presenting to the legislative body, on the 29th of November last, a law relative to the treaty concluded with the Emperor of Russia, citizen Pleurieu, counsellor of state, thus expresses himself. "If the two preceding years ought to "be for ever celebrated for the illustrious victo- "ries of the French armies, the tenth year of the "republic will be memorable in history for those

" negotiations, by which, France, always as " *moderate* as she is *powerful*, has *given peace* " *to Europe:* this peace is the peace of all the " world, since the Europeans, by their naviga- " tion, their maritime discoveries, their con- " quests, and their commerce, have, in some " measure, extended their dominions over the " whole earth."

Thus has citizen Fleurieu publicly announced that France has *given peace to Europe*, that she has dictated the conditions, which are not more rigorous, because she is *moderate*, but that she has, nevertheless, the *power* of imposing such terms as may suit her pleasure. Let it be recollected that this is to be regarded, not as the language of an individual, but as the opinion of the government, expressed by one of its members; that this communication had been previously discussed and approved by the council of state which can propose nothing without the order of the First Consul, and durst make no decision without his sanction.

Yet this language is understood by the different nations of Europe, who, not content with quietly hearing it, eagerly dispatch their most distinguished characters to collect these sweet republican words. These are they, who, while they suffer themselves to be thus insulted, and even regard as testimonials of esteem and friendship the most disgraceful language, pretend to be independent. And it is with armies at her command, more powerful than any she has ever possessed, that Europe suffers herself to be loaded with opprobium and dishonour by a republic covered with infamy, and governed by men guilty of every crime, rendered loathsome by the blood of their fellow citizens, and abhorred for the murder of their king. *O tempora, O mores!*

NAVAL PROJECTS OF FRANCE.

Extract from a French work entitled " Lettres " d'un Observateur sur la Marine ;" published at Paris in the month of May, 1802.

England separated from the rest of Europe, surrounded by the waters of the sea, situated under a gloomy and melancholly climate where the mind is constantly roused by the sublime scenes of an ocean sometimes calm and sometimes boisterous, rising and falling twice a day from a shore which it covers with the remains of shipwrecks; where their wants require all their faculties: where nature, inactive, grants nothing but to labour; England is the country of meditation, of industry, and in some measure of necessity, almost universally of the sway of judgment, not that of taste or genius, whose light does shine upon those high latitudes so far from the star from which it emanates.

These from long misfortune, and from the outrages of despotism, (a despotism that, like tigers and white bears, is born and flourishes in the torrid and frigid zones, among the gifts of nature, and among the productions of industry which its covets or devours) have concurred to concentrate the spirits of the people around the great objects of existence, of social security, and to harden them to a perseverance, characteristic of this famous island, which makes them accomplish all the objects they undertake with a degree of perfection unknown elsewhere. And the result is, that men, in that island, have formed from their enlarged and extended faculties, true moral chains by which they are attached and strongly bound to liberty. It is with such men that a government, hitherto the wisest that ever existed, always impressed with the recollection of the outrages committed on the nation by its ancient government, and of the terrible vengeance with which it was sacrificed as an exemplary victim, extends its power from the cold and cloudy borders of the Thames, over the seas, the islands, and the continents of every climate, where it exercises an arbitrary authority, by disguising it under a thousand artificial forms, and by offering treacherous baits to the pride of a haughty and unconquerable people.

If this government, the chief of which appears, perhaps, to incline a little too much towards the favoured maxims of kings, had preserved its original purity; if it had governed itself wisely in the choice of foreign possessions, which weaken its forces by extending them; if the union between the three insular kingdoms could be close and intimate; if the names of Irishman and Scotchman were not too greatly contrasted with that of Englishman; if commerce had introduced the manners of Carthage, how formidable would that nation have become!

Secure in their island, after having destroyed by stratagem or by force all the marine establishments that could oppose them. They governed the whole world by their fleets, and by their commerce rendered themselves masters of all that nature had not granted them: the riches of other countries flowed into their bosom with irresistible force, as rivers into the ocean; thus uniting to the dominion of the sea the superintendance of the fortunes of the world, all the political springs came into their wonder-working hands; they managed them at their pleasure; and, by a privilege inherent in the nature of victorious navies, they were able to prevent the re-establishment of those they had destroyed, since, being absolute masters of the sea which was the theatre of their operations, and of commerce which furnishes the means, the first elements of the formation and restoration of naval establishments were entirely at their disposal.

Fortunately however, by the influence of mercantile genius, if the maritime powers of that nation have been extended to so great a degree of perfection, its military powers have remained far behind those of the French.

Still more fortunately that, if nature has furnished the English with so many ports for ships of the line, in the channel that defends them, if she has deprived the French in this same channel of a single port from Brest to the Baltic Sea, for an extent of more than 220 *myriamètres*, the

coasts of England are within sight of those of France. This geographical circumstance places it always in our power to weaken the strength and political operations of Great Britain, by the military genius, the abundant population and the immense resources of our territory.

But to do this, our government must acquire that tenacity of ideas, that perseverance in rational maxims, that is, maxims founded on the nature of things, and the moral of men, which distinguish the rivals of France. It must, as far as concerns the sea, form the spirit of the French as nature has that of the English. It is she who has made them sailors, by obliging them to have constant resource to navigation for their communications, and the transportation of their wares and merchandizes; by surrounding them with stormy seas, where the number of dangerous passages, the rapidity of the tides, and the inconstancy of the climate present difficulties that will always exist, but which they must surmount: whilst in the happy climate of France men have received from nature, with spirit and genius, that mobility of taste and character (perhaps necessary for the variety of pleasures they appear made to enjoy,) which gives them that versatility so pernicious to the completion of objects of industry, and whence comes the instability as well as the frequent miscarriage of all the grand conceptions which their imaginations present, and their resources warrant, but which the levity and sensual egotism of the governors and the governed always destroy. The spoiled children of nature, it is in the bosom of pleasure, when passing calamities can disturb them only for a moment, that the French have heard the sea spoken of; it is far from them that she roars along the coasts abandoned to fishermen and traders, who face her dangers to procure them new enjoyments, often obtained by misfortunes, miseries, toils, and shipwrecks, whose recital is a perfect contrast to the voluptuous security that surrounds them.

There is no task more difficult to accomplish than that of turning towards an element full of danger and abounding in privations, the taste of a fickle people who sacrifice every thing for pleasure, and who live mindful only of the present, and careless of the future. But this people delights in arms, and in the glory which they produce; this disposition, which has so much influence on opinion, and which, in every military or political crisis, has been a happy counterpoise to the faults and errors of the public administration, offers one means that cannot be ineffectual. If then the government gives the naval armament a consistence fully military, if it assimilates the army of the land and the army of the sea by a new institution which may command the geographical position, and the political situation of France with respect to England.

This institution consists of a new system of naval forces, composed of ships with oars and sails, throughout the whole extent of the channel, where a French army formed of ships of the line, not having any port or harbour, cannot pass the Capes of Portland, and of the Hougue, without being exposed to all the dangers that can be imagined from the sea and from the enemy, who has favourable ports whatever may be the direction of the wind; without, probably, being obliged, if the winds blow strongly towards the west, which frequently and suddenly happens in those parts of the sea, after having been exposed to all the perils and all the dangers of the sea, to steer their course towards the north and pass around Scotland, where, if the season should be a little advanced, in the latitude of sixty degrees, all the horrors of winter, of very long nights, and of continual tempests, will assail and expose them to the greatest hardships.

These naval forces composed of ships with oars and sails will resemble the naval armies of the ancients, where the same men fought who composed their land forces, and where, nearly the same ordinance and the same tactics were employed: they should navigate from land to land, hide and conceal themselves behind mountainous capes, or shelter themselves behind islands; composed of great numbers of ships, they may be compared to a numerous body of troops united for similar purposes: they may form ambuscades, may follow the same principles as on land in attacking, protecting, or defending a strait or a defile; in choosing local positions as at Salamis, Actium, and many battles between the Athenians and Lacedemonians, Romans and Carthagenians.

These exercises will please the French because they resemble those of land forces: and still more, because their campaigns being of short duration, of only some days, they will frequently return to refresh themselves on land and enjoy their customary pleasures, meanwhile, they will familiarize themselves with the management of oars, with manœuvres, sails, arms, and with the sea, exactly in the same parts of the sea, and in the same places where the best sailors in the world are formed, at the school of nature, who expands their faculties by frequently offering all the dangers and obstacles they must learn to overcome.

In these exercises, in this apprenticeship to toil and danger, they will have two powerful motives of encouragement; *to destroy the commerce of England, and to conquer Great Britain.* Fortune and glory will open to them all the sources of those pleasures which are so greatly to the national taste. With such powerful motives, the industry, ardour, and military genius which distinguish them will always avail, they will quickly learn to construct, preserve, and repair their ships; to fight on board of them singly or in a body, to exchange alternately, according to circumstances, oars and manœuvres for canons and bayonets, and canons and bayonets for oars and manœuvres; to fight alternately in the line of battle of the sea, and the line of battle of the land.—With the genius of France, the art of war on sea as well as on land, will undoubtedly soon arrive near to that perfection from which it is now far.

If the English have raised the facility and talent of manœuvring and conducting vessels navigated alone, to so great a degree of perfection, they are far from having made equal progress in the essential art of directing and bringing to action a great number of ships, combined in squadrons and fleets. They have not in that respect officers equal to those in our service during the war of American independence; those French officers were then young, the revolution has cut them off before their time; new ones must be formed: the star of life, which is also the source of genius, constantly warms happy France, and sends but feeble and oblique rays on the soil of England, where you rarely see good generals, and where the glory of their admirals is much more due to the skill of the English sailors for their skill in manœuvring single vessels, than to their own knowledge of tactics; whilst, in France, their maritime misfortunes are more particularly owing to the bad choice of some admirals, and to the want of exercise, on the part of the sailors, in the management of ships navigated singly.

A fleet composed of ships with sails and oars, throughout the whole channel, where our squadrons of large ships cannot engage without the greatest perils, would be an infallible and prompt means of forming soldiers for the sea, and at the same time workmen, as well as officers and admirals; because all their time would be employed in mechanical and military arts, and because nothing more would be necessary than to transport them thence on board squadrons on the ocean, that their faculties, by these new exercises, might there receive the last stroke of perfection. This new method of employing seamen appears to me absolutely necessary and indispensible. It is totally independent of every obstacle on the part of Great-Britain: we must be well persuaded that these rulers of the sea will never give us the necessary time for re-creating and forming our marine by the ordinary means of mercantile navigation and fisheries. We must believe, that they will always declare war against us, or make it without a declaration, before our naval forces shall acquire a sufficient degree of strength sufficient to give them any uneasiness. All that they have given up or ceded by their treaties of peace they will take back, or you must deny it when they desire it, which will be whenever it is their interest. Separated from other nations, by the barrier of the ocean, they may brave all considerations with impunity. The naval forces of Great-Britain are superior to those of the whole world. But these forces would be powerless against an armament of ships with oars and sails, in the channel, such as I propose: it will every where have favourable ports, whence it will go out, and where it will return, at pleasure, and whence it might dart forth, at convenient times, like the eagle upon its prey, to desolate the commerce of England; whence it can, in a single tide, assail proud Albion with divisions of 60, 80, or 100 thousand men. It is then that the genius of war will triumph completely, as it ever has done, over the genius of commerce. Let it be recollected that the loss of sixty thousand men will in no way affect the destiny of France, and that sixty thousand Frenchmen, landed in England, are sufficient for the overthrow and annihilation of British power in every quarter of the globe.

To be in a situation to send out divisions so strong as 50 or 60,000 men, we must combine the situations, size, and number of ports, and the manner in which a sufficient number of ships can depart and arrive at the place of destination in the same tide. Boulogne, Ambleteuse, and Etaples, for instance, would form one of these combinations. But it would be essential to shelter these small ports from the insults and attacks of the enemy: I would consequently construct, at the extremities, forts extremely solid, and as much as possible, bullet proof, where there should be batteries of cannon, of a large calibre, furnaces for heating bullets, as at Gibraltar, and batteries of mortars of a great reach; against the bombs of the enemy, I would take the same precautions as are taken for powder magazines on land, or by coverings *en. croupe*, sloping and sharpened in such a manner that the bombs, which fall upon them, must glide off, and fall into those canals of water from the sea, which separate the different batteries composed of more or less artillery. I would also have, upon these forts, small towers to serve as light-houses.

By thus keeping the English, in the channel, in a perpetual check and in constant dread for their own security at home, we should easily obtain the power of reviving and forming our marine; Brest, l'Orient, and Rochefort on the ocean, and Toulon in the Mediterranean, would soon be in a state to threaten their possessions in India, and even in Europe, and make them tremble for Ireland, where they appear to have been long alienated from their proud rulers.

The English attach great importance to the exclusive dominion of the Channel; the reason may easily be perceived, motives of security for their country, and advantage for their commerce; therefore, because they are there able to block up our trading ports, and take away from us every means of procuring from the North the necessary supply of timber. These precious vegetables are the only things that our soil or our possessions cannot furnish: it is therefore necessary to improve all our intervals of peace by procuring great supplies, and taking effectual measures for their preservation in docks, filled with water from the sea. Although our forests are devastated, they still offer immense resources; and until the wise administration, lately established, has repaired the incalculable evil caused by the revolutionary axe, the different provinces and Belgium will furnish much more wood than our wants require; the departments of the north and of the west are sufficient to supply us with hemp; iron abounds in our own soil; and, in perfectioning industry and the arts, which, thanks to the progress

of chemistry and natural philosophy, have taken a new spring, we shall soon have nothing to desire from strangers.

In possessing ourselves of the Channel by ships with sails and oars*, we should know how to give these ships all the force, all the activity, and all the perfection of which they are capable: they should be able to stand the violence of the most stormy seas, to avail themselves of all the times, and all the circumstances which weaken the force and impede the movements of the enemies ships. We should know where to open, for our ships of the line, places of sure access and shelter, against maritime and military accidents in the Channel: let us finish the port of Cherbourg, whose position is so advantageous; to complete its mole a mountain stands close at hand, which waits only to be demolished and transported: let us profit by every incident, where nature appears to have given to art all that is absolutely necessary to procure us, in this same channel, if not complete ports, at least places of refuge: *Ambleteuse*, *Etaples*, *Le Crotoi*, *La Fosse de Colleville*, *Port en Bessin*, *l'Isle de Tatihon*, *le Port de la Vièlette*, and many other places are in the same case, and call for the industry and attention of government.

The first thing necessary to be done, is, to form a body of marine soldiers; some excellent sailors, and those young men who compose the present marines. The workmen, &c. would form the beginning of the project; and, to complete it, men about the age of 20 should be taken from the coasts, in preference, those who are employed in the fisheries, and who will have received the commencement of instructions in some measure relative to the marine, enrolled, disciplined, always occupied in the management of arms or cannon, in mechanical labours, in the manœuvring of ships in port, on the coasts and at sea, they will have received an education that will qualify them for the exercise of the maritime art, under all possible circumstances. I come now to the details. Those who remain of the present troops of the marine will enter those of the land, and will of preference be assigned for the sea whenever it may be necessary. The new maritime troops which should gradually be augmented to fifty thousand effective men, who from the nature of their education would serve until 50 years old, would be proper to combat with the continental troops in cases of emergency. These new troops, I say, should be employed on all the works for the establishment of the military ports of refuge, of which I have already spoken: thus they would be perpetually in service.

For the expense, we need not be at all alarmed: I have calculated the whole. All the French marine will require fourteen millions of livres; the maintenance of the effective forces, (I suppose them to be about 90 ships of the line, with a proportionate number of frigates and corvettes) when once created, sixteen millions; the stations and the squadrons of evolution, and the different exercises of the troops and officers, both on land and sea, eight millions. Thirty-eight, or at most forty millions of livres, will be all that is requisite for the maintenance of a formidable marine, capable of keeping England and all other maritime powers in check: to this is opposed the expenses of many years of war, during which we constantly lose our maritime population, our vessels, our colonies, and our commerce, to say nothing of the honour of our flag.

Great as have been our maritime misfortunes, which however have in some measure been compensated by the victories of our armies, will the government be convinced of the importance of a marine, and of the indispensible necessity of creating one worthy of France? Will it be believed that France, bordering upon the ocean, and the Mediterranean, and surrounded by the territories of the most warlike nations in Europe, requires land and sea forces, equally formidable, that should assist each other? Will it be imagined, in spite of declamation, that these two armies can exist together without injury to either?

Victory has unfolded great destinies for the republic; but in viewing the immense and majestic perspective of the future, the eye of an observer, will discover some dark and heavy clouds.

During the revolution, the marine was considered as an useless auxiliary; none entered into it but to relinquish it; it was marked with nothing but faults; no part of it was raised above the rest, but all remained on the same level; in fact, the whole of marine affairs became the prey of intrigues.

In the midst of long and multiplied struggles and conflicts, that threatened the extermination of the first people of the world, the attention was turned entirely towards the land forces; many great men have come forth from their ranks; in the midst of the storms and flashes of thunder, they have gradually prevailed over the intriguing and hypocritical leaders of those factions who paralised their efforts, and have at length given peace to an astonished world.

Peace, however, will create other ideas; if it should be of long duration, will the genius of war repose under laurels and trophies, and listen to the chaunting of hymns of victory? Will not base and treacherous intrigue, that always

* If by means of this marine, the Channel should cease to be, if not an impassable, at least an extremely hazardous barrier against French intrepidity, the land forces will gain an ascendency of those of the sea, the fate of both the Indies, and all the colonies, may perhaps be decided in the fields of Great-Britain, as in those of Portugal, Spain, Holland, &c. &c. These fleets of enormous ships of the line, that exhaust the treasures of maritime nations, and the forests of the continent, stripped of their military importance, will be speedily lessened in size and in number; and the genius of war will no longer devour the products of commercial industry for their support.

vakes and always acts, surround the government vith snares of every sort? And if time should ake off our heroes, how shall the government fterwards discover others among the crowd? Talents are always concentrated, and only show hemselves on great and important occasions. nto what contempt will fall the ranks and offices n the army and in the navy? What passed before he revolution fully authorizes fears for what may ccur after. When the sentiment of want and mperious necessity no longer recommend talents nd useful qualities, agreeable and pleasing qualities are caressed; amiable and frivolous men, nd charming women, will obtain for their favorites preference, before useful and serviceable nen. If this should be the case, is it not to be eared that the state will again fall into that situation whence it has been drawn, by the terrible conflicts of a regenerating revolution, frightful in the midst of glory?

CHARACTER OF BUONAPARTÉ.

Extracted from Mr. Pitt's Speech, delivered in the House of Commons, February 3, 1800, on the Proposals of Buonaparté for entering into a Negotiation with England.

Let us take a view of the conduct of Buonaparté n the different stages of the French revolution, and et us then judge whether we are to look to him, as he security against revolutionary principles; let us etermine what reliance we can place on his engageents with other countries, when we see how he has bserved his engagements to his own.

When the constitution of the third year was estalished under Barras, that constitution was imposed y the arms of Buonaparté, then commanding the rmy of the Triumvirate in Paris. To that constituon he then swore fidelity. How often he has reeated the same oath I know not, but twice at least, ve know that he has not only repeated it himself, ut tendered it to others, under circumstances too triking not to be stated.

Sir, the house cannot have forgotten the revolu ion of the 4th of September, which produced the ismissal of Lord Malmsbury from Lisle. How was hat revolution procured? It was procured chiefly by he promise of Buonaparté (in the name of his rmy), decidedly to support the Directory in those neasures which led to the infringement and violaion of every thing that the authors of the constituion of 1795, or its adherents, could consider as fundamental, and which established a system of despoism inferior only to that now realized in his own erson. Immediately before this event, in the midst f the desolation and bloodshed of Italy, he had reeived the sacred present of new banners from the Directory; he delivered them to his army with this xhortation: "Let us swear, fellow-soldiers, by the ames of the patriots who have died by our side, eternal hatred to the enemies of the constitution of he third year." That very constitution which he oon after enabled the Directory to violate, and which, at the head of his grenadiers, he has now inally destroyed. Sir, that oath was again renewed, n the midst of that very scene to which I have last referred; the oath of fidelity to the constitution of the third year was administered to all the members of the Assembly then sitting (under the terror of the bayonet), as the solemn preparation for the business of the day; and the morning was ushered in with swearing attachment to the constitution, that the evening might close with its destruction.

If we carry our views out of France, and look at the dreadful catalogue of all the breaches of treaty, all the acts of perfidy at which I have only glanced, and which are precisely commensurate with the number of treaties which the republic has made; (for I have sought in vain for any one which it has made and which it has not broken) if we trace the history of them all from the beginning of the revolution to the present time, or if we select those which have been accompanied by the most atrocious cruelty, and marked the most strongly with the characteristic features of the revolution, the name of Buonaparté will be found allied to more of them than that of any other that can be handed down in the history of the crimes and miseries of the last ten years. His name will be recorded with the horrors committed in Italy, in the memorable campaign of 1796 and 1797, in the Milanese, in Genoa, in Modena, in Tuscany, in Rome, and in Venice.

His entrance into Lombardy was announced by a solemn proclamation, issued on the 27th of April, 1796, which terminated with these words: "*Nations of Italy! the French army is come to break your chains; the French are the friends of the people in every country; your religion, your property, your customs, shall be respected.*" This was followed by a second proclamation, dated from Milan, 20th of May, and signed *Buonaparté*, in these terms: "*Respect for property and personal security: Respect for the religion of countries: these are the sentiments of the government of the French Republic, and of the Army of Italy. The French victorious consider the nations of Lombardy as their brothers.*" In testimony of this fraternity, and to fulfil the solemn pledge of respecting property, this very proclamation imposed on the Milanese a provisional contribution to the amount of twenty millions of livres, or near one million sterling, and successive exactions were afterwards levied on that single state to the amount, in the whole, of near six millions sterling. The regard to religion and to the customs of the country was manifested with the same scrupulous fidelity. The churches were given up to indiscriminate plunder. Every religious and charitable fund, every public treasure, was confiscated. The country was made the scene of every species of disorder and rapine. The priests, the established form of worship, all the objects of religious reverence, were openly insulted by the French troops: at *Pavia*, particularly, the tomb of *St. Augustin*, which the inhabitants were accustomed to view with peculiar veneration, was mutilated and defaced; this last provocation having roused the resentment of the people, they flew to arms, surrounded the French garrison and took them prisoners, but carefully abstained from offering any violence to a single soldier. In revenge for this conduct, *Buonaparté*, then on his march to the *Mincio*, suddenly returned, collected his troops, and carried the extremity of military execution over the country; he burnt the town of *Benasco* and massacred eight hundred of its inhabitants; he marched to *Pavia*, took it by storm, and delivered it over to general plunder, and published, at the same moment, a proclamation, of the 26th of May, ordering his troops to shoot all those who had not laid down their arms, and taken an oath of obedience, and to burn every village where the *tocsin*

of chemistry and natural philosophy, have taken a new spring, we shall soon have nothing to desire from strangers.

In possessing ourselves of the Channel by ships with sails and oars*, we should know how to give these ships all the force, all the activity, and all the perfection of which they are capable: they should be able to stand the violence of the most stormy seas, to avail themselves of all the times, and all the circumstances which weaken the force and impede the movements of the enemies ships. We should know where to open, for our ships of the line, places of sure access and shelter, against maritime and military accidents in the Channel: let us finish the port of Cherbourg, whose position is so advantageous; to complete its mole a mountain stands close at hand, which waits only to be demolished and transported: let us profit by every incident, where nature appears to have given to art all that is absolutely necessary to procure us, in this same channel, if not complete ports, at least places of refuge: *Ambleteuse*, *Etaples*, *Le Crotoi*, *La Fosse de Colleville*, *Port en Bessin*, *l'Isle de Tatihon*, *le Port de la Vièlette*, and many other places are in the same case, and call for the industry and attention of government.

The first thing necessary to be done, is, to form a body of marine soldiers; some excellent sailors, and those young men who compose the present marines. The workmen, &c. would form the beginning of the project; and, to complete it, men about the age of 20 should be taken from the coasts, in preference, those who are employed in the fisheries, and who will have received the commencement of instructions in some measure relative to the marine, enrolled, disciplined, always occupied in the management of arms or cannon, in mechanical labours, in the manœuvring of ships in port, on the coasts and at sea, they will have received an education that will qualify them for the exercise of the maritime art, under all possible circumstances. I come now to the details. Those who remain of the present troops of the marine will enter those of the land, and will of preference be assigned for the sea whenever it may be necessary. The new maritime troops which should gradually be augmented to fifty thousand effective men, who from the nature of their education would serve until 50 years old, would be proper to combat with the continental troops in cases of emergency. These new troops, I say, should be employed on all the works for the establishment of the military ports of refuge, of which I have already spoken: thus they would be perpetually in service.

For the expense, we need not be at all alarmed: I have calculated the whole. All the French marine will require fourteen millions of livres; the maintenance of the effective forces, (I suppose them to be about 90 ships of the line, with a proportionate number of frigates and corvettes) when once created, sixteen millions; the stations and the squadrons of evolution, and the different exercises of the troops and officers, both on land and sea, eight millions. Thirty-eight, or at most forty millions of livres, will be all that is requisite for the maintenance of a formidable marine, capable of keeping England and all other maritime powers in check: to this is opposed the expenses of many years of war, during which we constantly lose our maritime population, our vessels, our colonies, and our commerce, to say nothing of the honour of our flag.

Great as have been our maritime misfortunes, which however have in some measure been compensated by the victories of our armies, will the government be convinced of the importance of a marine, and of the indispensible necessity of creating one worthy of France? Will it be believed that France, bordering upon the ocean, and the Mediterranean, and surrounded by the territories of the most warlike nations in Europe, requires land and sea forces, equally formidable, that should assist each other? Will it be imagined, in spite of declamation, that these two armies can exist together without injury to either?

Victory has unfolded great destinies for the republic; but in viewing the immense and majestic perspective of the future, the eye of an observer, will discover some dark and heavy clouds.

During the revolution, the marine was considered as an useless auxiliary; none entered into it but to relinquish it; it was marked with nothing but faults; no part of it was raised above the rest, but all remained on the same level; in fact, the whole of marine affairs became the prey of intrigues.

In the midst of long and multiplied struggles and conflicts, that threatened the extermination of the first people of the world, the attention was turned entirely towards the land forces; many great men have come forth from their ranks; in the midst of the storms and flashes of thunder, they have gradually prevailed over the intriguing and hypocritical leaders of those factions who paralised their efforts, and have at length given peace to an astonished world.

Peace, however, will create other ideas; if it should be of long duration, will the genius of war repose under laurels and trophies, and listen to the chaunting of hymns of victory? Will not base and treacherous intrigue, that always

* If by means of this marine, the Channel should cease to be, if not an impassable, at least an extremely hazardous barrier against French intrepidity, the land forces will gain an ascendency of those of the sea, the fate of both the Indies, and all the colonies, may perhaps be decided in the fields of Great-Britain, as in those of Portugal, Spain, Holland, &c. &c. These fleets of enormous ships of the line, that exhaust the treasures of maritime nations, and the forests of the continent, stripped of their military importance, will be speedily lessened in size and in number; and the genius of war will no longer devour the products of commercial industry for their support.

wakes and always acts, surround the government with snares of every sort? And if time should take off our heroes, how shall the government afterwards discover others among the crowd? Talents are always concentrated, and only show themselves on great and important occasions. Into what contempt will fall the ranks and offices in the army and in the navy? What passed before the revolution fully authorizes fears for what may occur after. When the sentiment of want and imperious necessity no longer recommend talents and useful qualities, agreeable and pleasing qualities are caressed; amiable and frivolous men, and charming women, will obtain for their favorites preference, before useful and serviceable men. If this should be the case, is it not to be feared that the state will again fall into that situation whence it has been drawn, by the terrible conflicts of a regenerating revolution, frightful in the midst of glory?

CHARACTER OF BUONAPARTÉ.

Extracted from Mr. Pitt's Speech, delivered in the House of Commons, February 3, 1800, on the Proposals of Buonaparté for entering into a Negotiation with England.

Let us take a view of the conduct of Buonaparté in the different stages of the French revolution, and let us then judge whether we are to look to him, as the security against revolutionary principles; let us determine what reliance we can place on his engagements with other countries, when we see how he has observed his engagements to his own.

When the constitution of the third year was established under Barras, that constitution was imposed by the arms of Buonaparté, then commanding the army of the Triumvirate in Paris. To that constitution he then swore fidelity. How often he has repeated the same oath I know not, but twice at least, we know that he has not only repeated it himself, but tendered it to others, under circumstances too striking not to be stated.

Sir, the house cannot have forgotten the revolution of the 4th of September, which produced the dismissal of Lord Malmsbury from Lisle. How was that revolution procured? It was procured chiefly by the promise of Buonaparté (in the name of his army), decidedly to support the Directory in those measures which led to the infringement and violation of every thing that the authors of the constitution of 1795, or its adherents, could consider as fundamental, and which established a system of despotism inferior only to that now realized in his own person. Immediately before this event, in the midst of the desolation and bloodshed of Italy, he had received the sacred present of new banners from the Directory; he delivered them to his army with this exhortation: "Let us swear, fellow-soldiers, by the names of the patriots who have died by our side, eternal hatred to the enemies of the constitution of the third year." That very constitution which he soon after enabled the Directory to violate, and which, at the head of his grenadiers, he has now finally destroyed. Sir, that oath was again renewed, in the midst of that very scene to which I have last referred; the oath of fidelity to the constitution of the third year was administered to all the members of the Assembly then sitting (under the terror of the bayonet), as the solemn preparation for the business of the day; and the morning was ushered in with swearing attachment to the constitution, that the evening might close with its destruction.

If we carry our views out of France, and look at the dreadful catalogue of all the breaches of treaty, all the acts of perfidy at which I have only glanced, and which are precisely commensurate with the number of treaties which the republic has made; (for I have sought in vain for any one which it has made and which it has not broken) if we trace the history of them all from the beginning of the revolution to the present time, or if we select those which have been accompanied by the most atrocious cruelty, and marked the most strongly with the characteristic features of the revolution, the name of Buonaparté will be found allied to more of them than that of any other that can be handed down in the history of the crimes and miseries of the last ten years. His name will be recorded with the horrors committed in Italy, in the memorable campaign of 1796 and 1797, in the Milanese, in Genoa, in Modena, in Tuscany, in Rome, and in Venice.

His entrance into Lombardy was announced by a solemn proclamation, issued on the 27th of April, 1796, which terminated with these words: "*Nations of Italy! the French army is come to break your chains; the French are the friends of the people in every country; your religion, your property, your customs, shall be respected.*" This was followed by a second proclamation, dated from Milan, 20th of May, and signed *Buonaparté*, in these terms: "*Respect for property and personal security: Respect for the religion of countries: these are the sentiments of the government of the French Republic, and of the Army of Italy. The French victorious consider the nations of Lombardy as their brothers.*" In testimony of this fraternity, and to fulfil the solemn pledge of respecting property, this very proclamation imposed on the Milanese a provisional contribution to the amount of twenty millions of livres, or near one million sterling, and successive exactions were afterwards levied on that single state to the amount, in the whole, of near six millions sterling. The regard to religion and to the customs of the country was manifested with the same scrupulous fidelity. The churches were given up to indiscriminate plunder. Every religious and charitable fund, every public treasure, was confiscated. The country was made the scene of every species of disorder and rapine. The priests, the established form of worship, all the objects of religious reverence, were openly insulted by the French troops: at *Pavia*, particularly, the tomb of *St. Augustin*, which the inhabitants were accustomed to view with peculiar veneration, was mutilated and defaced; this last provocation having roused the resentment of the people, they flew to arms, surrounded the French garrison and took them prisoners, but carefully abstained from offering any violence to a single soldier. In revenge for this conduct, *Buonaparté*, then on his march to the *Mincio*, suddenly returned, collected his troops, and carried the extremity of military execution over the country; he burnt the town of *Benasco* and massacred eight hundred of its inhabitants; he marched to *Pavia*, took it by storm, and delivered it over to general plunder, and published, at the same moment, a proclamation, of the 26th of May, ordering his troops to shoot all those who had not laid down their arms, and taken an oath of obedience, and to burn every village where the *tocsin*

should be sounded, and to put its inhabitants to death. —The transactions with *Modena* were on a smaller scale, but in the same character. *Buonaparté* began by signing a treaty, by which the Duke of *Modena* was to pay twelve millions of livres, and neutrality was promised him in return; this was soon followed by the personal arrest of the Duke and by a fresh extortion of two hundred thousand sequins; after this he was permitted, on the payment of a farther sum, to sign another treaty, called a *Convention de Sûreté*, which of course was the only prelude to the repetition of similar exactions.

Nearly at the same period, in violation of the rights of neutrality, and of the treaty which had been concluded between the French Republic and the Grand Duke of Tuscany in the preceding year, and in breach of a positive promise given only a few days before, the French army forcibly took possession of Leghorn, for the purpose of seizing the British property which was deposited there, and confiscating it as prize; and shortly after, when Buonaparté agreed to evacuate Leghorn in return for the evacuation of the Island of Elbe, which was in the possession of the British troops, he insisted upon a separate article, by which, in addition to the plunder before obtained, by the infraction of the law of nations, it was stipulated, that the Grand Duke should pay to the French the expense which they had incurred by thus invading his territory.

In the proceedings towards *Genoa* we shall find not only a continuation of the same system of extortion and plunder, (in violation of the solemn pledge contained in the proclamations already referred to), but a striking instance of the revolutionary means employed for the destruction of independent governments. A French minister was at that time resident in Genoa, which was acknowledged by France to be in a state of neutrality and friendship: in breach of this neutrality Buonaparté began in the year 1796, with the demand of a loan; he afterwards, from the month of September, required and enforced the payment of a monthly subsidy, to the amount which he thought proper to stipulate: these exactions were accompanied by repeated assurances and protestations of friendship; they were followed, in May, 1797, by a conspiracy against the government, fomented by the emissaries of the French embassy, and conducted by the partizans of France, encouraged, and afterwards protected by the French minister. The conspirators failed in their first attempt, overpowered by the courage and voluntary exertions of the inhabitants; their force was dispersed, and many of their number were arrested. Buonaparté instantly considered the defeat of the conspirators as an act of aggression against the French Republic; he dispatched an aide-de-camp with an order to the Senate of this independent state; first, to release all the French who were detained; secondly, to punish those who had arrested them; thirdly, to declare that *they had had no share in the insurrection*; and fourthly, to disarm the people. Several French prisoners were immediately released, and a proclamation was preparing to disarm the inhabitants, when, by a second note, *Buonaparté* required the arrest of the three Inquisitors of State, and immediate alterations in the constitution; he accompanied this with an order to the French minister to quit Genoa, if his commands were not immediately carried into execution; at the same moment his troops entered the territory of the republic, and shortly after the councils, intimidated and overpowered, abdicated their functions. Three deputies were then sent to Buonaparté to receive from him a new constitution; on the 6th of June, after the conferences at *Montebello*, he signed a convention, or rather issued a decree, by which he fixed the new form of their government; he himself named provisionally all the members who were to compose it, and he required the payment of seven millions of livres, as the price of the subversion of their constitution, and their independence. These transactions require but one short comment; it is to be found in the official account given of them at *Paris*, which is in these memorable words: "*General Buonaparté* has pursued the only line of conduct which could be allowed in the representative of a nation, *which has supported the war only to procure the solemn acknowledgment of the right of nations, to change the form of their government.* He contributed *nothing* towards the revolution of *Genoa*, but he seized the first moment to acknowledge the new government, as soon as he saw that it was *the result of the wishes of the people.*"

It is unnecessary to dwell on the wanton attacks against *Rome*, under the directions of *Buonaparté* himself in the year 1796, and in the beginning of 1797, which led first to the treaty of *Tolentino* concluded by Buonaparté, in which, by enormous sacrifices, the Pope was allowed to purchase the acknowledgment of his authority, as a Sovereign Prince; and secondly, to the violation of that very treaty, and to the subversion of the Papal authority by *Joseph Buonaparté*, the brother and the agent of the General, and the Minister of the French Republic to the Holy See. A transaction, accompanied by outrages and insults towards the pious and venerable Pontiff (in spite of the sanctity of his age and the unsullied purity of his character) which even to a Protestant, seem hardly short of the guilt of sacrilege!

But of all the disgusting and tragical scenes which took place in Italy, in the course of the period I am describing, those which passed at *Venice* are perhaps the most striking, and the most characteristic: In May, 1796, the French army, under Buonaparté, in the full tide of its success against the Austrians, first approached the territories of this republic, which from the commencement of the war had observed a rigid neutrality. Their entrance on these territories was as usual accompanied by a solemn proclamation in the name of their general. "*Buonaparté to the republic of Venice.* It is to deliver the finest country in Europe *from the iron yoke of the proud house of Austria*, that the French army has braved obstacles the most difficult to surmount. Victory in union with justice has crowned its efforts. The wreck of the enemy's army has retired behind the Mincio. The French army, in order to follow them, passes over the territory of the republic of Venice; but it will never forget, *that ancient friendship unites the two republics. Religion, government, customs, and property, shall be respected.* That the people may be without apprehension, the most severe discipline shall be maintained. All that may be provided for the army shall be faithfully paid for in money. The general-in-chief engages the officers of the republic of Venice, the magistrates, and the priests, to make known these sentiments to the people, in order, that confidence may cement that friendship which has so long united the two nations, faithful in the path of honour, as in that of victory. The French soldier is terrible only to the enemies of his liberty and his government." *Buonaparté.*

This proclamation was followed by exactions similar to those which were practised against Genoa, by the renewal of similar professions of friendship and the use of similar means to excite insurrection. At length, in the spring of 1797, occasion was taken from disturbances thus excited, to forge, in the name

of the Venetian Government, a proclamation, hostile to France, and this proceeding was made the ground for military execution against the country, and for effecting by force the subversion of its ancient government and the establishment of the democratic forms of the French revolution. This revolution was sealed by a treaty, signed in May 1797, between *Buonaparté* and Commissioners appointed on the part of the new and revolutionary government of *Venice*. By the second and third secret articles of this treaty, Venice agreed to give as a ransom, to secure itself against all farther exactions or demands, the sum of three millions of livres in money, the value of three millions more in articles of naval supply, and three ships of the line; and it received in return the assurances of the friendship and support of the French Republic. Immediately after the signature of this treaty, the arsenal, the library, and the palace of St. Mark were ransacked and plundered, and heavy additional contributions were imposed upon its inhabitants. And, in not more than four months afterwards, this very Republic of Venice, united by alliance to France, the creature of Buonaparté himself, from whom it had received the present of French liberty, was by the same Buonaparté transferred under the treaty of *Campo Formio* to "*that iron yoke of* "*the proud House of Austria*," to deliver it from which he had represented in his first proclamation to be the great object of all his operations.

Sir, all this is followed by the memorable expedition into Egypt, which I mention, not merely because it forms a principal article in the catalogue of those acts of violence and perfidy in which Buonaparté has been engaged, not merely because it was an enterprize peculiarly his own, of which he was himself the planner, the executor, and the betrayer; but chiefly because when from thence he retires to a different scene, to take possession of a new throne, from which he is to speak upon an equality with the kings and governors of Europe, he leaves behind him, at the moment of his departure, a specimen, which cannot be mistaken, of his principles of negotiation. The Intercepted Correspondence, which has been alluded to in this debate, seems to afford the strongest ground to believe, that his offers to the Turkish Government to evacuate Egypt, were made solely with a view "*to gain time*;" that the ratification of any treaty on this subject was to be delayed with the view of finally eluding its performance, if any change of circumstances favourable to the French should occur in the interval. But whatever gentlemen may think of the intention with which these offers were made, there will at least be no question with respect to the credit due to those professions by which he endeavoured to prove, in Egypt, his pacific dispositions. He expressly enjoins his successors, strongly and steadily to insist in all his intercourse with the Turks, that he came to Egypt with no hostile design, and that he never meant to keep possession of the country; while on the opposite page of the same instructions, he states in the most unequivocal manner, his regret at the discomfiture of his favourite project of colonizing Egypt, and of maintaining it as a territorial acquisition. Now, sir, if in any note addressed to the Grand Vizier, or the Sultan, Buonaparté had claimed credit for the sincerity of his professions, that he forcibly invaded Egypt with no view hostile to Turkey, and solely for the purpose of molesting the British interests; is there any one argument now used to induce us to believe his present professions to us, which might not have been equally urged, on that occasion, to the Turkish government? would not those professions have been equally supported by solemn asseveration, by the same reference which is now made to personal character, with this single difference, that they would then have been accompanied with one instance less of that perfidy which we have had occasion to trace in this very transaction.

It is unnecessary to say more with respect to the credit due to his professions, or the reliance to be placed on his general character: But it will, perhaps, be argued, that whatever may be his character, or whatever has been his past conduct, he has now an interest in making and observing peace. That he has an interest in making peace is at best but a doubtful proposition, and that he has an interest in preserving it is still more uncertain. That it is his interest to negotiate, I do not indeed deny; it is his interest above all to engage this country in separate negotiation, in order to loosen and dissolve the whole system of the confederacy on the Continent, to palsy, at once, the arms of Russia or of Austria, or of any other country that might look to you for support; and then either to break off his separate treaty, or if he should have concluded it, to apply the lesson which is taught in his school of policy in Egypt; and to revive, at his pleasure, those claims of indemnification which *may have been reserved to some happier period*.

This is precisely the interest which he has in negotiation, but on what grounds are we to be convinced that he has an interest in concluding and observing a solid and permanent pacification? Under all the circumstances of his personal character, and his newly-acquired power, what other security has he for retaining that power by the sword? His hold upon France is the sword, and he has no other. Is he connected with the soil, or with the habits, the affections, or the prejudices of the country? He is a stranger, a foreigner, and an usurper; he unites in his own person every thing that a pure republican must detest; every thing that an enraged jacobin has abjured; every thing that a sincere and faithful royalist must feel as an insult. If he is opposed at any time in his career, what is his appeal? *He appeals to his fortune*; in other words, to his army and his sword. Placing, then, his whole reliance upon military support, can he afford to let his military renown pass away, to let his laurels wither, to let the memory of his achievements sink into obscurity? Is it certain that, with his army confined within France, and restrained from inroads upon her neighbours, he can maintain, at his devotion, a force sufficiently numerous to support his power? Having no object but the possession of absolute dominion, no passion but military glory, is it certain, that he will feel such an interest in permanent peace, as would justify us in laying down our arms, reducing our expense, and relinquishing our means of security, on the faith of his engagements?

CHARACTER OF BUONAPARTÉ.

Extracted from the Appendix to Mr. Windham's Speech, delivered in the House of Commons, on the 4th of November, 1801, *on the Report of an Address to the Throne, approving of the Preliminaries of Peace with the Republic of France.*

The topic here alluded to is so closely connected with this subject, that the argument is evidently

defective without it. An opinion indeed prevails, and is insisted upon by persons of much apparent wisdom and gravity, that any inquiry into the conduct and merits of the First Consul is unbecoming and improper; unsuited to the dignity of a great assembly, and incapable of being made conducive to any useful purpose. To many, however, it may seem, that just the contrary of this is the fact: that in the history of the world, an instance can hardly be found of any one, whose personal qualities were so much a subject of general concern, and consequently so proper an object of inquiry; and that the occasion of all others, when such inquiry must be most proper and necessary, was that in which we were preparing to sign a treaty of peace with the person in question, founded expressly upon our confidence in his character, and entrusting to the issue of our judgment in that respect, the whole of the interests, welfare, independence, and even existence of a great empire.

Without inquring generally into the history of the person thus confided in, let us recur only to a few of those passages of his life, which apply most immediately to the trust, which we are here reposing. A detailed and most masterly exposition of these is to be found in Mr. Pitt's speech of the 3d February, 1800, in which among other particulars, an account is given of his proceedings towards the people and governments of the several states of Milan, Modena, Genoa, Tuscany, the Pope, Venice, and Egypt. Of all of these it may be said generally, and as it should seem without exception, —such was purposely the profusion of engagements, and such the uniform and systematick breach of them,—that not a single act was done, which was not in violation of some engagement, and certainly not a single engagement contracted, or profession made, that was not, in every part of it, grossly and in most cases instantly violated. The French rulers have, throughout, evidently acted upon the principle, that he who could divest himself at once of all moral feeling, and release himself from all moral controul, must for the time have an immense advantage over those who should remain under the old constraints, and who might not be sensible immediately of the change which had taken place, or, when they were, might be long incapable either of adopting it into their own conduct, or of so correcting their ancient feelings and habits (the habit for instance of relying in some degree on men's assurances, yielding something to their professions, believing in part what they should solemnly assert), as to make themselves proof against its effects. Nobody has entered more fully into these views, or pursued them to greater extent, than the person of whom we are here speaking; whether when employed in the service of others, as in the instances, which we were proceeding to state, or when he afterwards set up for himself, and turned 'these instructions' 'to plague the inventors,'—the people who now find themselves under his yoke.

In Lombardy, a proclamation, issued immediately upon his entrance into the country, and containing assurances the most solemn, of 'respect for property, respect for religious opinions,' —principles, which he declared to be those of the French Republic, as well as of the army, which he commanded,—was followed instantly by a succession of exactions, amounting to many millions sterling, and by such violations of every religious opinion and feeling, as could be intended only to produce, what it at last accomplished, the driving the people to something like resistance, and thus furnishing a pretext, (unsupported as it was to the last, even by the insurrection which had been provoked), of murdering eight hundred of the inhabitants of a single town, and delivering over the country to military plunder and execution.

In Modena, the proceedings, though upon a smaller scale, were of the same cast and character.

In Tuscany, to the breach of the general rights of neutrality, (that neutrality so prudently observed, as was declared by Mr. Fox in the House of Commons, by the wise prince who governed that country); to the breach of a treaty made the year before by the Republic, was added that of a positive engagement made a few days before by himself. In spite of all these rights, and treaties, and engagements, and for the sake of an act, which was in itself the grossest violation of one of them, viz. the seizing an enemy's property in a neutral port, he marched into the country with as little ceremony as if he had been taking up his quarters in a part of the republic; and having completed his work, agreed indeed to retire, but not till he had exacted from this unfortunate, though *wise* prince, certain conditions as the price of his departure, and among others a large pecuniary contribution, for the expenses which the French had incurred in thus invading his territories.

In Genoa, these breaches of treaty, and violations of faith, were diversified by a happy mixture of those measures, by which protection to the independence of states, is made to signify a forcible change of their governments; and defence of the rights of the people, the establishing over them a foreign and military tyranny. But as these proceedings, though equally a breach of faith with the others, seem to belong more peculiarly to the class which we have just noticed, we will say no more of them here; and for the same reason, as well as from the inutility of citing separate instances, where the whole proceeding from beginning to end is nothing but one continued instance, we will forbear to dwell upon all the flagitious violences, and cruel and scandalous outrages, which attended the invasion of the Pope's states, in which, though breach of faith had no less a share than in any of the transactions before enumerated, it is lost and merged as it were, in the various other sensations of indignation and disgust, which the events of that period are calculated to call forth.

The last scene of these proceedings of the First Consul, comprised within the period of his Italian command, lay in the states of Venice; and, as it happens commonly at the close of the piece, the incidents here seem to have become more numerous, and to possess something of a higher and stronger interest. The general description of them is, however, the same, 'a perpetual renovation of hope, and a perpetual disappointment;' professions of friendship followed by instant acts of hostility; assurances of protection serving only as a prelude to every species of violence; and a solemn treaty of peace, engaging to preserve to the country its government and laws, ending in the subversion of both, either by the immediate hand of him who signed the treaty, or, as happened in this instance, by the transfer of the country 'to the iron yoke' of that very power, the delivery of it from which was the professed object of his interference, and the ground on which all his proceedings were to be justified.

What happened on these occasions in Italy, was

renewed afterwards, so far as respects fidelity to treaties and sincerity in negotiation, in all the transactions of a similar nature, in which Buonaparté was concerned, either as a commander acting with large discretionary powers, or, as placed himself, at the head of the republic. The detail of these would shew, that mere change of time and place made no change in the character of the person, or of the system pursued. It appears by all, that good faith passed for nothing: that deceptions the most gross, artifices unheard of in diplomatic proceedings, were practised without shame or scruple. When a party was once engaged in a negotiation, and placed in a situation in which he could no longer help himself, it was in vain to expect that any regard would be paid to the professions, in which the negotiation began, or to declarations which occurred in the course of it. Any old engagement was set aside, or any new one foisted in, as suited the wishes, original or incidental, which France happened to entertain. Of all this proofs will be found, more or less, in each of the negotiations and conferences, which took place during the period here considered; that is to say, from the close of the campaign in Italy in 1797 to the final settlement of what is called the peace of the continent; particularly in what passed at Luneville respecting the security to be enjoyed by Naples, and in the convention with the Arch-Duke at Steyer, relative to the armistice between Generals Brune and Bellegarde.

But it is in Egypt, that the character of the First Consul is to be seen to greatest advantage. It is there that we are to look for it in its highest and most perfect state. It is in the rich and fertile plains of Egypt, under the heat of those more ardent suns, that his virtues seem to shoot forth with most luxuriance, and to acquire a spirit and flavour, unknown in the colder regions of Europe. We will say nothing here, of that gigantic contempt of good faith and public morality, which first conceived the project of the expedition; of the outrages which followed in the train of it; of the happy inversion of all right and justice, which treated as rebels, and consigned to instant execution, those of the inhabitants who presumed to defend their country against a foreign invader—an invader, whom none of them had offended, and whom half of them had never heard of, till they found him seizing upon their property, and putting to death all who dared to oppose him: We will pass over the massacre of three thousand prisoners, in cold blood, at Jaffa, and will consent to treat as doubtful the strange though hardly less authenticated fact, of his causing poison to be administered to the sick of his own army. The circumstance which most forces itself upon the attention, which most attracts the eye of the connoisseur in the midst of this vast and splendid collection, is that singular combination of all that is great and all that is little,—all that is great in guilt and mischief, all that is little and despicable in the means of its execution,—the pretence of having become a convert to the Mahomedan Faith, and the use to be made of that pretence for the purpose of committing an act of the most complicated fraud and treachery. Nobody conceives of course, for a moment, that faith, or religious opinion, had any thing to do in this proceeding from one end of it to the other. The case exhibits nothing but a renegade Christian, who is affecting not to be an Atheist, only in the hope that he may pass for a Mahomedan. The whole was a pretence, for the purpose of robbing an allied prince of his dominions. In this act, however, it is not the mere fraud and imposture that most excites attention: instances of that sort, in our police offices and criminal tribunals, are familiar to us every day. It is not even the horrid and blasphemous impiety of it: we have heard of Dutch schippers trampling upon the crucifix. What most characterizes the transaction, what is its true distinctive property, is the singular and utter shamelessness of it; the total abandonment of all regard for character or decency, which could commit such an act in the face of day, with all Europe spectators and witnesses, but placed only, as he hoped, at such a distance, that they could not interpose in time, could not cry "stop thief," so as to put the parties upon their guard and prevent the robbery from being completed. Buonaparté knew, that what he did in Egypt must be known in six weeks to all Europe. He knew, that in Europe there was not a human being, man, woman, or child, who would be the dupe of this pretended conversion, or who would see in it any thing but a shocking and base contrivance to strip the Turks of Egypt. But he was content, that the transaction should be so seen. He thought, that this cheating the Turk would be considered as a clever trick, a droll artifice; that the *galleries* in Europe would laugh at this, just as the galleries in our theatres do, when any piece of successful knavery is going on upon the stage,—when Filch in the Beggar's Opera picks Mrs. Di's pocket. And, to say the truth, he does not appear to have been in the wrong in this expectation. Such is the deplorable baseness of mankind, such the abject homage which men are willing to pay to crimes attended with success, to wickedness united with power, that none of the acts committed at any time by the agents of the French government, seem at all to have hurt their reception in the world, either collectively or individually. Their oppressions and cruelties excite no indignation; their low and scandalous frauds no contempt; their treacheries no distrust. In the case of the person here in question, you would swear, that his perfidies became him, and that, like one of Horace's mistresses, the more false and faithless he shewed himself, the greater was his train of followers among the admiring and adoring governments of Europe.

——— Tu, simul obligasti
Perfidum votis caput, enitescis
Pulchrior multò, juvenumque prodis
Publica cura.

There is a perfect contest for the honour of being betrayed by him. The examples of those unfortunate and confiding countries, who have been already seduced and undone, produce no caution, inspire no terror.

After the remark, made at the beginning of this note, it will hardly be asked, of what use is it to notice these facts? It is of some use to know betimes, the character of the person who is in a fair way of becoming our master, and who, in fact, is so already, as far as relates to a perfect ascendancy over those who direct our counsels. But it is of great use in another view, to point out to notice, such parts of the history of the First Consul, as those which we have been speaking of. It is of consequence to know, who it is that particular persons admire. If it be true, that a man is known by his company (*noscitur à*

socio) it is equally true, that some judgment may be formed from those whom he extols and looks up to. What, it has been asked, must be the priest, where a monkey is the god? What must be the admirer, where the object of admiration is a person capable of such a proceeding as the pretended conversion to Mahomedanism? It will be admitted, probably, that this is not to come in, in the *heroick* part of the character. But I wish to know, with respect to a large class of his admirers,—the enthusiasts of liberty, the assertors of rights, the respecters of the independence of nations, the abhorrers of war, the lovers of peace and pacifick arts, the exploders of military fame, —what in their estimation *is* the heroick part, or what they would point out as the subject of their panegyrick? Is it possible, that *they* can hold out to us, as an object of admiration, the character of a man, whose merit, whatever its amount may be, must in kind be that of a soldier and a conqueror; whose sole occupation has been war; the foundation of whose fame and power was laid wholly upon military exploits; who unites in himself, all that these persons would profess to abhor in an Alexander and a Cæsar; who has been at once the conqueror of foreign nations, and the subverter of the liberties of his own? These things shew, beyond a doubt, what, for the greater part, these eulogiums on the character of the First Consul really are.—They are, either the base abject homage paid by the generality of mankind to successful crime; or the insidious praises of men, who, under the mask of liberty, patriotism, and respect for rights, are seeking to gratify their own spleen or ambition, and preparing the downfall of their country. Whatever credit may be due to him for military talents, and whatever certainly *is* due to him for decision, boldness, vigilance, address, capacity for great though wicked enterprizes, it will be difficult to account otherwise than is above done, for the sort of praises which we hear, and the quarters from which they come.

FRENCH ROYALISTS.

An Account of their Numbers, Means, Character, and Views, and of their Treatment by the British Government. Extracted from Mr. Windham's Speech in the House of Commons, on the 4th of November, 1801, *and from the Appendix to that Speech.*

But there was another body of allies, not ranked indeed among the European powers, nor possessing much, perhaps, of a corporate capacity, but who, as men, acting either separately or together, were equally capable of becoming objects of good faith, and in fact had so become, though by means different, in point of form, from those which engaged the faith of the country, in any of the instances above alluded to:—these persons were, the Royalists of France, wheresoever dispersed, but particularly that vast body of them which so long maintained a contest against the republick, in the West; where they formed the mass of the inhabitants of four or five great provinces, far exceeding, both in extent and population, the kingdom of Ireland. I mention these particulars of their force and numbers, not because they are material to the present purpose, but because they serve to obviate that delusion of the understanding, by which things, small in bulk, and filling but little space in the imagination, are apt to lose their hold on our interests and affections. The mention of them may, moreover, not be unnecessary in this House, where, I fear, from various causes, all that relates to the royalists is a perfect *terra incognita*, as little known or considered, as the affairs of a people in another hemisphere. The royalists, were, however, a great, numerous, and substantive body, capable of maintaining against the republick a war, confessed by the republicans themselves to have been more formidable and bloody, than most of those in which they had been engaged; and of terminating that war by a peace, which showed sufficiently what the war had been, and what the fears were, which the republick entertained, of its possible final success. But let the numbers and powers of the royalists have been what they might; had their affairs been still less considered; had they been more disowned, discountenanced, and betrayed, than in many instances they were; had more such garrisons as those of Mentz and Valenciennes been suffered to be sent against them; had they been less the real, primary defenders and representatives of that cause, which the allies professed to support; still there were our formal proclamations, issued at various periods, not expressly engaging indeed to make stipulations for them in case of a peace, but calling generally for their exertions, and promising succour and protection, to all those who should declare themselves in favour of the ancient order of things, and of their hereditary and rightful monarch. What I am to ask, is, have we acted up to the spirit, or even the letter, of our own proclamations? or to the spirit of that relation, in which the nature of the war itself, independent of any proclamations, placed us with respect to these people? I am compelled to say, (I say it with great reluctance, as well as with great grief,) I fear we have done no such thing. I fear, that a stain is left upon our annals, far deeper than that, which, in former times, many were so laudably anxious to wash away, in respect to the conduct of this country towards the Catalans. The Catalans were not invited by any declarations more specifick than those which we have made to the royalists: their claim upon us was in some respects more doubtful. Yet, so far were they from being passed over in silence in the terms of the peace; so far were they from being abandoned to their fate, left to the merciless persecution of their enemies, that a stipulation was made for a full and complete amnesty for them; and, far more than that, a provision, that they should be put upon the same footing, and enjoy the same privileges, with that province which was in fact the most favoured under the Spanish monarchy. Yet, because *more* was not done; because they were not placed in the situation of enjoying *all* that they asked;—much of it, perhaps, having more of an imaginary than a real value;—because in a part, where their claim was more disputable, perfect and entire satisfaction was not given them; did a large and respectable majority of this House think it necessary to institute a solemn inquiry,—the in-

tended foundation of proceedings still more solemn,—in order to purge themselves and the country, as far as depended on them, from the shame of what they deemed a breach of the national faith.

By what purgations, by what ablutions, shall we cleanse ourselves from this far deeper and fouler blot, of having left to perish under the knives of their enemies, without even an effort to save them, every man of those whom we have *affected*, as it must now appear, to call our friends and allies; with whom we were bound, by interests of far higher import than those of a disputed succession; who were the assertors with us of the common morality of the world; who were the true depositaries of that sacred cause, the very priests of that holy faith; with whom we had joined, as it were, in a solemn sacrament; and who, on all these grounds, but chiefly for the sin of having held communion with us, are now, as might be expected, doomed by the fanatics of rebellion, to be the objects of never-ceasing hostility, to be pursued as offenders, whose crimes can only be expiated by their destruction?

I agree with what has been said by my honourable friend [the Chancellor of the Exchequer], that peace once made, all communication with this, or any other class of people, hostile to the French government, must completely cease. Whatever the government is, or whatever its conduct may be with respect to us, if we think fit to make peace with it, that peace must be religiously kept. I am not for curing one breach of faith by another. But was nothing to be done, in the final settlement of that peace; and still more during the time which has elapsed since the first commencement of the negotiations? I wish a satisfactory answer could be given to those inquiries. I wish it were true, that, for months past, numbers had not been perishing throughout the royalist provinces, the victims of their loyalty and honour; —(men hunted down, like wild beasts, for acts, which that government may call crimes, but which we, I hope, have not yet learned so to characterize;)—simply for want of such means, as might have enabled them to effect their escape, and, after the loss of every thing but what their own minds must bestow, to have sought an asylum in some foreign land.

Sir, I would gladly draw a veil over these facts. But our shame is too flagrant and glaring, to be concealed: the cry of this blood is too loud to be stifled. I beg to wash my hands of it. The share which I have happened to have in the affairs of this illustrious and unfortunate people; the interest which I have always taken in their cause; make me doubly anxious to vindicate myself from any participation in the guilt of having thus abandoned them. I wish I could vindicate, in like manner, the government and the country. Among all our shames, it is that of the most fatal nature, and of which, possibly, we shall longest rue the effects.

Extracts from the Appendix.

The population of these provinces is by no means stated with exaggeration, when it is said 'far to exceed the population of the kingdom of 'Ireland.' It might be described with truth, as 'nearly, if not altogether, equal to the population 'of Great Britain.' From Caen to Bourdeaux, without comprising more in breadth than belongs properly to the royalist country, there is a population, according to the statement of Mr. Necker, of little less than 9,000,000. In ascertaining the proportions of this population which may be considered as royalist, we must distinguish between those who were only royalists in their affections; those who actively, though secretly, favoured the cause; and those who, at different times, openly appeared in arms. By the numbers of the last of these classes, by the manner in which they maintained themselves, and by the effects which they produced, we may form, perhaps, the surest judgment, though possibly a very inadequate one, of the general sentiments and dispositions of the country. If those, who have been most engaged in these scenes, and have at least the best means of knowing, may be relied on, it was a small portion of the inhabitants indeed, and those confined almost exclusively to the towns, who were not royalists in their hearts. But facts, and the inferences resulting from them, may after all be considered as the best criterion, especially to those who may not have the means of resorting to the testimonies which we have alluded to, or of appreciating the degree of credit, that may be due to them. Of these facts the principal lie open to the observation of every body, and are of a nature little liable to be mistaken or misrepresented. They are—the length of time during which the royalist war subsisted; the armies which it obliged the republic to employ; the nature of the pacifications which took place in different parts of it; the anxiety which it evidently excited in the government, during the whole of its continuance; the interruption which it gave to the communication between the metropolis and the principal sea-ports—the transport of goods and passengers, and letters between Paris and Brest being sometimes stopt for a fortnight, requiring at times an immense escort, and being at all times attended with considerable danger, insomuch that officers going to join their ships often preferred a passage by sea, even at the risk of being taken by our cruisers;—these are facts, which rest on no authority of individuals, and may afford some measure for judging of the degree and extent, to which the sentiment of royalism prevailed in this part of France. For facts of a description somewhat different, though of a character and magnitude not to be much concealed or disguised, such as the nature and progress of the war; the armies, which the royalists were able to bring into the field; the manner in which they employed them; the resources which they possessed; the energy which they displayed; for these, or other similar ones, the reader would do well to have recourse to an account (published here in 1796 and since translated) of Campaigns in the Vendée, by the republican General Turreau, the same, probably, who is now employed in something of a similar service in Switzerland, and who, though interested in some degree in magnifying the force of an enemy, whom he was employed to combat, and requiring in that respect, as well as in several others, to be read with some reserve and caution, may yet be relied on for the general substance of his narrative, and the principal representations which accompany it: and will afford to those, who may be new to the subject, much valuable information on the history and circumstances of this most extraordinary and affecting war *

In the early stages of the war of la Vendée, before the republicans had had recourse to the sys-

tem of laying waste and burning the country, and had brought the war to a footing, in which no quarter was given on either side, whatever prisoners were taken by the royalists, were released upon the condition of not serving again, either against them, or against *the allied powers*; the royalists having imagined, for some reason or another, that the allies and they were engaged in a common cause, and that the neglect which they might seem till then to have experienced, was owing wholly to the precautions taken by the enemy for preventing any communication with them. When, therefore, they heard, in the year 1793, that the garrisons of Mentz and Valenciennes were marching against them, knowing that these garrisons had surrendered upon terms, and that one of the terms was, that they should not serve again till exchanged, they concluded that this was a new instance of republican treachery, and that these troops, a numerous and most formidable body, the garrison of Mentz alone being reckoned at twelve thousand, could not be employed in this service, without some scandalous breach of engagement, such as would excite in the breasts of the allies no less resentment, and indignation, than it did in those of the royalists. What then were their sensations, when they found, that this was no treachery on the part of the republicans, but that the allies themselves in framing their capitulations, and providing that these garrisons should not serve against the other parties in the war, had wholly neglected or forgotten, to extend this provision to the case of the royalists; who with an army of immense force in point of numbers, perfect in the mode of its composition, animated by the most heroic courage, headed by officers of great ability and experience, but still weak to a great degree by the extreme deficiency, and often total want of all the ordinary means of war, were left to prosecute, as well as they could, the desperate and unequal contest in which they were engaged, disowned and abandoned by all the world. When they found this, their feelings were indeed acute, and their constancy almost shaken. They did not despair: it was not their nature to do so: but left thus to themselves, abandoned to their own resources, without aid, without co-operation, proclaimed, as it were, to all Europe, as not even belonging to that confederacy, of which they might, without presumption, have hoped, that they should have been placed at the head; they felt that their prospects were truly gloomy, and such as might well have excused them for relinquishing from that instant every thought of further resistance. That they did not so relinquish their hopes; that they long maintained the contest with unabated vigour; that the war broke out afterwards with fresh violence; that it never ceased to be renewed at every favourable opportunity, till the last of the continental powers had submitted and made its peace; that the elements of it remain entire to this day; —these are truths, which ought to be known and remembered for the credit of those concerned, though they yield but little consolation in the retrospect, and can now unhappily afford no ground of hope for the future. * * * * * * * * * * * *

Those who may before have thought, that such a vindication was necessary, will not be less of that opinion, when they shall be told, that within the last twelve months, more than three hundred royalist officers have been taken and put to death, in the western provinces, and that of these all but forty or fifty have suffered since the date of the preliminary treaty. In the name of all that is sacred, what justification can a government or a country offer for such conduct? Three hundred men, or at least a great proportion of them, sacrificed to the vengeance of their enemies, simply because we neglected, or refused to listen to their solicitations to be allowed an asylum in this country, when in consequence of the peace which we were making, their service could be no longer useful in their own! Do we mean to say, that these persons had no claim upon us to the extent of what they asked? Or that we could not afford the expense of receiving, and providing for so many additional emigrants? Monstrous as either of these allegations would be, they would still be better than what alone remains,—the direct and unqualified confession, that we did not dare to admit into this country men, to whom we were bound by every tie to furnish a place of refuge and safety, lest by so doing we should give offence to our enemies. In what a state must the probity of a great country be, when, in a case like the present, such a motive can be made a principle of action? to what must the mind of a country be reduced, when it can bear, that such a motive should become manifest to the world?

It may not be thought a trifling aggravation, (if in such a mass of shame aggravations were worth thinking of,) that, just at this moment, a condemned, though pardoned traitor, Napper Tandy, is released from prison, and allowed to sail to France, yielded, we presume, as an act of grateful attention,—a kind of marriage present, to the First Consul. Napper Tandy, be it remembered, was not a person to whom the faith of the French government was pledged by any public declaration, unless it shall be contended, as perhaps it ought, that their decree of the 19th of November 1792 still continues in force: he was not a person engaged in one of those civil wars, of which history may furnish examples, wherein the rights and pretensions of the parties were so equally balanced, as to make it doubtful, on which of the two sides the crime of commencing hostilities and breaking up the public peace ought in justice to be charged. He was a traitor in the common sense of the word, and upon the clearest evidence of the thing, and was condemned according to the established principles, on which the lives of such persons have become forfeit at all times, and in all countries. The First Consul however, as is supposed, thought fit to ask his release: and the government here complied with his request. Such was the state of the intercourse between the two countries on the subject of persons of *this* description. But the royalists of France, persons who had been acting in conformity to, perhaps in consequence of our proclamations; whose objects we had declared to be substantially our own; of whose assistance we had a right to avail ourselves, according to every principle of the law of nations; who are not to be confounded, as is often wickedly or ignorantly done, with rebels and traitors, the subverters of their respective governments, but were on the contrary the upholders of the constitution of their country in opposition to such rebels and traitors; to these royalists we refused an asylum, lest we should offend the irritable majesty of an usurper, and indispose him to grant such terms of peace, as those by which the safety of the country is now so happily secured. If these things do not disgrace and dishonour a country, I am at a loss to know, what the disgrace and dishonour of a country is. We

seek to conciliate the favour of an imperious and vindictive enemy, by the desertion of our friends, and the sacrifice of our national faith and honour.

Our enemy, we may rest assured, will only despise us the more, without our deriving from that feeling any relaxation of the motives, which have long led him to resolve on our destruction.

CHARACTER OF MR. JEFFERSON.

Extracted from the Letters of Phocion, written by William Smith, Esq. of South Carolina, long a Member of Congress, and lately American Minister to the Court of Portugal.

We should incur no danger in yielding to his claim (as a philosopher) in the fullest extent, because it must be obvious to men of the smallest experience in public life, that of all beings, a philosopher makes the worst politician; that if any one circumstance more than another could disqualify Mr. Jefferson for the presidency, it would be the charge of his being a philosopher. Not believing him to possess any more than the *mask* of philosophy, *my* objection to his election would certainly not rest on that ground; but as there may be some, who, having read his works superficially, may have been deceived by that character, which is sometimes acquired, because no one has been at the trouble to scrutinize and strip it of its borrowed garb, to them I repeat that, admitting him to be a most learned philosopher, such a character alone creates his disqualification for the presidency.

In turning over the page of history, we find it teeming with evidences of the ignorance and mismanagement of philosophical politicians. The great Locke was employed to frame a constitution for Carolina; but it abounded so much with regulations inapplicable to the state of things for which it was designed, so full of theoretic whimsies, that it was soon thrown aside. Condorcet, a particular friend of our American philosopher, was a great French philosopher; his constitution, proposed in 1793, contains more absurdities than were ever before piled up in any system of government; it was so radically defective, that its operation was never even attempted; *Condorcet's political follies, and the wretched termination of his career, are well known; he had philosophy enough to know how to raise a storm, but not enough to avert its effects. The affairs of France have since been more ably conducted (except during the short aristocracy of Robespiere) by men who are good politicians, but, fortunately for France, not philosophers.

Rittenhouse was a great philosopher, but the only proof we had of his political talents was his suffering himself to be wheedled into the presidency of the democratic society of Philadelphia, a society with which he was even ashamed to associate, though cajoled and flattered into the loan of his name. Many other instances might be adduced.

The characteristic traits of a philosopher, when he turns politician, are, timidity, whimsicalness, a disposition to reason from certain principles, and not from the true nature of man: a proneness to predicate all his measures on certain abstract theories, formed in the recess of his cabinet, and not on the existing state of things and circumstances; an inertness of mind, as applied to governmental policy, a wavering of disposition when great and sudden emergencies demand promptness of decision and energy of action. If the laws are opposed and insurrection raises its crest, the insurgents will always calculate on the weakness and indecision of the executive (if a philosopher), and they will be justified in their calculations, for he will hesitate till all is lost; he will be wandering in the labyrinths of philosophical speculations, moralizing on the sin of spilling human blood, and foolishly persuading himself that mankind can always be reclaimed and brought back to their duty by wholesome advice. His mind will be constantly attracted to his favourite pursuits; and his presidential duties will, of course, be postponed to more pleasing avocations.

Let us suppose one of these exploring and profound philosophers elected president of the United States, and a foreign minister, on his first introduction into his cabinet, surprising him in the act of inspecting the *skin and the scarf skin* of a *black and a white pig*, in order to discover the causes of difference which nature has created in their colour, or with the same view anatomizing the kidnies and glands of a negro, to ascertain the *nature of his secretions*. Would not the minister's first observation be, that the philosopher would be much better employed in his retirement at home, and his second, that such a president would furnish excellent materials for him to make use of?

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

But, although I have thus denied to Mr. Jefferson the title of a real philosopher, I am ready to allow that he possesses the inferior characteristics, and the externals of philosophy. By one, ambitious of passing with the world for a philosopher, the first were easily acquired, the last as easily assumed. The inferior characteristics, as applied to the science of politics, are a want of steadiness, a constitutional indecision and versatility, visionary, wild, and speculative systems, and various other defective features, which have been already portrayed—Indeed, so unsettled is the mind of a would-be philosopher, so capricious and versatile are the principles of these philosophical mimics, that they attempt to reconcile the most irreconcileable theories, and to justify the most inconsistent acts, by the same standard. Thus you will find these pretenders to philosophy, at one moment, coolly justifying the most atrocious and sanguinary cruelties, provided they are means to a certain favourite end; at another, cautiously dissuading from vigorous, though necessary measures, lest they might fatally issue in the shedding

* Hear what Boissy d'Anglas says of the constitution of Condorcet, a brother labourer in philosophy and politics of Thomas Jefferson: "me-"ditated amidst intrigue and ambition, conceived "in the bosom of vice, that constitution is no-"thing more than the *concentration of all the elements "of disorder, and the organization of anarchy.* What "indeed must we think of a constitution, which "organizes the partial insurrection of powers, "independent of the constituted authorities, and "legalizes the reign of plunder and terror!" Compare this, Americans, with the principles and practice of the democratic societies, and the other supporters of Thomas Jefferson!!

of human blood. Condorcet and Brissot were, like Jefferson, reputed philosophers: they set up certain wild and mischievous theories of government; of course, followed the emancipation of the negroes in the French West Indies, and, of course, the massacre of the whites, and the desolation of the colonies: this was represented to them, by a deputation from the colonies, warning them of the fatal consequences of their principles. What was philosopher Condorcet's reply? Attend to it, citizens of the southern states! He answered with true philosophic calmness, "Perish all the colo-" nists, rather than that we should deviate one " tittle from our principles." This is the enlightened Condorcet, to whom his friend Jefferson, stimulated by a sympathetic philanthropy, sent Banneker's almanack, as the highest proof of his admiration of the negro's work. This is the same Condorcet who could, with calmness, see the colonies laid waste, and thousands of aged colonists and innocent women and children massacred, and yet was perpetually preaching up philanthropy and universal benevolence. Brissot was much such another character, and they both deservedly met the same fate.

As ignorant people are often imposed upon by an appearance of philosophy, those, who have ambitious designs, readily assume its externals: these consist in a ridiculous affectation of simplicity and humility, in a thousand frivolities, and little puerile tricks, which always render the performer contemptible in the eyes of discerning people, who soon discover that under the assumed cloak of humility, lurks the most ambitious spirit, the most overweening pride and hauteur, and that the externals of simplicity and humility afford but a flimsy veil to the internal evidences of aristocratic splendour, sensuality, and epicureanism.

Mr. Jefferson has been held up and characterized by his friends as the "quiet, modest, re-" tiring philosopher—as the plain, simple, un-" ambitious republican." He shall not now, for the first time, be regarded as the intriguing incendiary—the aspiring turbulent competitor—unless facts shall warrant the suggestion: of these an enlightened public must judge.

What, if a quiet, modest, unambitious philosopher, at a delicate crisis, withdrawing himself from a post of duty, from an alledged attachment to philosophical pursuits, and a strong antipathy to public honours, should immediately devote his hours of retirement to mature his schemes of concealed ambition, and at the appointed time, come forth the undisguised candidate for the highest honours, and for the arduous station to which ambition can aspire?

Would not this trait alone sufficiently mark his character and his views?

To some of his fellow citizens, this may perhaps be the first time his real character has been discovered; but let them recollect that there is always "a first time," when characters, studious of artful disguises, are unveiled, when the vizor of stoicism is plucked from the brow of the epicurean, when the plain garb of quaker simplicity is stripped from the concealed voluptuary, when Cæsar, coyly refusing the proffered diadem, is found to be Cæsar rejecting the trappings, "but tena-" ciously grasping the substance of imperial do-" mination." *

The first volume of Thomas Paine's "Rights of " Man," made its appearance; the opportunity was eagerly seized, to answer the double purpose of wounding a competitor, and of laying in an additional stock of popularity, by associating and circulating the name of Thomas Jefferson with a popular production of a once favourite writer, on a favourite subject.

For this purpose, the secretary of state wrote an epistle to a printer in Philadelphia, transmitting the work for republication, and containing the following passage: "I am extremely pleased to " find it will be reprinted here, and that some-" thing is at length to be publicly said against the " political heresies which have sprung up among " us. I have no doubt our citizens will rally a " second time round the standard of common " sense."

There was not a man in the United States, acquainted with the insinuations which had been propagated against Mr. Adams, who did not instantly apply the remark; and the signal was so well understood by the partisans of the writer, that a general attack immediately commenced.

The National Gazette of Freneau, faithful to its duty, and the newspapers of the party in the different states, resounded with invective and scurrility against the patriot, who was thus marked out as the object of persecution.

But it was quickly perceived that discerning and respectable men disapproved of the step which the secretary of state had taken. It was of consequence to endeavour to maintain their good *opinion*. Insincere protestations and excuses, as frivolous as awkward, were multiplied by the secretary to veil the real design. "The gentleman al-" lude to," he protested, "never once entered his " mind; it was never imagined that the printer " would be so incautious as to publish the letter. " Nothing more had been in view than to turn a " handsome period, and avoid the baldness of a " note, that did nothing but present the compli-" ments of the writer!"

Thus, a solemn invocation to the people of America, on a most serious and important subject, dwindled at once into a brilliant conceit that tickled the imagination too much to be resisted. The imputation of levity was preferred to that of malice.

But when the people of America presented themselves to the disturbed fancy of the patriotic secretary, as a routed host, scattered and dispersed by that political sorcerer, the vice-president, how was it possible to resist the heroic, the chivalrous desire, of erecting for them some magic standard of orthodoxy, such as Tom Paine, and endeavouring to rally them round it, for their mutual protection and safety.

In so glorious a cause, the considerations—that a citizen of the United States had written, in a foreign country, a book, containing strictures on the government of that country, which were regarded by it as libellous and seditious—that he had dedicated this book to the chief magistrate of the union—that the republication of it, under the auspices of the secretary of state, would wear the appearance of its having been promoted, at least of its being patronized, by the government of this country—were considerations too light and unimportant to occasion a moment's hesitation.

* *

Among the other merits of Mr. Jefferson we find " his attachment to the civil and religious rights " of his fellow citizens;" for the proof, we are referred to his writings and public conduct.

We have seen a few specimens of his writings: from them we may infer a pretty strong disposition to entrench on some of the civil rights of his fellow citizens, particularly in his project of a senate, which would undoubtedly, on his plan, establish an aristocracy, very injurious to the rights of the poor class of his fellow citizens.

But the proof of a steady attachment to the civil rights of one's fellow citizens ought not to rest merely on writings; this attachment ought to be evinced by public conduct, by action, and in times of danger; then the hazarding of personal safety for the preservation of our civil rights is the highest testimony of patriotism. There is no great merit in composing, in the cabinet, in seasons of tranquillity, essays on civil rights, which are frequently done to obtain popularity, and without any risk of personal inconvenience.

It appears, however, that Mr. Jefferson has generally sacrificed the civil rights of his countrymen to his own personal safety. We are told, in a public address, by Mr. Charles Simms, of Virginia, who must have been well acquainted with the circumstance, "that Mr. Jefferson, when go-" vernor of Virginia, abandoned the trust with " which he was charged, at the moment of an " invasion by the enemy, by which great confu-" sion, loss, and distress, accrued to the state, " in the destruction of public records and vouchers " for general expenditures *."

Now here was a period of public danger, when Mr. Jefferson's attachment to the civil rights of his countrymen might have shown very conspicuously, by facing and averting the danger; here would have been a fine opportunity for him to have displayed his public spirit, in bravely rallying round the standard of liberty and civil rights; but, though in times of safety, he could rally round the standard of his friend, Tom Paine, yet when real danger appeared, the governor of the ancient dominion dwindled into the poor, timid philosopher, and instead of rallying his brave countrymen, he fled for safety from a few light horsemen, and shamefully abandoned his trust!!†

Again, when the peace and tranquillity of the United States were in extraordinary peril, when it required the exertions and talents of the wisest and bravest statesmen to keep the federal ship from foundering on the rocks with which she was encompassed, he, when his aid was most essential, abandoned the old helmsman; and with his wonted caution sneaked away to a snug retreat, leaving others to buffet with the storm, and if they were cast away, to bear all the obloquy and public disgrace which would follow.

How different was the conduct of the spirited and truly patriotic Hamilton? He wished to retire as much as the philosopher of Montecelli; he had a large family, and his little fortune was fast melting away in the expensive metropolis, but with a Roman's spirit he declared "that much as " he wished for retirement, yet, he would remain " at his post, as long as there was any danger of " his country being involved in war." How different the conduct of the great Washington? He tells us, that he had resolved to retire before the last election, but the then perplexed and critical situation of the country forbad such a step. How different was even Jefferson himself, when calmly and safely writing his notes on Virginia, from what he was then called upon to act in times of peril? In his notes, page 135, in reprobating the proposition made in the Virginia Assembly, to appoint a dictator, he exclaims: "Was this " moved on a supposed right in the movers of " abandoning their posts in a moment of distress? " Our laws forbid the abandonment of our posts, " even on ordinary occasions."

Whether Mr. Jefferson foresaw the western insurrection, and either conscious of his want of courage or capacity to act on so trying an occasion, or of his good wishes towards some of the promoters of it, we will not determine; but it is our duty to state some facts; the comments on them will be left to a discerning public.

It is certain that Mr. Jefferton resigned the office of secretary of state in January or February, 1794, and that the insurrection broke out the July following, having manifested threatening symptoms some months before. Citizen Fauchet, of glorious memory, in his intercepted letter (which caused the dismission of citizen Randolph, also of glorious memory, the virtuous author of the precious confessions), has the following passage: "Mr. Randolph came to see me with an " air of great eagerness, and made to me the over-" tures of which I have given you an account in " my No. 6.—Thus with some thousands of dol-" lars, the republic (of France) could have de-" cided on civil war, or on peace! Thus the con-" sciences of the pretended patriots of America " have already their prices! What will be the " old age of this government, if it is thus early de-" crepid! Still there are patriots of whom I delight " to entertain an idea worthy of that imposing

* Mr. Leven Powell, of Virginia, also states, in his public address, that "when Tarleton, with a " few light-horse, pursued the assembly to Char-" lottesville, Mr. Jefferson discovered such a want " of firmness, as shewed he was not fit to fill the " first executive office, for instead of using his ta-" lents, in directing the necessary operations of " defence, he quitted his government by resign-" ing his office; this too, at a time that tried " men's souls, at a time when the affairs of Ame-" rica stood in doubtful suspense, and required " the exertions of all." The governor of Virginia, during the invasion of the state by a small British force, instead of defending the commonwealth at that alarming juncture, voluntarily and suddenly surrendered his office, and, at that crisis, his country was required to choose another governor! Is there any security he would not act in like manner again, under like circumstances?

† This charge has been attempted to be got rid of by producing a vote of the assembly of Virginia, after an inquiry into his conduct, acknowledging his ability and integrity, but altogether silent on his want of firmness, which had been the cause of his flight.

It was natural for his friends in the Assembly to varnish over the business as well as they could, and the danger being past, there being no prospect of his being again exposed in that station, and his flight proceeding, not from any criminality, but from a constitutional weakness of nerves, it was no difficult matter to get such a vote through the Assembly, more especially as the character of the state was no less implicated in the business than that of the governor.

" title. Consult Monroe*, he is of this number; " he had apprized me of the men, whom the cur- " rent of events had dragged along as bodies de- " void of weight; his friend Maddison is also an " honest man; Jefferson, on whom the patriots " cast their eyes to succeed the president, had " foreseen these crises: he prudently retired, " in order to avoid making a figure against his " inclination in scenes, the secret of which will " soon or late be brought to light."

We are informed by the newspapers that Randolph has been to visit Mr. Jefferson, and has announced his determination to serve, if elected president; he has not yet announced his own determination to return to his former secretaryship, if his friend should be president; but his activity in canvassing for him leaves no room for doubt, as to his wishes and expectations: it is apprehended, however, by some of the friends of both these characters, that a late legal call on one of them, for the immediate settlement of some accounts and balances, will prove highly injurious to both†.

Having adverted to these two striking instances of Mr. Jefferson's abandonment of his trust at very critical moments, I cannot omit the following sensible remark of Mr. Charles Simms:— " These instances," he observes, " shew Mr. Jef- " ferson to want firmness; and a man, who shall " once have abandoned the helm in the hour of " danger, or at the appearance of a tempest, " seems not fit to be trusted in better times, for " no one can know how soon or from whence a " storm may come."

We are next informed of Mr. Jefferson's " at- " tachment to the religious rights of mankind," and are referred for his sentiments respecting religious liberty to his writings, his conduct, and particularly to the " act establishing religious " freedom," drawn up by him.

Hampden would have acted more wisely, and more conformably, I am persuaded, to the wishes of his patron, had he passed over this tender subject in silence. It was certainly indiscreet to mention Thomas Jefferson and religion in the same paragraph of an eulogy.—Religious freedom and freedom from religion are now become convertible terms with most modern philosophers, particularly those who have been educated in the philosophical schools of France. Mr. Jefferson has been heard to say, since his return from France, that the men of letters and philosophers he had met with in that country, were generally atheists. The late impious and blasphemous works of Thomas Paine, reviling the Christian religion, have been much applauded in France, and have been very industriously circulated in the United States, by all that class of people who are friendly to Mr. Jefferson's politics, and anxiously desirous of his election to the presidency. Mr. Jefferson's friendship for Paine has been already mentioned; that anti-christian writer had apartments at Citizen Monroe's at Paris, and should Mr. Jefferson be president, there is no doubt Paine would return to this country, and be a conspicuous figure at the president's table at Philadelphia, where this enlightened pair of philosophers would fraternize, and philosophize against the Christian religion, and all religious worship*. Whatever new lights Jefferson may have acquired in France, it is certain that he had naturally very good pre-dispositions on the subject of religion. In his notes on Virginia, page 169, in discussing the subject of religious freedom, he makes this witty observation—" It does me no injury for my neighbour " to say there are twenty gods, or no god; it " neither picks my pocket nor breaks my leg; if " it be said, his testimony in a court of justice " cannot be relied on, reject it then, and be the " stigma on him." In page 170, he says, " mil- " lions of innocent men, women, and children, " since the introduction of Christianity, have " been burnt, tortured, fined, and imprisoned." In page 171, speaking of the state of religion in Pennsylvania and New-York, he says, " Religion " there is well supported, of various kinds indeed, " but all good enough; all sufficient to preserve " peace and order."

Which ought we to be the most shocked at, the levity or the impiety of these remarks? " it does " me no injury, if my neighbour is an atheist, " because it does not break my leg!" What? do I receive no injury, as a member of society, if I am surrounded by atheists, with whom I can have no social intercouse, on whom there are none of those religious and sacred ties, which restrain mankind from the perpetration of crimes, and without which ties civil society would soon degenerate into a wretched state of barbarism, and be stained with scenes of turpitude and with every kind of atrocity?

There are religions, " of various kinds indeed," says our philosopher, " but all good enough."

Good enough indeed for him, who established and patronized a newspaper, one object of which was to revile Christianity! It is not forgotten, that the National Gazette, published by a clerk in the department of state, and under the auspices of the secretary, lost no convenient opportunity of making a mockery of religion†, and vilifying the clergy of the country.

It is well observed, by a modern writer, " that " patriotism, as a moral principle attaching itself " to political society, depends, like every other " moral principle, on its relation to religion. " The Creator of man has bound the social to " the divine virtues, and made our devotion and " our reverence to himself, the ground work of " our duties to our brethren and to our country."

The act for establishing religious freedom in Virginia (the necessity for which is not very obvious), has been much extolled by Mr. Jefferson's panegyrists. I ask them, what good effects has

---

* Citizen Monroe, lately recalled by the President from France, not I presume for his services to the United States, and not at his request; possessed of a palace in Paris, worth formerly 100,000 guineas (and for the purchase of which he was abused in a Paris newspaper), it is not probable he wished to return quite so soon.

† Edmund Randolph is sued by the comptroller of the treasury for a deficiency in his accounts, while secretary of state, of 50,000 dollars.

* This conjecture is now fully verified, as far as rests with Jefferson. Vide his letter of invitation to Paine, Register, p. 756.

† See, among various instances, the thirty-sixth number of the National Gazette, where the belief of a Providence is treated as an impious tenet. In the time of Robespierre, a member of the convention, who had introduced into his speech the word Providence, was called to order, by the cry of *Point de Providence*, no Providence.

it produced? Does religion flourish in Virginia more than it did, or more than in the eastern states? Is public worship better attended? Are the ministers of the gospel better supported, than in the eastern states?

That act, which is nearly all preamble, setting forth a series of principles, some of which are proved by late experience in France to be very questionable, has, in my opinion, an immediate tendency to produce a total disregard to public worship, an absolute indifference to all religion whatever. It states, among other things, "that "we ought not to be obliged to support even the "ministers of our own religious persuasion, and "that our civil rights have no more dependence on "our religious opinions, than on our opinions in "physic or geometry." The act then declares, "that no man shall be compelled to frequent or "support any religious worship or minister what-"ever, and that all men shall be free to profess, "and by argument to maintain, their opinions, "in matters of religion, without diminishing their "civil capacities.

I will not accuse Mr. Jefferson of having been influenced by selfish views, in getting this act passed; but those acquainted with his conduct and opinions will agree with me, that he has fully taken advantage of every tittle of the preamble and enacting clause: he has, by his conduct, proved his religious freedom, or, rather, his freedom from religion; and, by his opinions, his right to maintain by argument any doctrine whatever, in matters of religion. Whoever saw him in a place of worship? The man who can say he has seen such a phenomenon, is himself a much greater curiosity than the elephant now travelling through the southern states.

But how inconsistent, not only with truth, but with themselves, are these visionary philosophers, who are thus always striking out some new doctrine! The preamble states, that our civil rights have no dependence whatever on our religious opinions; and yet it immediately after admits, that religious opinions may break out into overt acts against peace and good order; and yet the letter just quoted speaks of criminal acts dictated by religious error!

What a conformity do we find between the sentiments of Mr. Jefferson, in matters of religion, and those of Tom Paine! Where is the wonder, then, if the works of the latter are circulated with so much zeal by the friends of the former? Tom Paine has ridiculed the Holy Scriptures, and reprobated public worship. Tom Jefferson has attempted to disprove the deluge—has made it a question whether the Almighty ever had a chosen people,* and has, by example and precept, discountenanced public worship. Such is the chief magistrate whom the patriots of citizen Fauchet have selected for the United States! Such the kindred philosophers, whose new lights are to be disseminated throughout America, under the auspices of the Chief Magistrate of the Union!

* * * * * * * * *

By those who attended to the opposition of Mr. Jefferson, while secretary of state, to the measures of the treasury department, it was made a question, whether that opposition flowed altogether from his hostility to the head of that department (whose competition might, at a future period, be apprehended, and whose destruction was therefore desirable) or from his entertaining principles respecting public credit and national faith, very different from those which have influenced all nations, who cherish those valuable pillars of national strength.

As his conduct, while minister of the United States at Paris, in relation to this subject, may throw great light on his principles, I shall proceed to state the exact tenor of the advice which Mr. Jefferson gave to Congress, respecting the transfer of the debt due to France, to a company of Hollanders. After mentioning an offer which had been made by such a company for the purchase of the debt, he concludes with these extraordinary expressions—"If there is a *danger* of the public payments *not being punctual*, I submit whether it may not be better, that *the discontents which would then arise*, should be *transferred* from a *court*, of whose *good will we have so much need*, to the *breasts* of a *private company*."

The above is an extract which was made from the letter in February 1787. The date of it was not noted, but the original being on the files in the department of state, will ascertain that, and all other particulars, relating to its contents—The genuineness of the extract may be depended upon.

This letter was the subject of a report from the board of treasury, in February 1787: that board treated the idea of transfer proposed as both *unjust* and *impolitic:* unjust, because the nation would contract an engagement, which there was no well grounded prospect of fulfilling; impolitic, because a failure in the payment of interest on the debt transferred (which was inevitable) would justly blast all hopes of credit with the Citizens of the United Netherlands, in future pressing exigencies of the Union; and the board gave it as their opinion, that it would be adviseable for Congress, without delay, to instruct their minister at the court of France, to forbear giving his sanction to any such transfer.

Congress agreeing in the ideas of the board, caused an instruction to that effect to be sent to Mr. Jefferson. Here there was a solemn act of government condemning the principle as unjust and impolitic.

If the sentiment contained in the extract, which has been recited, can be vindicated from political *profligacy*—then *is it necessary to unlearn* all the ancient notions of *justice*, and to substitute some new-fashioned scheme of morality in their stead.

Here is no complicated problem, which sophistry may entangle or obscure. Here is a plain question of moral feeling. A government is encouraged on the express condition of not having a prospect of making a due provision for a debt which it owes, to concur in a transfer of that debt from a nation, well able to bear the inconveniences of failure or delay, to individuals whose total ruin might have been the consequence of it; and that, upon the interested consideration of having need of the good will of the creditor nation, and with the dishonourable motive, as is clearly implied, of having more to apprehend from the discontents of that nation, than from those of disappointed and *betrayed* individuals. Let every *honest* and impartial mind, consulting its own spontaneous emotions, pronounce for itself upon the rectitude of such a suggestion.

An effort, scarcely plausible, has been hereto-

* Notes on Virginia, p. 175. "Those who la-"bour on the earth, are the chosen people of God, "if ever he had a chosen people."

fore made by the partisans of Mr. Jefferson, to explain away the turpitude of this advice.* It was represented, that "a company of adventuring speculators had offered to purchase the debt at a discount, foreseeing the delay of payment, calculting the probable loss, and willing to encounter the hazard."—But the terms employed by Mr. Jefferson refute this species of apology. His words are, "if there is a danger of the public payments not being punctual, I submit whether it may not be better, that the discontents which would then arise, should be transferred from a court of whose good will we have so much need, to the breasts of a private company."

He plainly takes it for granted, that discontents would arise from the want of an adequate provision, and proposes that they should be transferred to the breasts of individuals! This he could not have taken for granted, if in his conception, the purchasers had calculated on delay and loss.

The true construction then is, that the company expected to purchase at an under value, from the probability that the court of France might be willing to raise a sum of money on this fund, at a sacrifice—supposing that the United States, counting on her friendly indulgence, might be less inclined to press the reimbursement; not that they calculated on material delay, or neglect, when the transfer should be made to them. They probably made a very different calculation, (to wit) that as it would be ruinous to the credit of the United States abroad, to neglect any part of its debt, which was contracted there with individuals, from the impossibility of one part being distinguishable from another in the public apprehensions, this consideration would stimulate to exertions to provide for it; and so it is evident from his own words that Mr. Jefferson understood it.

But the persons who offered to purchase were by the apologist called Speculators. The cry of speculation, as usual, was raised; and this with some people, was the panacea, the universal cure for fraud and breach of faith.

It is true, as was alleged by the apologist, Mr. Jefferson mentioned an alternative, the obtaining of money by new loans, to reimburse the court of France; but this is not mentioned in any way that derogates from or waves the advice given in the first instance. He merely presents an alternative, in case the first idea should be disapproved.

It may be added, the advice respecting the transfer of the debt was little more honourable to the United States, as it regarded the court of France, than as it respected the Dutch company. What a blemish on our national character, that a debt of so sacred a nature should have been transferred at so considerable a loss to so meritorious a creditor!

* * * * * * *

We shall now take leave of Mr. Jefferson and his pretensions, as a philosopher and politician. The candid and unprejudiced, who have read with attention, the forgoing comments on his philosophical and political works, and on his public conduct, must now be convinced, however they may hitherto have been deceived by a plausible appearance and specious talents, or misled by artful partisans, that the reputation he has acquired is not bottomed on solid merit—that his abilities have been more directed to the acquirement of literary fame than to the substantial good of his country—that his philosophical opinions have been capricious and wavering, often warped by the most frivolous circumstances—that in his political conduct, he has been timid, inconsistant, and unsteady, generally favouring measures of a factious and disorganising tendency, always leaning to those, which would establish his popularity, however destructive of our peace and tranquillity—that his political principles are sometimes whimsical and visionary, at others, subversive of all regular and stable government—that his writings have betrayed a disrespect for religion, and his partiality for the impious Paine an enmity to Christianity—that his advice, respecting the Dutch company, and his open countenance of an incendiary Printer, and of the views of a faction, manifest a want of due regard for national faith and public credit—that his abhorrence of one foreign nation and enthusiastic devotion to another, have extinguished in him every germ of real national character; and, in short, that this elevation to the presidency must eventuate either in the debasement of the American name, by a whimsical, inconsistent, and feeble administration, or in the prostration of the United States at the feet of France, the subversion of our excellent constitution, and the consequent destruction of our present prosperity.

* See Jefferson's attempted vindication, in Dunlap's Daily Advertiser, of October, 1792.

NEW BOOKS.

A List of the Titles of all the New Books, which have been published, in the United Kingdom, or the Continent of Europe, and in America, during the last six months.—Those not otherwise expressed are in English.*

Agriculture, Horticulture, and rural Economy.

Magazine of the Sciences relating to Forests and the Chase, by Professor Leonhardi, with coloured plates. German. Leipsic.

New Forest Magazine, intended to aid the sciences relating to Forests and the Chase, formerly edited by W. G. de Moser, now by Dr. C. W. Gatterer. Germ. Ulm.

Works on Agriculture and Rural Economy, by Rey. Deplanazu, with many coloured plates. French. Paris.

Theoretical and practical course of Agriculture and rural Economy, with plates. French. Paris.

Rational Manner of Pruning Fruit-trees, and other operations relative to their culture, clearly demonstrated by physical reasons, drawn from their different natures, and manners of vegetating and bearing, by Butret, with plates. French. Paris.

Instruction for Shepherds and the Proprietors of Flocks, with other works on Sheep and Wool, by Daubenton. French. Paris.

* When we speak here of the last six months, we are to be understood as meaning the six months ending the 30th, June for this kingdom, 31st of May for the continent of Europe, and 31st of March for America. We shall, in our next list, go back to those several epochs.

Memoirs and Observations on the Abuses in clearing Lands, and the destruction of forest trees, &c., by Rougier. French. Auxerre.

Essay on the hanging and fastening of Gates and Wickets, with plates, by T. N. Parker, Esq. London.

General View of the Agriculture, Mineralogy and present state of the county of Wicklow, by A. Frazer, Esq. London.

Portraits of Prize Cattle and South-down Sheep, with the proceedings of the Agricultural Society of Sussex, by E. Scott. London.

Treatise on the Culture of Fruit-trees, in which a new method of training and pruning is fully described, &c. &c., by W. Forsyth. F.R.S. F.S.A. &c. with plates. London.

Communications to the Board of Agriculture, consisting principally of the prize essays on the best methods of converting grass land into tillage. London.

Amos's Theory and Practice of the Drill Husbandry, founded on philosophical principles, and confirmed by experience, &c. with plates. London.

Trearise on the Culture of the Apple and Pear, and on the manufacture of cider and perry, by T. A. Knight, Esq. London.

Essays on Agriculture, with a plan for the speedy and general improvement of land in Great Britain, by B. Bell. F.R.S. &c. London.

Treatise on the Culture of Wheat, with an appendix, containing an account of the growth of beans and wheat; also a plan for an improved seed-harrow, by W. Dalrymple, Esq. London.

Gentleman Farmer, being an attempt to improve agriculture, by subjecting it to the test of rational principles. London.

Essay on the Conversion of Soils, together with some observations and remarks on the breeding of sheep and cattle, by H. Hoyte. London.

Gleanings in Ireland, respecting its agriculture, mines, and fishes, by R. Frazer, Esq. London.

Transactions of the Agricultural Society of New York. New York.

Essay on the Necessity and Means of making the Study of Agriculture a part of public instruction. French. Paris.

Rural Sports, by W. B. Daniel. London.

Collection of new Ideas for the Decoration of Gardens in the English, Gothic, and Chinese Stile. French. Leipsic.

Ancient Literature.

Herodis Attici quæ supersunt ad notationibus illustravit Raphael Florillo; præfixa est epistola C. G. Heynii ad auctorem. Leipsic.

Eclogæ Physicæ historiam et interpretationem corporum et rerum naturalium continentes, ex scriptoribus præcipius Græcis excerptæ in usum studiosæ literarum juventutis, à J. G. Schneider. Jena.

Christomathia Philoniana, sive loci illustres ex Philone Alexandrino decerpti, et cum animadversionibus editi, à J. C. G. Dahl. Hamburgh.

Æschyli Tragœdia quæ supersunt ac deperditanem fragmenta; recensuit. C. G. Schutz. Vol. 2. Halle.

C. G. Schutz in Æschyli tragœdiæ commentarius. Vol. 2. Halle.

Æschyli Tragœdiæ septem denuo recensuit et versionem Latinam adjecit. C. G. Schütz. Vol. 2. Halle.

Lucioni Samosatensis opera omnia, maxime et fide cod: Paris, recensita, edidit. F. Schmeider. Vol. 1. cum additamento ad tomum priorem. Halle.

Works of Euripides, translated by F. K. Bothe, with notes Vol. 2. German, Berlin.

Q. Horatii Flacci opera, with German notes, by J. K. M. Ernesti. Berlin.

F. Jacobs Animadversiones in epigrammata anthologiæ Græcæ, secundum ordinem analectorum Brunkii. Vol. 3. Leipsic.

Animadversiones in Hymnos Homericos, cum prolegomenis de cujusque consilio, partibus, ætate; auctore Aug. Matthiæ. Leipsic.

Woidii C. G. Notitia codicis Alexandrini, cum variis ejus lictionibus omnibus; recudendam curavit notasque adjecit. M. G. L. Spohn. Leipsic.

Medical Works of Hippocrates, translated into French from the edition of Foes, by Gardiel, with the Greek text. Paris.

M. T. Ciceronis, quæ vulgo seruntur orationes quatuor. 1. Post reditum in Senatu. 2. Ad quirites post reditum. 3. Pro domo sua ad pontificis. 4. De haruspicum responsis; recognovit animadversiones integras, J. Marklandi et J. M. Gessneri, suasque adjicit. F. A. Wolf. Berlin.

Plutarchi Chœronensis quæ supersunt omnia; cum adnotationibus variorum, adjectaque lictionis diversitate opera. J. G. Hutten. Vol. 13. Tubingen.

Manual of classic Literature, by Eschenburg, corrected and augmented. German. Berlin.

De origine et usu Obeliscorum ad Pium VI. P.M. auctore Georgio Zoega. Rome.

Iliad and Odyssey of Homer, translated into German, with notes, by J. H. Voss. Konisburg.

Strabonis rerum geographicarum libri 17; Græca ad optimos codices, manuscriptos recensuit, varietate lectionis adnotationibusque illustravit, Xylendri versionem emendavit. J. P Siebenkees, inde a septimo libro continuavit. C. K. Tzschuke. Vol. 3. Leipsic.

Works of Plutarch, translated by Amyot, with notes and observations, by Brottier and Vauvilliers, with a version of various inedited tracts and fragments of Plutarch, by E. Clavierc. French. Paris.

Letters of Cicero, translated by the Abbé Prevost, with remarks, notes, &c., by Goujon. French. Paris.

P. Virgilii Maronis Bucolica, cum singularum vocum significatione inter carmina, necnon adnotationibus Gallicis; ad usum studiosæ juventutis. Editios nitidissima à A. S. Legat. Paris.

Greek Roots, in French verse, with a treatise on the pronunciation of modern Greek, and a table of obsolete and primitive verbs, intended as a suppliment to the Greek dictionaries, by Gail. Paris.

Greek poetical Anthology, or extracts from different authors, with interlineal translations in Latin and French, with notes and criticisms, by J. B. Gail. Paris.

Free Translation of the Odes of Horace in French verse, with historical and critical notes. Paris.

Antiquities.

German Antiquities, edited by C. G. Roessig. German. Leipsic.

Figures, intended to explain classical Antiquities, taken from ancient Monuments, edited by C. A. Boettiges, and K. Meyer, with fine plates. German. Weimar.

Archaiological Museum, for the Explanation of

Figures of classical Antiquity, by C. A. Boettiger. German. Weimar.

Ancient inedited Monuments, newly explained, or a collection of statues, bas-reliefs, busts, paintings, mosaics, engravings, vases, inscriptions, medals, and instruments, taken from national and private collections, with an explanatory text, by A. L. Millin. Vol. 1. French. Paris.

Museum of French Monuments, or a chronological collection of engravings, statues, bas-reliefs, &c. &c. to serve towards the history of France, edited by A. Lenoir, and engraved by L. Guyot. French. Paris.

Architecture.

Hydraulic Architecture, in theory and practice, founded on history and experience, by Weibeking. Vol. 1 to 3, with plates. German. Darmstadt.

New hydraulic Architecture, by Prony, with plates. French. Paris.

Plans, Scites, and Elevations of the finest Houses and Hotels in Paris and its Environs, by J. C. Krofft and N. Ransonnette. French. Paris.

New Vitruvius Britannicus, consisting of plans and elevations of modern buildings, public and private, by G. Richardson. With many plates. London.

Sketches for Country-Houses, Villas, and rural Dwellings, also some designs for cottages, with plans and general estimates, by J. Plaw. With plates. London.

The Builder's Price Book, corrected to the 1st of May, 1802. London.

Essays, &c. on Architecture, crowned by the Institute, and by juries of artists, &c. French. Paris.

Arts, Commerce, and Manufactures.

Memoirs on Agriculture, Arts, Manufactures, and Trade, edited by J. G. Geissler. With plates. German. Zittau.

Journal of Manufactures, published monthly. With coloured plates. German. Leipsic.

Detailed History of Horology, theoretical and practical, from the most ancient manner of dividing the day, to the end of the eighteenth century, by J. H. M. Poppe. German. Leipsic.

New Academy of Merchants, or an Encyclopedia of Commerce, &c. edited by C. H. Ludovici. Newly arranged, and considerably augmented, by J. C. H. Schedel. Vol. 1 to 5. German. Leipsic.

New Inventions and Projects for perfecting the hydraulic Machines, used in mines and saltworks, by J. Baader. With plates. German. Bareuth.

Models of the Art of Knitting. German. Nuremberg.

Art of preparing Varnish, for the Use of Artists, &c. by J. C. Gütle. German. Nuremberg.

Bowles's Art of Painting, &c. &c. with notes and additions. German. Leipsic.

Mechanics relating to Agriculture and the Arts, and a description of the economical machines of M. Person. With plates. French. Paris.

Annals of Arts and Manufactures, or memoirs of the modern discoveries in the arts, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. Published monthly. With plates. French. Paris.

Manual for those who raise Bees, by C. P. Lombard. French. Paris.

Discovery for the Clarification and Purification of Waters, by M. M. Smith, Cachet, and Montfort. French. Paris.

Memoir on the Commerce of India and China, by A. D. D. F. French. Paris.

Commercial Library—a work intended to extend the knowledge of commerce, navigation, and such concerns as relate to either, by J. Peuchet. French. Paris.

General View of the Commerce of those Departments, which consritute the ancient province of Normandy. French. Rouen.

Historical and political Memoir on the Commerce of India, by Garonne, sen. French. Paris.

On the Commerce of India, by J. Henri Lasalle. French. Paris.

Complete Aquatinter, &c. &c. London.

Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts. Vol. 19. London.

British Encyclopedia, &c. &c. Vol. 1, plates. Manchester.

Art of making Fire-works, &c. by Captain Jones. With plates. London.

Brewing made easy, being a compendium of all that has been written on the art, with directions for making and preserving wines, by W. Moir. London.

Treatise on Brewing, &c. &c. by Alex. Morrice. London.

Pocket Encyclopedia, &c. by E. A. Kendal. London.

Observations on the Reports of the Directors of the East-India Company, respecting the trade between India and Europe, by T. Henchman, Esq. London.

Letters on the Cultivation of the Otaheite Cane, the manufacture of sugar and rum, the care and preservation of stock, the attention due to negroes, by C. Caines, Esq. London.

Letter to the President of the Royal Academy of London, by N. Desenfans, Esq. London.

Account of the original patent Water-Cloth, with observations on the principles of dye-woods, &c. by J. Parrish. London.

Memoirs to serve as a History of Inventions and Discoveries in the Arts, edited by Professor Bekman. Vol. 1 to 5. German. Leipsic.

Pyrotelegraphe, by J. K. L. Pansner, with a plate. German. Jena.

Art of making Wine, by Adam Fabroni. With plates. Italian. Florence.

New Treatise on Exchange, &c. by Degrange. French. Paris.

Biography and Anecdotes.

Biographical Essays. German. Chemnitz.

Characteristic Traits, and interesting Scenes, taken from the lives of celebrated persons in former and present times, by J. G. Meessner. German. Vienna.

Lives of Hemsterhuis and Rhunkenius, written by Rhunkenius and Wytenbach. Latin. Leipsic.

Memoirs of the Life of the Danish Minister of State, Count Bernstorff, by C. U. D. d'Eggers. Danish. Copenhagen.

Confessions of celebrated Persons. Vol. 4. German. Winterthur.

Museum of the Men of Letters and musical Composers of Germany. Vol. 1 and 2, with portraits. German. Breslau.

Romantic Biography of Bertrand du Guesclin, by F. Meyer. Vol. 1. German. Bremen.

Charlemagne, or a romantic picture of the middle age. Vol. 1. German. Berlin.
Life of the Emperor Joseph II, by S. Cornova. German. Prague.
Biography of Th. G. de Hippel, Counsellor of War to the King of Prussia, written chiefly by himself. German. Gotha.
Historical Eulogy on Louis Galvani, by J. L. Alibut. French. Paris.
Private, political, and literary Life of Beaumarchais, &c. French. Paris.
Life of Buonaparté, from his birth to the 18th Brumaire, an. 10. French. Paris.
Memorable Success of Robespierre. French. Paris.
Life of Madame Elizabeth de France, Sister of Louis XVI. French. Paris.
Adelphi, a sketch of the character of the Rev. John Cowper, by his brother, W. Cowper, Esq. London.
Scripture Biography, by J. Watkins, L. L. D. London.
Memoirs of the late Rev. James Garie, &c. by M. Gardiner. London.
Memoirs of John Bacon, Esq. R. A. by R. Cecil, M. A. London.
Some Account of W. Coombs, by Rev. R. Hawker, D. D. London.
Memoirs of Froissart, with an essay on his works, from the French of M. de St. Palaye, by W. Johnes, Esq. M. P. London.
Most remarkable Year in the Life of A. Von Kotzebue, written by himself. English. French. German.
Collectanea, an assemblage of anecdotes, bon mots, &c. from foreign authors. London.
Elegant biographical Extracts, consisting of interesting anecdotes, &c. &c. from the best English and French authors, by J. O'Doudoit.
Sketch of the Life and literary Career of A. Von Kotzebue, &c. written by himself, translated by Miss Plumptree. London.
Life of Miss Robertson of Blackheath, written by herself. London.
General Biography, or lives of the most eminent men of all ages, &c. &c. by J. Aikin, M. D. Rev. J. Morgan, Mr. Nicholson, and others. Vol. 3. London.
Memoirs of Horatio, Lord Walpole, selected from his correspondence and papers, and connected with the history of the times, from 1678 to 1757, illustrated with many portraits, by W. Coxe, M. A. F. R. S. &c. &c. London.
Life of Pogio Braccilini, by Rev. W. Shepherd. London.
Life of Toussaint Louverture, &c. &c. by M. Dubroca. London.
Diplomatic History of Martin Behaim, a Portuguese knight, from authentic documents, by C. G. de Murr. German. Gotha.
Interesting Anecdotes of the heroic Conduct of Women, during the French Revolution. London.
A Sketch of the Life and Character of Lord Kenyon. 8vo.

Botany.

Description of the different Species of Green-Moss, illustrated with coloured engravings—a posthumous work of J. Hedwig, edited by F. Schwægrichen. Latin. Leipsic.
Cryptogamic Plants of the Mountain of Fichtklgeberg, by H. C. Fune. German. Hof.
European Flora, by Jac. Roemer. Latin. Nuremberg.

Botanists' Repository, comprising coloured engravings of new and rare plants only, with botanical descriptions in Latin and English, after the Linnæan system, by Henry Andrews. London.
Muscologia, or an analysis, history, and methodical description of every species of green-moss hitherto discovered, according to the system of Hedwig, by S. E. Bridel. Vol. 2, part 2, with engravings. Latin. Gotha.
The Geraniums of Linnæus, for the use of botanists and amateurs, drawn from nature, accompanied with descriptions, by F. G. Deiterich. Vol. 1, No. 1. with coloured plates. German. Weimar.
Observations on the Vegetable Kingdom, made during a voyage to the empire of Morocco, in the years 1791, 1792, and 1793, by K. A. Schousboe. Vol. 1, with engravings. Danish. Copenhagen.
Manual of Botany and Pharmacy. No. 1 to 6, with coloured plates. German. Nuremberg.
Port-Folio of Botany, for the year 1801, for the use of learners and apothecaries, by D. H. Hoppe. German. Ratisbon.
Memoirs and Materials for a practical History of the three Kingdoms of Nature, by A. G. Batsch. The vegetable kingdom. Vol. 1. No. 1. German. Weimar.
Manual of Botany, by C. Schkuhr. Nos. 26 and 27. German. Wittenburg.
Botanical Lexicon, exhibiting the etymology, orthography, and prosody of botanical names, by J. Bekmann. Latin. Gottingen.
First Elements of the Vegetable Kingdom, for public and private instruction, by G. Batsch. Vol. 1. with engravings. German. Weimar.
Linnæus's Species of Plants, edited by C. L. Wildenow. Vol. 3, part 1. Latin. Berlin.
Flowers of Germany, drawn from nature, and accompanied with descriptions, by J. Sturm. Sec. 1. with coloured engravings. German. Nuremberg.
Plants of the Departments of Upper and Lower Rhine, by J. C. Stoltz. French. Strasburg.
Methodical Table of Tournefort's System, intended as an introduction to botany, by J. B. J. Beheti. French. Paris.
Letters of Mad. de C * * * on Botany, and some subjects of natural philosophy and natural history; to which is added an elementary method of Botany. French. Paris.
Treatise on the Trees and Shrubs cultivated in France, by Duhamel. A new edition, with drawings by J. P. Redouté. French. Paris.
Botany of Forest Trees, by J. G. C. Weise. With plates. German. Weimar.
Plants of the Coast of Coromandel, selected from drawings and descriptions, by W. Roxburgh, M. D. London.

Chemistry.

Forest, economical, and botanical Chemistry, by F. T. Frenzel, with a preface by Prof. Lampadius. With plates. German. Leipsic.
General Journal of Chemistry, by A. N. Scherer. German. Leipsic.
Chemical Library, by Tromsdorf. Nos. 1 and 2. German.
Elements of Chemistry, from the latest discoveries, by F. A. Gren. Vols. 1, 2. German. Halle.

Annals of Chemistry, for the use of amateurs in natural philosophy, medicine, economy, and manufactures, by L. de Crell. German. Helmstadt.

Manual of Chemistry, compiled from the most recent discoveries, by D. L. Bourguet, with a preface by S. F. Hermbstadt. German. Berlin.

Memoirs selected from the French Annals of Chemistry, by L. D. Crell. German. Helmstaedt.

Elements of Chemistry, applied to the formation of bodies, and to the various phenomena of nature, by Prof. Dandolo. Italian. Venice.

Art of Bleaching, with an account of Chaptal's method of bleaching by vapour, and its application to arts and manufactures, by Orrielly. French. Paris.

Synonomy of modern chemical Nomenclatures, translated from the Italian, by J. B. Van Mons. French. Brussels.

Annals of Chemistry, by Guyton, Monge, Berthollet, Fourcroy, Adet, &c. &c. French. Paris.

Journal of Chemistry, intended as a supplement to the Annals of Chemistry, and other French periodical works on that science, by J. B. Van Mons. French. Brussels.

Alphabetical and analytical Table of the Contents of the ten Volumes of the System of Chemical Learning: compiled by Mad. Dupiery, and revised by Fourcroy. French. Paris.

Account of Acids, Alkalis, Earths, and Metals, their combinations, affinities, &c. by M. Trommsdorff; translated from the German, with notes, by P. X. Leschevin. French. Dijon.

Epitome of Chemistry, in three parts, by W. Henry. London.

Thompson's System of Chemistry. London.

Six chemical Essays, by Joseph Priestley, L.L.D. &c. &c. Philadelphia.

New chemical Nomenclature, selected from the most distinguished writers on chemistry, &c. by C. Pye. London

Vauquelin's Manuel de Docimastique, translated into German, by Prof. F. Wolff, with notes by M. H. Klaproth. German. Konigsburg.

Treatise on the Means of purifying infected Air, by L. B. Guyton Morveau; translated from the French, by R. Hall, M. D. London.

Essay on the antivenereal Effects of nitrous Acid, by W. Blair, A. M. London.

Discourse, introductory to a Course of Lectures on Chemistry, delivered in the Theatre of the Royal Institution of Great-Britain, by H. Davy. London.

Criticism and Belles-Lettres.

Critical Inquiries into the moral Writings of Dr. Johnson, with a dialogue in the shades between Bozzi and Piozzi. London.

Six Letters to Granville Sharp, Esq. respecting his remarks on the uses of the definitive article in the Greek text of the New Testament. London.

Specimens of literary Resemblance in the works of Pope, Gray, and other celebrated writers, with critical observations, in a series of letters, by the late S. Berdmore, D. D. master of Charterhouse school. London.

Three Discourses on Books, Study, and literary Taste. London.

Bardic Museum of primitive British Literature, by E. Jones, Bard to the Prince. London.

Eight historical Tales, curious and interesting. London.

Fragments for the Lovers of Nature, by E. Müller. German. Leipsic.

Pictures, by G. L. Raw. German. Erlang.

Instructive Tales, from the Spanish of Miguel Cervantes Saavedra, by D. W. Soltau. German. Konigsburg.

Secret Lamentations of Mesbands, a tale; and mysterious Society, or new year's night, by Jean Paul. German. Bremen.

Titan, by Jean Paul. German. Berlin.

Moral Tales, by Prof. K. L. Rahbek. Danish. Copenhagen.

Recreations, by W. G. Baker. German. Leipsic.

Collections of Anecdotes, Facts, and historical Tales, by Ducamily. French. Paris.

Aristippus, and some of his cotemporaries, translated from the German of Wieland, with notes, by H. Coiffier, with plates. French. Paris.

Elementary Course of Literature, for the use of colleges, and other seminaries of education. French. Paris.

German Nights, or a collection of novels, romances, tales, dramatic pieces, &c. translated from the German, by Sevelinges French. Paris.

First Walk of a solitary Countryman, from the Faubourg Honoré to the palace of the Tribunate. French. Paris.

Ass of the Bouquet of Roses, an imitation of the Golden Ass of Apulius. French. Paris.

Fall of Capua, an historical anecdote, by Prof. Meissnar. German. Leipsic.

Comic Encyclopedia, &c. &c. by T. P. Bertin. French. Paris.

Great and unfortunate Poets, by B. de S. V. French. Paris.

Essay on Love, by * * *, with various pieces of poetry. French. Paris.

Discourse that bore off the Prize for Music and Declamation, &c. by M. E. Framery. French. Paris.

Homer, designed from antiques, by Tischbein, with explanations by Heyne. German. Gottingen. Superb plates.

Pictures from Roman History, after the plan of Millot, by Prof. Zappe. German. Vienna. Superb plates.

Correspondence of Gessner with his sons. German. Berne.

Family Pictures, or the journal of C. Engelmann, from the German of Lafontaine. French. Paris.

My Amusements in the Prison de Sainte Pélagie, by Saint Desiré. French. Paris.

Comedies, Proverbs, and Songs, by Joseph Alexandre Segur. French. Paris.

Discourse on the Method of receiving Improvement from reading, by Biron. French. Paris.

Seila, the daughter of Jephtha, by Mad. Da * * *. French. Paris.

Diogenes's Cask, imitated from the German of Wieland, by Frénais, translator of Sterne's works; with remarks and additions by Warin. French. Paris.

Excursion to St. Cloud by water, and the return by land, by Neel. French. Paris.

Drama.

Chains of the Heart, or the slave by choice: a musical drama in three acts. London.

Poor Gentleman, a comedy in five acts, by George Colman, the younger. London.

Almeda, or Neapolitan Revenge: a drama, by a Lady. London.

Female Jacobin Club, a political comedy, translated from the German of Kotzebue, by J. C. Siber. London.

John Woodville, a tragedy, by C. Lamb: with fragments of Burton, the author of the Anatomy of Melancholy. London.

Folly as it flies. London.

Urania, or the illuminée, a comedy, by the Hon. W. Spencer; the prologue by the Right Hon. Lord J. Townshend. London.

Shakespeare's Plays of King Lear and Cymbeline, with the notes and illustrations of the various commentators, and remarks by the editor. London.

Shakespeare: Heath and Robinson's edition. Imperial 4to. with engravings. London.

Maid of Lochlin, a lyrical drama, with legendary odes, and other poems, by William Richardson, A. M. London.

Bedouins, or the Arabs of the desert, a comic opera in three acts, by E. Irwin, Esq. M.R.I.A. London.

Trip to Bengal, a musical entertainment in two acts, by C. Smith, Painter to the Great Mogul. London.

Series of Plays, in which it is attempted to delineate the stronger passions of the mind, each passion being the subject of a tragedy and a comedy, by Joanna Baillie. London.

Fashionable Friends, a comedy in five acts. London.

Dramatic Rights, or private theatricals and picnic suppers justified by fair argument. London.

Fall of Carthage, a tragedy, by William Watkins. London.

Edwy and Elgiva, a tragedy, by C. J. Ingersoll. Philadelphia.

Orlando, or parental persecution, a tragedy, by W. C. White. Boston.

Hypocrite unmasked, a comedy, by W. Winstanley. New York.

Darangel, or the Persian Patriot, a drama, by D. Everett. Boston.

Letter in reply to Guillard, on the opera of the Death of Adam, by Lesueur. French. Paris.

Notices by F. R. Molé, of the Memoirs of H. L. Lekain, published by his son. French. Paris.

Judgment on Lekain, by Molé, Linguet, &c.; or a supplement to the memoirs of that great actor, with a notice of Garrick, by Linguet. French. Paris.

Lékéman, or the Tower of Neustadt, an opera in three acts, the words by Marsollier, the music by Dalayrac French. Paris.

Studies of Moliere, or observations on the life, manners, and works of that author, and on the manner of playing his pieces, by Cailhava. French. Paris.

Countrymen in Paris, a comedy in four acts, by Picard. French. Paris.

Inn of Calais, a comedy in one act, by Dorvigny. French. Paris.

Lisistrata, or the Athenians, a comedy in one act, interspersed with songs. An imitation of Aristophanes. French. Paris.

Slanderer, a drama in four acts, founded on a piece by Kotzebue, by Tronchant Laverne. French. Paris.

Dramatic Works of Count Alfieri, translated from the Italian, by C. B. Petitot. French. Paris.

Joan of Arc, or the Maid of Orleans, a tragedy, by Schiller, translated by Cramer, and edited by Mercier. French. Paris.

Essay on the present State of the Theatre of the Republic, by an amateur. French. Paris.

Friendship betrayed, a tragedy in four acts. German. Leipsic.

Fall of Switzerland, a tragedy in five acts. German. Leipsic.

Feast of Paon, a comic opera in two acts, by Warthes. German. Stutgard.

Complete Works of Eliza Burger. German. Limgo.

Charles XII. at Bender, a drama in five acts, by the author of Rinaldo Rinaldini. German. Rudolstadt.

New Century, by J. F. de Meyer. German. Franckfort.

Learned Women, a comedy in five acts. German. Berlin.

Antonio Caduti, a tragedy in five acts, by Sellon. German. Leipsic.

Eighteenth Century, an allegorical picture in two acts, interspersed with music. German. Altona.

Beatitude of Lavater, by H. Stilling. German. Franckfort.

Conspiracy of Pelopidas, a drama in five acts. German. Franckfort.

Treason and Jealousy, a tragedy in five acts, by C. H. Spiess. German. Prague.

Favourite, or the triumph of repentance, a tragedy in five acts, by C. Wagemann. German. Breslau.

Instruction and Education.

Collection of Plants, Flowers, Fruits, Animals, Minerals, &c. for the use of children, by F. Bertuch. With coloured plates. German. Weimar.

Morality in Action, or a relation of memorable facts, moral tales, apologues, and instructive anecdotes, &c. &c. French. Paris.

Puerile and honest Civility, for the use of children of both sexes. French. Paris.

New Method of Reading, containing an idea of the universe, adapted to the capacity of children; fables, &c. &c., by Averin. French. Paris.

Elementary and preparatory course of geography, in French verse, according to the new division of States. French. Paris.

Adela and Théodore, or Letters on Education, by Madame de Genlis: corrected and augmented. French. Paris.

Project of a rural School for the education of Girls, by Madame de Genlis. French. Paris.

Easy and amusing Manner of learning to read without spelling, increased and improved, by J. G. Merigot. French. Paris.

Encyclopedia for Youth, or a new elementary abridgment of arts and sciences, by Madame Tardieu. French. Paris.

Annals of Virtue, or an universal, iconological, and literary, intended for the education of youth, by Madame de Genlis. French. Paris.

Abridgment of the History of the Kingdoms of Nature, an elementary work, for the use of young persons, by Blanchard. French Paris.

Elementary Abstract of Natural History. French. Paris.

Pleasing Preceptor, or familiar instructions in natural history and physics, adapted to the capacities of youth, &c. chiefly from the German of G. U. A. Dessane. London.

Unfortunate Mother's Advice to her absent Daughters, in a letter to Miss Penington, by the late Lady Pennington. London.

Philario and Clarinda, a warning to youth against scepticism, infidelity, and vice, by the late Rev J. Thorogood. London.

Paternal Present, being a sequel to Pity's Gift, selected from the writings of Mr. Pratt, London.

Prize, or practical Arithmetic, calculated by a pleasant game, to perfect youth in a knowledge of the four first rules. London.

Principal Greek Primitives, grammatically arranged, with copious Latin and English interpretations, by Rev. J. Booth. London.

Sorrows of Selfishness, or the history of Miss Richmore, by Mrs. Prudentia Homespun. London.

Accountant's Practical Guide, &c. London.

Remarks on the Rev. Dr. Vincent's Defence of public Education, &c. by a Layman. London.

Elements of French Grammar, by L. Catty. London.

Boarding School, or lessons of a preceptress to her pupils, consisting of information, instruction, and advice, calculated to improve the manners and form the characters of young ladies, by a lady of Massachusetts. Boston.

Child's Library, by William Biglow. Salem.

Elements of Self-knowledge, intended to lead youth into an early acquaintance with man, by an anatomical display of the human frame, a concise view of the mental faculties, and an inquiry into the genuine nature of the passions: compiled, arranged, and partly written, by R. C. Dallas, Esq. London.

Parents' Friend, or extracts from the principal writers on education, from Montaigne to the present day, &c. with observations and notes. London.

Early Lessons, by Maria Edgeworth. London.

Christmas Present to my little Favourite, &c. &c. London.

Instructive Hints in easy lessons for children, by E*** C***. London.

Abstract of the Art of Teaching, as far as it respects grammar, writing, arithmetic, and the leading principles of religion, by D. Morice. London.

Arts of Life for the Instruction of young Persons, by the author of Evenings at Home. London.

Essay on Education, in which are particularly considered the merits and the defects of the discipline and instruction in our academies, by the Rev. W. Barrow, L.L.D. London.

Red Book and the Black one, for the use of children, by a Lady. London.

Grammatical Game in Rhyme, by a Lady. London.

History of Susan Grey, expressly designed to guard young girls going to service from seduction. London.

Morality for Children, by Miss Lenoir. French. London.

Accomplished Tutor, or complete system of liberal education, by Thomas Hodson. London.

Science of Teaching, applied to elocution, poetry, the sublime of Scripture and history, &c. &c. by D. Morice. London.

English Key to Xenophon's Memorabilia of Socrates, by B. Smith. M.D. London.

Presents for Youth. London.

French Scholar's Assistant, by the Abbé de Roufigny. London.

Mentor, or the moral conductor of youth from the academy to manhood, by D. Morice. London.

Visit for the Week, or hints for the improvement of time, for young persons, by Lucy Peacock. London.

Rudiments of the Greek Language shortly illustrated, and a compendious lexicon, &c. &c. by Greville Ewing. Edinburgh.

Letters on the elementary Principles of Education, by E. Hamilton. London.

Summer Rambles, for the use of children, by a Lady, embellished with engravings, and dedicated, by permission, to the Princess of Wales. London.

Address to Instructors and Parents, on the right choice of books in every branch of education, by Joshua Collins, A. M. London.

Maxims for the Conduct of Youth, while at school, and during the vacations, by D. Morice. London.

Moral and amusing Lectures, or a collection of choice traits of the principal social virtues, &c. &c. French. Paris.

Dictionary of the celebrated Men of ancient and modern times, intended for the instruction of youth, and for the promotion of emulation, by A. S. Leblond. French. Paris.

Essay on the public and private Education of the French, by J. J. Virey. French. Paris.

New epistolary Manual, French and German, containing the principal rules of the epistolary art, and models from the most celebrated writers. French. Paris.

Plan of public Education, or an essay on the necessity and means of uniting education and public instruction, by Toussaint. French. Paris.

Ground-Work of Education, from a mother to her son. French. Paris.

Attempted Reply to the Master of Westminster School, on his defence of public education, by D. Morice. London.

Dialogue between a Lady and her Pupils, describing a journey through England and Wales, by Mrs. Brook. London.

New practical French Grammar, by L'Abbé Creulley. London.

Juvenile Travellers, containing the remarks of a family during a tour through the principal states and kingdoms of Europe, with an account of their inhabitants, natural production, &c. &c. by Priscilla Wakefield. London.

Geography.

Geographical and statistical account of West and South Prussia, and new East Prussia, with an abstract of the history of Poland, by J. L. Rolsche. Vol. 1. with a map. German. Berlin.

Geographical and natural Description of the Duchy of Silesia, by J. A. V. Weigel. With a plate. German. Berlin.

Geographical, statistical, and topographical Dictionary of Upper Saxony, and Upper and Lower Lusace. Vol. 2. German. Ulm.

Correspondence relative to Geography and Astronomy, edited by M. de Zack, published monthly. German. Gotha.

Geographical Ephemeris, edited by A. C. Gaspari and F. G. Bertuch, published monthly. German. Weimar.

Monthly Correspondence, to serve as a History of geographical and astronomical Sciences, edited by M. de Zack. German. Gotha.

Elementary and amusing Method of studying Geography, Cosmography, and History, by Courtembuc. French. Paris.

Portable geographical Dictionary, &c. &c. French. Paris.

Modern Geography, &c. &c. Including the most

recent discoveries and political alterations, on a new plan, by J. Pinkeston. London.

Account of a geographical and astronomical Expedition to the northern parts of Russia, by M. Sauer. London.

Heraldry.

Debrett's English Peerage, corrected to May 12, 1802, with a portrait of his Majesty, &c. London.

Kearsley's Peerage of England, Scotland, and Ireland, corrected to May 1802, with a portrait of his Majesty, &c. London.

Heraldry in Miniature, containing the arms, crests, supporters, and mottos of the nobility of Great-Britain and Ireland; with an introduction to heraldry, list of heraldic terms, &c. A new edition, corrected to the present time. London.

History.

History of Gustavus Vasa, King of Sweden, with an abstract of the history of Sweden, to the end of the XVth century, by J. W. d'Archenholtz. German. Tubingue.

Supplement to the Proceedings of the Diets of Hungary, by Mart. Georg. Rovachick. Vol. 3. Latin. Ofen.

Ancient State of Switzerland, intended as a commentary to modern Events, by an Eye-Witness. Vol. 1. German. Gottingen.

Concise History of Greece, from the earliest time, to its becoming a Roman Province, by J. Payne, with plates. London.

Transactions during the War between Denmark and England, compiled from official Documents. Danish. Copenhagen.

Historical Journal, by F. Gentz. Vol. 1, 2, & 3. German. Berlin.

View of the Origin and Conduct of the War with Tippoo Sultaun, &c, &c. by Alexander Beatson. London.

Review of the Origin, Progress, and Result of the decisive War with Tippoo Sultaun in the Mysore, &c. by M. Wood. 2 edit. much augmented. London.

Narrative of the Expedition to Holland, in 1799, &c. &c. by E. Walsh, with plates. London.

History of the Germans, by M. J. Schmidt; continued by Jos. Milbiller. Vol. 15 or vol. 10, of the modern history, containing the reign of Joseph I, in the year 1705 and 1706. German. Ulm.

History of the principal Events during the Reign of Frederic II, King of Prussia, by L. P. Segur, sen. German.

History of the seven years War in Germany, between the King of Prussia, and the Empress Queen and their allies, by General de Templehorff. German. Berlin.

General Collection of historical Memoirs, from the XIIth century to modern times, by various authors; edited by Schiller. German. Jena.

History of Piedmont, and the other States of the Kingdom of Sardinia, with a geographical and statistical account of those countries, and an abstract of the recent changes in Italy, translated from the Italian manuscript of the Abbé Denina, by F. Strass. German. Berlin.

Ambroise Sornogyi's History of Hungarian and Transylvanian Affairs, from the year 1490 to the year 1606, in four books, illustrated with annotations, book 1st, edited by Jos. C. Eder. Latin. Hermannstadt.

Political and military History of the Campaign in 1799, relative to the operations of the army under Prince Charles, by F. E. Baron de Sieda et Landensberg. German. Ulm.

History of ancient and modern Egypt, &c. &c. by J. Franklin. London.

History of the Campaigns of 1796, 7, 8, 9, in Germany, Italy and Switzerland. London.

Authentic and minute Description of the naval Engagement off Copenhagen, by Prof. Olivarius. French. Copenhagen.

History of the Anglo-Saxons, from the death of Egbert to the Norman Conquest, by S. Turner. London.

Abstract of universal History, by G. Ch. Raff; continued by A. C. Gaspori. German. Gottingen.

Historical and statistical View of the Russian Empire, at the end of the XVIIIth century, by H. Storck. German. Leipsic.

Mavor's universal History. London.

Historical Journal of the Siege of Peschiera, and the attack on the entrenchments at Sermione, &c, &c, by Hénin. French. Paris.

Ecclesiastical and political History of the state of Liege, or a picture of the revolutions that have taken place there since its origin, by Count **. Paris.

History of Buonaparté, First Consul, from his birth to the peace of Luneville, &c. &c. French. Paris.

History of General Moreau to the peace of Luneville. French. Paris.

History of General Pichegru, preceded by a notion of his political and military life. French. Paris.

Celebrated Women of the Revolution, by Dubroca. French Paris.

Historical and political Memoirs of the Reign of Louis XVI, from his marriage to his death, &c. &c. by J. L. Soulavie, sen. French. Paris.

Journal of the last Campaign in Egypt. French. Paris.

French Revolution, or an analysis of the Moniteur, from its commencement, with engravings. French. Paris.

History of the Destruction of the democratic Republics of Schwitz, Uri, and Unterwalden, by H. Zschokke. German. Basle.

Burmudean Rights, or reflections on the events that have ruined the French part of St. Domingo, by F. C***. French. Bordeaux.

Papers seized at Bareuth and Mende, &c. &c. French. Paris.

History of Papacy. German. Leipsic.

Defence of Ancona and the Roman Departments, by Mangourit. French. Paris.

Original Letters of Henry IV, Fléchier, Larochefoucault, Voltaire, Caylus, Anquetil Duperron, &c. &c. with notes, by A. Serieys. French. Paris.

General Picture of modern Russia, and the political situation of that Empire, at the commencement of the XIXth century, by V. C. French. Paris.

Campaign of the Austro-Russians in Italy, under Suwarrow, with an exposition of the causes of the dissolution of the second coalition. French. Paris.

Egypt, after the battle of Héliopolis; also general considerations upon the physical and political organization of that country, by Gen. Reynier, with a superb map. French. Paris.

Concordat, and a collection of the bulls and briefs of N. S. P. Pope Pius VIII, concerning

the present state of the French Church, &c. &c. by Cardinal Caprara. Latin and French. Paris and London.

Historical Survey of St. Domingo, by Bryan Edwards. London.

Chronological History of the Methodists, by W. Myles. London.

History of the Rebellion in 1745, dedicated by permission to the King, by John Home, Esq. with many plates. London.

History of Scotland, from the union of the crown to the union of the kingdoms, &c. &c. by Malcolm Laing, Esq. London.

Newry's History of Great-Britain, on a new plan. London.

History of the Otahcitan Islands from their discovery. London.

Memoirs of Transactions in St. Domingo, in 1799, by Capt. Rainsford. London.

Elements of general History, ancient and modern, with a table of chronology, and a comparative view of ancient and modern geography, by Alex. Frazer Tytler, Esq. London.

History of the Union of Great-Britain and Ireland, with an introductory survey of Hibernian affairs from the earliest times, by Charles Coote, L. L. D. London.

Adams's new History of Great-Britain, &c, on a plan nearly similar to that of Dr. Henry. London.

Modern History of Hindostan, from the death of Alexander to the end of the XVIIIth century, by T. Maurice, A. M. London.

History of England, from the accession of George III. to the conclusion of the peace in 1783, by John Adolphus, Esq F. S. A. London.

Secret Memoirs of the Court of Petersburg, &c. containing many historical facts respecting the Persian war. London.

Continuation of the History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, from the year 1748, by G. R. Minot. Boston.

Natural and civil History of Vermont, by Samuel Williams, L. L. D. &c. Walpole.

History of the District of Maine, by James Sullivan. Boston.

Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Boston.

Memoirs concerning Thrace after Herodotus and Thucydides, by J. C. Gatterer. Latin. Gottingen.

Picture of the East-Indies, their geography, natural history, arts, commerce, manners, &c. by M. F. Herrmann. Vol. 2. German. Leipsic.

Abstract of ecclesiastical History, by J. E. Schmidt. Vol. 1. German. Geissen.

History of the Christian Church, by J. M. Schrockh. Vol. 31. German. Leipsic.

History of Magdeburg, from its origin to the present time, by J. Rathmann. German. Magdeburg.

Languages.

Critical Manual, Greek and German, to assist in the study of the Greek authors, edited by J. G. Schneider. Vol. 2. Jena.

Bailey's English-German and German-English Dictionary, improved and augmented, by J. A. Fahrenkrüger. Vol. 2. Jena.

New Dictionary of the German-French and French-German Traveller, for the use of the two nations, by Choffin. Frankfort.

New Dictionary of the German and French Languages, &c. by C. F. Schnan. Vol. 2. Louisbourg.

New portable Italian-German and German-Italian Dictionary, after that of Alberti, with great improvements and additions. Leipsic.

Essay on general Grammar, with an introduction on the idea and origin of language and a supplement on the application of general grammar to particular languages, by J. S. Vater. German. Halle.

Manual for the use of Spanish and German Merchants, by F. B. Bucher. Leipsic.

Manual of the Spanish Language, or a collection of interesting pieces in prose and verse from Spanish authors, &c. &c. Spanish. Berlin.

New practical French Grammar for the use of Germans, by M. J. Lang. Stutgard.

Systematic Method for learning the French Language, by W. Mila and J. P. Cournow. German. Berlin.

Theoretical and practical Latin Grammar, for the use of schools, with rules concerning elegance of style, by Boinvilliers. French. Paris.

Latin Manual, or a selection of French compositions, and Latin fables and histories, by Boinvilliers. French. Paris.

Principles of the French Grammar, by the Abbé Condillac. Paris.

Notions concerning the French Grammar, intended for persons learning to read, &c. &c. by Lattement. Paris.

Manual of the Greek Grammar, the first part containing Ulysses, an heroic poem, by Giraudeau, by Lecluse. Paris.

Latin and French Panorama, by A. Lemar. Paris.

Knowledge of the French Language, considered with relation to orthography, by Sauger-Preneuf. Paris.

Construction of the Words of the French Language, or a new method of learning to speak, read, and write that language, by P. H. A. Pain. Paris.

Elementary French Grammar, for the use of the young ladies under Mad. Delahaye at Strasburg, by Garnier. Paris.

Veneroni's Italian Grammar, simplified and reduced to twenty lessons, by Vergani. Paris.

Practical Guide to the art of translating French into English, by means of an interlineal translation, by Poppeton. Paris.

New pocket Dictionary of the French Language, with the pronunciation according to the system of Voltaire, by Catineau. Paris.

New French Vocabulary, or an abridgement of the Dictionary of the Academy, by Wailly. Paris.

Neology, or a Vocabulary of new words, by L. S. Mercier. French. Paris.

General pronouncing and explanatory Dictionary of the English Language; to which is added, a complete vocabulary of scripture proper names, by G. Fulton and G. Knight, teachers of English. London.

Observations on the Language of the Muhhekaneen Indians, &c. &c. by J. Edwards, D. D. English. New York.

Law.

Neutral Commerce in Time of War; an elementary work, intended to establish the principles of maritime and commercial conventions, translated from the Italian of Lampredi, with notes by Peachet. French. Paris.

Collection of Laws, Arrêtés, and Instructions,

relative to the forest administration, by J. L. M. G**. French. Paris.

Projet of a commercial Code, presented by a committee appointed by government. French. Paris.

Alphabetical, chronological Repository, arranged and classed, of all laws, &c. passed by the national assemblies, legislative bodies, and the arrêtés of the government, since the year 1789, by G. Beaulac. French. Paris.

New Guide to the Notaries of Paris, containing an explanation of agreements in general, and an infinite number of models and forms. French. Paris.

Analysis of a Course of Law, by Cit. Grivel. French. Paris.

Manual for the auxiliary Officers of the Police, of safety, of the tribunal, &c. by Bergies. French. Paris.

Commercial Institutions, treating of mercantile law, and of the usages of merchants according to the old and new laws, by Boucher. French. Paris.

Alphabetical Table of the Contents of the Decrees of the national Assembly, by Yves. French. Paris

Regulations of the French Law, intended as an introduction to the civil code, by an old Lawyer. French. Paris.

Bulletin of the Institute of jurisprudence and political Economy. French. Paris.

Journal of Jurisprudence, published by the institute of jurisprudence and political economy. French. Paris.

New Law List, being a list of the judges, and officers of the Court of Chancery, King's Bench, Common Pleas, Exchequer, &c. &c. by John Hughes. London.

Review of the Statutes and Ordinances of Assize, established in England from the 4th year of King John, to the 37th of his present Majesty, by John Atwood, Esq. London.

Reports of Cases in the Court of King's Bench, last Michaelmas Term, by E. K. East, of the Inner Temple, Barrister. Vol. 2. Part 2d. London.

Reports of Cases, argued and determined in the High Court of Chancery, beginning with Michaelmas term, 41 Geo. III, 1800, and ending with the sittings after Hilary term, 41 Geo. III, 1801, by F. Vesey, jun. Esq. of Lincoln's Inn. London.

Dictionary of Mahommedan Law, Bengal revenue terms, Sanscrit, Hindoo, &c. &c. with explanations; to which are added forms of firmauns, perwanahs, airdashts, instruments, and contracts of law, &c. &c. by S. Rousseau. London.

Practical Remarks and Precedents of Proceedings in Parliament, comprising the standing orders of both Houses, &c. &c. by C. T. Ellis, Inner Temple. London.

Digest of the Laws of England, by the Rt. Hon. Lord Chief Baron Comyns, with great additions, by S. Rose, Barrister. London.

Collection of Acts and Records of Parliament, with reports of cases argued and determined in the Courts of Law and Equity, respecting Tythes, by H. Gwillam, Esq. Judge of the Supreme Court of Madras. London.

Treatise on the Law of Insurance, by S. Marshall, Sergeant at Law. London.

Treatise on the Law relative to Merchant-ships, and Seamen, by C. Abbott, Barrister, &c. London.

Abstract of Observations on the Poor Laws, with a reply to the remarks of the Rev. J. Nasmith, D. D. by Richard Saunders, Esq. London.

Ecclesiastical Law, by R. Burn, L. L. D, with notes and references, by S. Frazer, Esq. Barrister, &c. London.

Essays on the Actions for Money had and received on the Law of Assurances, and the Law of Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes, by W. D. Evans, Esq. Barrister. London.

Inquiry into the Corn Laws and Corn Trade of Great-Britain, and their influence on the prosperity of the kingdom, &c. by the late A. Dirom, Esq. with a supplement by M. W. Mackie. London.

Trial of Governor Wall, by Blanchard and Ramsay. London.

Statutes at Large, for the 41st year of Geo. III; being the first parliament of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, Part 1st. Vol. 43, by Pickering. London.

Proceedings at large at Guildhall, Westminster, on the motion to postpone the trial of Allen Mac Cleod, for two libels. London.

Trial for a Breach of Promise of Marriage, Foster, v. Mellish, in the Court of King's Bench. London.

Reports of Cases argued and determined in the High Court of Admiralty, commencing with the judgments of the Rt. Hon. Sir William Scott, including those of 1800, and 1801, by C. Robinson, L. L. D. Advocate. London.

New and complete Table of Tythes, extracted from the Statutes. London.

Act of the Legislature of the United States to establish an uniform system of Bankruptcy. Philadelphia.

East's Reports, Hilary Term. London.

Woodfall's Law of Landlord and Tenant. London.

System of the Law of Marine Insurance, by James Alan Park, Esq. new edit. London.

Principles of the Law of Scotland, the order of Sir George Mackenzie's institutions of that law, by the late John Erskine, Esq. London.

Original Precedents in Conveyancing, by John Joseph Powell, Esq. revised and corrected by Charles Barton, Esq. London.

Elements of Conveyancing, by Charles Barton, Esq. London.

Reports in the Court of Exchequer, during the 41st year of Geo. III, by R. Forrest, Esq. Barrister. Part 1st. London.

Proceedings in the Cause, the Rev. Dr. Markham, v. Mr. Fawcet, for crim con, with the plaintiff's wife. London.

Dienology, or the Union of Reason and Elegance, being instructions to young Barristers. London.

Digest of the Stamp Laws, and a complete stamp table, by J. Herand. London.

Practical Digest of the Election Laws, by R. Orme, of the Inner Temple. London.

Formulare Instrumentorum, or a collection of authentic instruments and writs, used in the High Court of Admiralty, by Sir James Marriott. London.

Proceedings of the Court of Kings Bench, Guildhall, before Justice Grose and a jury of London Merchants, in an action brought by C. Brooke, v. H. Guy, for a libel. London.

Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Court of Appeals of Virginia, by Bushrod Washington. Richmond.

Reports of Cases in the County Courts of the fifth Circuit, and in the High Court of Errors and Appeals of the State of Pennsylvania, by Alexander Addison. Washington.

Cases of Practice adjudged in the Supreme Court of the State of New York, from October term 1791, to October term 1800, by William Coleman. New York.

Martens's Compendium of the Law of Nations, founded on the treaties and customs of the modern nations of Europe, to which is added a complete list of all the treaties, conventions, compacts, declarations, &c. from 1731 to 1788 inclusive, indicating the several works in which they are to be found; translated, and the list of treatics, &c. brought down to 1802, by W. Cobbett. London.

Mathematics.

Elements of Mathematics, by Moennich. German. Berlin.

Clairaut's Elements of Algebra, with notes and additions by Thevenant. French. Paris.

Interesting Discoveries in elementary Geometry, by J. M. Lançon. French. Paris.

Geometrical Essays on Planes and crooked Surfaces, or the elements of descriptive geometry, by L. F. Lacroix. French. Paris.

Course of Arithmetic, by Bigout; with tables of logarithms, by Shevenant; with additions, by Reynaud. French. Paris.

Recreations in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, being Dr. Hutton's translation of Montucla's edition of Ozanam's Recreations. With plates. London.

Select Amusements in Mathematics and Philosophy, for exercising the minds of youth, by Despiau. 2d edit. French. Paris.

Elements of Arithmetic, according to the principle of decimal calculation. French. Paris.

Mathematical Works of Bishop Wilkins. London.

Pharmacy, Medicine, and Surgery.

Anatomical Tables of Eustachius, accompanied with explanatory descriptions, by A. Boan; translated from the Dutch, by J. C. Krauss. with many plates. German. Amsterdam.

Apology for the Brunonian System, founded upon reason and experience, by Dr. C. Werner. German. Vienna.

Papers on Midwifery, the disorders of women and childen, &c. &c. by J. G. Stark. German. Jena.

Essay towards a practical History of Medicine, by Kurt Sprengel. Vol. 2. German. Halle.

Short Dispensatory, by D. G. Th. Ch. Handel. Latin. Paris.

Fourth Decade of J. F. Blumenbach, illustrated with drawings of the skulls of different nations. Latin. Gottingen.

Various Works of Peter Camper on Medicine, Surgery, and Midwifery. German. Lingen.

Toxicology, or the Doctrine of poisons and antidotes, according to the principles of Brown, and the latest discoveries in chemistry, by Joseph Frank. German. Vienna.

Elements of Nosology, by Doct. A. Roeschlaub. German. Bamberg.

Treatise on the chemical History and medical Powers of the most celebrated mineral Waters, &c. by William Saunders. London.

Inquiries in the Causes and Effects of the Smallpox of Cows, &c. known under the name of the Cow-pox, by Dr. Jenner; accompanied with notes, and an account of the small-pox among the cows of Lombardy, by Dr. Luigi Careno. Italian. Pavia.

Polyglot nosological Lexicon of all Diseases, containing the proper names of the vicious symptoms and affections of nature, explained in ten different languages, by Nehmnich. Latin. Hamburg.

Annals of the School of Midwifery, established at Gottingen in 1800, with an account of new publications on midwifery, by Dr. F. B. Osiander, with plates. German. Gottingen.

Journal of Medicine and practical Surgery, by C. W. Hufeland. Vol. 1 to 10. German. Jena.

Medical Facts and Observations, by J. A. Schmidt. German. Leipsic.

Transactions of a Society for the Improvement of medical and surgical Knowledge. Vol. 2, with plates. London.

Systematic Description of the mineral Waters of all Countries, particularly Germany, considered with respect to their physical relations, and their use in medicine. Vol. 1. German. Jena.

Anatomical and medical Works on the Disorders of the Vessels of Digestion, by J. Bleuland. Latin. Breslaw.

Repository of medical Practice, edited by Dr. E. Horn. Vol. 1. German. Leipsic.

Memoirs of the medical Society of Emulation, at the School of Medicine of Paris. Vol. 4. with engravings. French. Paris.

New Inquiries concerning the Retention of Urine, by the organic contraction of the Urethra, by J. Nauche. French. Paris.

Analysis of Gunshot Wounds, and their proper Treatment, by P. Dufourt. French. Paris.

Abstract of a new Theory of chronic Disorders, by de Bastays. French. Paris.

Advice to pregnant Women, and the physical Education of Children, extracted from the works of Tissot, Nicholas, Fourcroy, and Salmade, and agreeing with Buffon's system of education. French. Paris.

Elements of medical Science, after the principles taught in the school of Montpellier, by J. B. Th. F. Maurice. French. Paris.

Report on the Cow-pox, by the Committee of the Medical Society of Brussels. French. Brussels.

Essay on the Art of conjecturing in Medicine, by Brulley. French. Paris.

Country Physician, &c. &c. French. Paris.

Botanico-pharmaceutical Dictionary, containing the principal properties of minerals, vegetables, and animals, &c. &c. by a Society of Physicians, Apothecaries, and Naturalists, with plates. French. Paris.

Elementary Course of the Diseases of Women, or an essay towards a new method of studying and classing the diseases of that sex, by J. M. F. Vigarous. French. Paris.

Of the uterine Catarrh, or the Whites, by J. B. Blatin. French. Paris.

Observations on the Jail Fever, on the means of prevention, by stopping the progress of contagion by fumigations of nitric gas, by J. C. Smith, translated into French by L. Odier. Geneva.

Art of improving and perfecting Man, morally and physically, by Millot, with engravings. French. Paris.

Le Thérapeute, or rational Medicine, &c. &c. by Dr. Gerlet. French. Paris.

Manual of the Officer of Health, by J. J. Martin. French. Paris.

Memoir on the Advantages that should result from the progress of the healing art, &c. presented by the Medical Society of Toulouse to the Prefect. French. Toulouse.

Discovery of the internal Cause of the Diseases of the human Body, &c. by J. Pelgas. French. Angiers.

Theoretical and practical Course of Medicine, by J. J. Belloe. French. Paris.

Clinical Medicine, rendered more precise and exact by the application of analysis, &c. by P. Pinel.

Dissertation on fatal Fevers, presented and supported at the School of Medicine in Paris, by J. L. Alibert. French. Paris.

Inquiries concerning Vomiting, and the various direct and sympathetic causes of it, by Bouvenot. French. Paris.

Portable Dictionary for the Use of Physicians, by J. B. Trommsdorff. German.

The true Enjoyments of a reasonable Being towards his Decline, with observations on the means of preserving the health of body and mind to the most advanced age. French. Paris.

Practical Treatise on the Disorders of the Eyes, or experiments and observations on the disorders that affect those organs, by A. Scarpa; translated from the Italian manuscript, and augmented with notes, by J. B. F. Laveillé. French. Paris.

Medical and historical Inquiries concerning Hypochondria, by the observations and analysis of hysteric and melancholy, by L. Villermais. French. Paris.

Journal of Medicine, Surgery, and Pharmacy, by Corvisart, Leroux, and Boyer. French. Paris.

Medical Glossary, in which the words in medicine are deduced from their original languages, properly accented and explained, by W. Turton, M. D. London.

Inquiry into the Efficacy of Oxygene in the Cure of Syphilis, with a few general observations on its application in other disorders, by C. Platt, F. M. S. London.

Essays on the Diseases of Children, with cases and dissections, by T. Cheyne, M. D. Coloured plates. London.

Modern Practice of Physic, &c. &c. by J. Thomas, M. D. London.

Hospital Pupil, or an essay intended to facilitate the study of medicine and surgery, by J. Parkinson. London.

Treatise on a new Method of curing Gonorrhœa, by which strictures in the urinary canal are prevented, by C. H. Wilkinson. With a plate. London.

Treatise on Opthalmy, and those diseases that are induced by inflammations of the eyes, with new methods of cure, by E. M. Noble. London.

On the history and Cure of Diseases, by W. Heberden. Latin. London.

Observations on the Marsh remittent Fever, also on the water canker, or cancer aquaticus of Vanswriten, with some remarks on the leprosy, by the late Robert Hamilton, M. D. F. R. S. &c. London.

Physiological Inquiry into some of the Effects of Venereal Poison on the human Body, &c. &c. by S. Sawrey, Surgeon. London.

Account of the bilious Fever, as it has appeared in Bath for some years past, including a history of its progress, symptoms, and mode of treatment, with some observations on the remote cause of epidemics, &c. by W. White. Bath.

Anatomist's Vade-Mecum, containing the anatomy, physiology, morbid appearance, &c. of the human body, the art of making preparations, &c. by R. Hooper, M. D. F. R. S. London.

New Inventions and Directions for ruptured Persons, teaching them the art of effectually keeping up inguinal and scrotal ruptures, by W. H. T. Esq.; to which is prefixed a letter by W. Blair, A. M. F. M. S. London.

Speculations on the Mode and Appearance of Impregnation in the human Female, with an account of the principal antient, and an examination of the modern theories of generation, by Robert Cowper, M. D. F. R. S. London.

Medical Transactions, by J. Haygarth, M. D. &c. London.

Companion for the Medicine-chest, or plain directions for the employment of various medicines and utensils contained in it, &c. &c. by a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons. London.

Practical Essays and Remarks on that Species of Consumption incident to Youth, commonly called Tabes Dorsalis, by H. Saint John Neale. London,

Appendix to "New Inventions and Directions for "ruptured Persons," &c. containing a familiar account of the nature of ruptures in both sexes, by W. J. H. Esq. London.

Treatise on the primary Symptoms of Lues Venerea, with a critical and chronological account of all the English writers on this subject, from 1735 to 1785, to which is added an analysis of a course of lectures on the venereal disease, strictures in the urethra, &c. &c. by G. Rees, M. D. &c. London.

Treatise on the Nature, Symptoms, and Cure of the Venereal Disease, to which are subjoined observations on tabes dorsalis, gleets, seminal weakness, impotence, barrenness, &c. by J. Smyth, M. D. 28th edit. London.

Treatise on the Venereal Rose, commonly called the virulent gonorrhœa, by William Butler, M. D. &c. London.

Essay on the Structure and Formation of the Teeth in Man and different Animals; the domestic, as well as chirurgical treatment of the teeth and gums of children, from infancy to the adult state, by Robert Blake, M. D. With plates. London.

Bell's System of Surgery, with every new discovery. With many plates. London.

Lectures on comparative Anatomy, translated from the French of Cuvier, under the inspection of James Macartney. London.

Duncan's Annals of Medicine, for 1801. London.

Sketch of the Controversy on Apoplexy, between Dr. Lanslow and Mr. Crawford, &c. London.

Index to the portable Dispensary, containing directions for the proper applications of the medicines usually contained therein. London.

Treatise on the morbid Affections of the Knee-joint, by J. Russell, F. R. S. London.

Synopsis of the British Fuci, by D. Turner, A. M. London.

Six introductory Lectures to Courses of Lectures upon the Institutes and Practice of Medicine, by Benj. Rush, M. D. &c. Philadelphia.

Medical Repository, by Drs. Mitchel and Miller. Vol. 1 to 5. New York.

Medical and physical Memoirs, by Charles Caldwell, M. D. Philadelphia.

Review of the Improvements, Progress, and State of Medicine in the eighteenth Century, by David Ramsay, M. D. Charleston.

Observations on the Arguments of Professor Rush, in favour of the inflammatory nature of the disease produced by the bite of a mad dog, by James Mease, M.D. Philadelphia.

Introductory Lecture on medical Education, by David Hosack, M.D. New York.

Treatise on the human Teeth, &c. by R. C. Skinner, Surgeon. New York.

Memoir concerning the Disease of Goitre, by B. S. Barton, M. D. &c. Philadelphia.

Memoir on the Analysis of the black Vomit ejected in the last stage of the Yellow-fever, by J. Cathrall, M.D. Philadelphia.

Inquiries concerning Medicine, or the application of chemistry to medicine, by F. Blanchet. French. New-York.

History of the Variolæ Vaccinæ, as it has appeared in England; with an account of its progress in America, by B. Waterhouse, M.D. &c. Philadelphia.

Experiments on the use of Galvanism in certain diseases, edited by Grapengiesser. With plates. German. Berlin.

Treatise on Brown's System of Medicine, translated from the German of C. H. Psah, M.D. and Professor in the University of Kiel, by John Richardson, Author of Thoughts on Education. London.

Commentaries on the History and Cure of Diseases, by W. Heberden, M.D. London.

Fourth Dissertation on Fever, by G. Fordyce, M.D. London.

Account of the Opthalmia, which appeared in the 2d Regiment of Argyleshire Fencibles, &c., by Arthur Edmonston, Surgeon. London.

Compendium of the Veterinary Art, by J. White, Parkinson. London.

New Cases of Practice with Perkins's Patent Metallic Tractors on the Human Body, and on Animals; but especially on infants and horses, chiefly from the clerical and medical profession, with a confutation of every attack on the metallic practice, by Benjamin Douglas Perkins, A.M. London.

References to the Bones, for the Use of the Anatomical Schools, by B. B. Simons, M.D. London.

Military Science.

Manual for the Use of Officers, principally for those of cavalry, by F. W. L. de St. Paul. German. Breslaw.

New Bellona, or memoirs for the art and history of war, by a Society of Hessian and other Officers. Published quarterly. German. Leipsic.

Military Port-folio, with a plate representing the statue of Prince d'Anhalt Dessau. German. Berlin.

Spirit of the modern System of War, by An Old Prussian Officer. With plates. German. Berlin.

Fencing applied to the Military Art, by Bertrand. French. Paris.

Military State of the French Republic, for the year X, by Adjutant Com. Champeaux. French. Paris.

Memoir concerning the military Force of the Cisalpine Republic, and the means of bringing it into action, by A. M. French. Paris.

Field Engineer's Vade-Mecum, consisting of a course of practical geometry, and introduction to reconnoitring, &c. by J. Landman. London.

New and enlarged military Dictionary, or an alphabetical explanation of technical terms, containing, among other matter, a succinct account of the different systems of fortification, tactics, &c. &c. dedicated by permission to H. R. H. the Duke of York, by Charles James. London.

Treatise on the Movement and Changes of Position of a Battalion of Infantry, &c. by Captain J. Russel. With plates. London.

Proceedings of a general Court Martial, &c. London.

Military Law, or the Laws of War, as practised in the Prussian army, by G. W. L. Cavan. German. Berlin.

Statutes for the first Department of the Royal Military College, printed by authority. London.

Mineralogy and Metallurgy.

Mineralogical Magazine, by a Society of Men of Letters. Edited by C. E. A. de Hoff. German. Leipsic.

Annals of Mines and Mineralogy, by K. F. de Moll. German. Salzbourg.

Essays and Memoirs for a practical History of the three Kingdoms of Nature, by A. J. G. Batsch. Vol. 1. The Mineral Kingdom. With plates. German. Weimar.

Mineralogical and chemical Observations and Experiments, by J. L. Jordan. German. Gottingen.

Essay on Mineralogy, for the use of learners and amateurs, by the Abbé Estner. German. Vienna.

Historical Notice of the mineralogical Society of Jena, by J. F. W. Schwabe. German. Jena.

New Journal of Mines, by Kochler and Hoffman. German. Freyburg.

Alphabetical Collection of the mineralogical Names appropriated to Earths, Stones, Metals, Demimetals, and Bitumens: with a short account of their natural history, &c. by Prince de Gallitzin. French. Brunswick.

Journal of Mines, or a collection of memoirs relative to the working of mines, and to the various sciences relating thereto, published by the council of Mines. French. Paris.

Dolomieu on the Philosophy and Species of Mineralogy. French. Paris.

Course of Mineralogy, adopted to Daubenton's methodical Table of Minerals; or elementary and natural demonstrations of mineralogy, by Jolyclerc. French. Paris.

Manual of Metallurgy, according to the principles of modern chemistry, by Dr. W. Fieler. German. Cassel.

Miscellanies.

Proceedings in the Council of State on the Project of the new civil Code. French. Paris.

Alphabetical Manual of the constituted Authorities and Functionaries of State. French. Paris.

Annual Visitor for the second year of the nineteenth century, embellished with a portrait of J. H. Prince, No. 1. London.

Essay on Irish Bulls, by Maria Edgeworth. Lond.

A Circumstantial Narrative of the Stranding of a Margate Corn Hoy, near the village of Reculver, on the 7th of February, 1802. London.

Miscellaneous Writings of Lord Bacon, with an engraving. London.

Dialogue to the Memory of the late Duke of Bedford, by an Assistant at Woburn Academy. London.

Two original Letters by the late Mr. Robert Robinson, of Cambridge. London.

Account of a young Savage caught in the Woods near Aveyron, by J. M. Hard. London.

Reasons for withdrawing from the Society called Quakers, with additional observations, by J. Hancock. London.

Dr. Lettsom's Hints, designed to promote beneficence, temperance, &c. London.

German Museum. London.

Gleanings from the Writings of Dean Swift. London.

Lady's and Gentleman's polite Jester, for 1802. London.

Castles, by Edward King, Esq. London.

Works of the Rt. Hon. Edmund Burke. London.

A Description of Jerusalem, its houses and streets, squares, colleges, markets, and cathedrals; the royal and private palaces, with the Garden of Eden in the centre, as laid down in the last chapters of Ezekiel; also the first chapter of Genesis verified, as strictly divine and true; and the solar system, with all its plurality of inhabited worlds, and millions of suns, as positively proved to be delusive and false, by Mr. Brothers, who will be revealed to the Hebrews as their King and Restorer. With plates. London.

British Monachism, or manners and customs of the monks and nuns of England, to which are added, Emendations of Bishop Gibson's version of the Saxon chronicle; and the Triumphs of Vengeance, &c. by T. D. Fosbrooke, M.A. F.A.S. London.

Stenography, or the Art of Short-Hand perfected: containing rules and instructions whereby the most illiterate may acquire the mode of taking down trials, orations, lectures, &c. in a few hours, and be competent, by a little experience, to practise the same. London.

Tables calculated for the Arbitration of Exchanges, with an account of all the monies and currencies of the principal countries and cities of Europe, by J. R. Teschemacter. London.

Impartial Thoughts on the intended Bridges over the Menai and Conway, by a Country Gentleman. With plates. London.

Englishman's Companion in a Journey to Paris. London.

Observations on the Reply of Dr. Caulfield to the misrepresentations of Sir R. Musgrave. Bart. by Sir R. Musgrave. London.

Essays on miscellaneous Subjects, by Sir R. Sinclair, Bart. London.

Epitaphs and Inscriptions, ancient and modern. London.

Modern School of Fine Arts, by Cit. London. French. Paris.

Laocoon, or the Limits of Poetry and Painting, from the German of Lessing, by Vanderbourg. French. Paris.

Collection of the Views of Switzerland, relating to the history of that country. Coloured plates. German. Zurich.

Catalogue of a Collection of antique Medals, made by the Countess of Bentink. French. Hamburgh.

Manual of Archaiology, by J. P. Scibenkees. German. Nuremburg.

New Works of Goëthe. German. Berlin.

Encyclopedical Tables of Astronomy, Geography, Physics, Statistics, History, &c. &c. German. Parma.

Essay on the Antiquity of the Use of Letters, and particularly on the correspondence of Homer, by J. G. Amelang. German. Leipsic.

Asiatic Pearls, or the finest flowers of the East. Translated into German, by A. T. Hartmann. Berlin.

New Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences of Stockholm. Vol. 20. Swedish. Stockholm.

Collection of Memoirs relative to History, a knowledge of the ancients, mineralogy, &c. &c. by Count Velheim. Vol. 2. Helmstadt.

Adrastea, edited by J. G. Kerder. Vol. 1. German. Leipzic.

Bibliographical Catalogue of Books in the Theresian Library at Vienna. Latin. Vienna.

Bibliographical Notices of an ancient Edition of the Psalms, and some rare editions of the Bible, in the XVth century, by Zapf. German. Augsburg.

Bibliographical Dictionary, by G. Peignot. Vol. 1. French. Paris.

Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon. Vol. 2. Portuguese. Lisbon.

Proceedings of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of Petersburgh, to which is prefixed a history of the academy to the year 1794. Vol. 12. Latin. Petersburgh.

Memoirs of the Academy of Belles-lettres, History, and Antiquities of Copenhagen. Swedish. Copenhagen.

Abstract of the Progress, Discoveries, and new Inventions on the sciences, arts, manufactures, and trades, from Easter 1800 to Easter 1801. edited by G. C. B. Busch. German. Enfurt.

Bayle's historical and critical Dictionary, with the life of the author by Maizeaux, a preliminary discourse by the editors, and corrections and additions from the best sources, by a Society of Men of Letters. Vol. I. French. Leipsic.

Correspondence of Mauvillon, or letters of several literary men, addressed to the late Mauvillon, Lieut. Col. in the service of the Duke of Brunswick, collected and published by his son. German. Germany.

Posthumous Works of the Abbé Metastasio, published by the Count d'Ayala. Italian. Vienna.

Schiller's Prose Works, published originally in various periodical works, now collected by himself. Vol. 3. German. Leipsic.

Works of the Abbé Cesarotti complete. Vol. 10. Italian. Pisa

Memoirs of the Batavian Society of Sciences of Harlem. Vol. 1. With coloured engravings. Dutch. Amsterdam.

Essays on various Subjects of Literature, Morals, and Social Life, by C. Garve. Vol. 4. German. Breslaw.

Encyclopedia for the Use of Artists, Manufacturers, and Tradesmen, &c. &c. by P. H. C. Brodhagen. Vol. 2. German. Hamburgh.

Works of J. J. Engel. Vol. 2. German. Berlin.

Miscellaneous Works of C. F. Menso. Vol. 2. German. Leipsic.

Military, literary, and sentimental Miscellany. Vol. 24. German. Dresden.

Complete Works of Aloyse Blumauer. Vol. 6. German. Leipsic.

New Dictionary of Nature and of the Arts, &c. &c. by G. H. C. Lippold. Vol. 1. German. Weimar.

Various Works of J. J. Barthélemy. French. Paris.

Spirit of the Ana, by Grassit Saint Sauveur. French. Paris.

Malesherbiana, with the life of Malesherbes. French. Paris.

Select Memoirs from those read or addressed to the Society of Arts, Commerce, and Agriculture, for the Department of Ardennes. French. Paris.

Complete Works of Thomas. With notes. French. Paris.

New and interesting Letters of Pope Clement XIV. translated into French, with a short account of his life, and a confirmation of several anecdotes. Paris.

Works of Mad. and Mlle. Deshoulières. French. Paris.

Friend of Government and the People, or the principles of true philosophy opposed to the paradoxes of philosophism, by Batailliard. French. Paris.

Theory of Ambition, by H. de Sechelles. With notes, by J. B. S French. Paris.

Abridged Dictionary of the French Monarchy, or France as it was in January 1789, by P. A. Gueroult. French. Paris.

Memoirs of the learned and literary Societies of the French Republic, by Prony, Parmentier, Duhamel, Garnier, Lansel, &c. &c. Vol. 2. French. Paris.

Various Works of Lacretelle the elder. French. Paris.

Memoirs published by the Savans of the Institute of Egypt, during the years 6, 7, and 8. forming the 2d part of memoirs on Egypt. French. Paris.

Dictionary of living German Authors, begun by Hamburger, and continued by Meusel. Vol. 9. German. Lemgo

Mythology compared with History, a new edition, with great amendments, by the Abbé Tressan. French. Paris.

Mythology for Youth. French. Paris.

Works of the Rev. John Witherspoon, D.D. L.L.D. president of Princeton college. Philadelphia.

Manual of Parliamentary Practice, for the Use of the Senate of the United States, by Thomas Jefferson. Washington.

Natural History.

Elements of Natural History, being an introduction to the systema naturæ of Linnæus, comprising the characters of the whole genera, and most remarkable species; particularly of all those that are natives of Britain, with the principal circumstances of their history and manners; likewise an alphabetical arrangement, with definitions of technical terms. With engravings. London.

Works in Natural History of the Rev. Gilbert White, A.M., comprising the natural history of Selborne, the naturalist's calendar, and miscellaneous observations, extracted from his papers. To which is added a calendar and observations, by W. Marwick, Esq. F.L.S. London.

Ornithological Dictionary, or an alphabetical synopsis of British birds, by George Montague, Esq. F.L.S. London.

Natural History of oviparous Quadrupeds and Serpents, from the collection of Buffon, by Lacépède. Translated by R. Kerr, F.R.S. Edinburgh.

Fugitive Sketches of the History and natural Beauties of Clifton Hot Wells, and its Vicinity, by G. W. Manly, Esq. London.

Prodomus Lepidopterorum Britannicorum, a concise view of lepidopterous insects, with the time and place of their appearance in the winged state, by a fellow of the Linnæan Society. London.

Some Account of the poisonous and injurious Honey of North America, and of the plants whence it is extracted, by Benjamin Smith Barton, M D. Philadelphia.

Introduction to a Course of Lectures on Natural History, delivered in the university of Pennsylvania, by C. W. Peale. Philadelphia.

Drawings of Bugs, illustrated with descriptions, by J. F. Wolff. Latin. Erlang.

Monographia Apum Angliæ, or an attempt to divide into their natural genera, such species of the Linnæan genus apis, as have been discovered in England, by W. Kirby, Rector of Barham. London.

Treatise on breeding the Almond-tumbler, with the whole natural history of Pigeons. London.

Synopsis of the British Fuci, by Dawson Turner, A.M. London.

Natural History of Quadrupeds, for the use of young persons. With plates. London.

Natural History of British Fishes, by E. Donovan, F.L.S. London.

Natural History of Birds of Paradise, &c. &c. by L. P. Vieillot. With coloured plates. French. Paris.

Ménagerie of the Museum of Natural History, or a description and history of those animals that are or have been kept there, by Lacépède and Cuvier. With figures painted after nature, by Marechal, and engraved by Miger. French. Paris.

Natural History of Fishes, by Lacépède.

Essay on the Theory of the Volcanos of Auvergne. French. Paris.

Linnæus's animal Kingdom systematically arranged, with the habitations, manners, economy, structure, and peculiarities of its various subjects, translated from Gmelins last edition, amended and enlarged, by W. Turton, M.D. London.

Harmonia Ruralis, or a natural history of British song-birds, by James Bolton. With coloured plates. London.

Edwards's Natural History of uncommon Birds, and of other rare and undescribed animals, quadrupeds, reptiles, fishes, insects, &c. with coloured plates. London.

History of Quadrupeds, by G. Shaw, M.D. F.R.S. With numerous plates. London.

Complete Herbal, containing the prints and the English names of several thousand trees, plants, shrubs, flowers, exotics, &c., by J. Newton. M.D. London.

Continuation of an Account of Indian Serpents, containing their descriptions and figures, published by order of the East-India Company, under the superintendance of Patrick Russell, M.D. F.R.S. London.

Natural History of Quadrupeds, including all the Linnæan class of Mammalia; to which is prefixed a general view of nature, for the instruction of youth. London.

Dr. Shaw's Zoology. Vol. 3. containing a description of the animals that come under the denomination of amphibious. With numerous plates. London.

Mineralogy of Derbyshire, with a description of the most interesting mines in the North of England, Scotland, and Wales, and an analysis of Mr. Williams's "Mineral Kingdom;" with a Glossary, by John Mawe. London.

Dictionary of Natural History, or complete summary of Zoology; containing a full and succinct description of all the animated beings in nature, classed according to the arrangements of the most celebrated naturalists, particularly Linnæus. To which is prefixed, a series of illustrative definitions. Illustrated with engravings. London.

Natural History of the Land and Water Fowls of the North of Germany, compiled from actual observation, with accurate drawings from nature, by J. A. Nauman. Vol. 3. No. 3 and 4. German. Koethen.

General View of Quadrupeds, translated from the English of Thomas Pennant, and accompanied with observations and additions, by J. M. Beckstein. Vol. 2. With 20 coloured plates. German. Weimar.

Description of the largest and most remarkable Caverns in the World, by C. W. Ritter. German. Hamburgh.

Natural History of domestic Animals, with the method of raising them, by J. M. Beckstein. Vol. 1. containing birds. With coloured plates. German. Gotha.

Memoirs of Natural History, by Blasius Merrem. 1st and 2d Nos. With numerous coloured plates. German. Duisburgh and Lemgo.

Entomological Magazine, by Ch. Illiger. Vol. 1. 1st and 2d Nos. German. Brunswick.

Essay on a complete and systematic Nomenclature of the animal and vegetable Kingdoms, by J. K. W. Illiger. German. Helmstadt.

Portable Dictionary of the Natural History of the three Kingdoms of Nature. Vol. 3. German. Leipsic.

German Ornithology, or the natural history of the birds of Germany, drawn from nature, by Borkhausen, Lichthammer, C. W. Bekker, Lambke and Bekker jun. No. 1, 2, and 3. German. Darmstadt.

Dissertations delivered in the Academy of Upsal, under the presidency of C. P. Thunberg. Vol. 2. With plates. Latin. Gottingen.

Fragments of Natural History, by G. Fischer. Vol. 1. German. Franckfort.

Natural History of a part of the rare and newly discovered Birds of America and the Indies, by F. Levaillant. French. Paris.

Natural History of Parrots, by Fr. Levaillant. With drawings after nature. French. Paris.

Natural History of Birds of Paradise, &c. &c., by F. Levaillant, with coloured plates. French. Paris.

Natural Philosophy.

Annals of Natural Philosophy, by Gilbert. German. Halle.

Elements of Natural Philosophy, in letters, by M. Hube. German. Leipsic.

Memoirs of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry. No. 1, 2, and 3. Dutch. Amsterdam.

Experimental Observations relative to combustible Materials. Italian. Florence.

New physical and chemical Memoirs, intended to aid the progress of industry, economy, pharmacy, and manufactures, by Pieter Van Werkhoven. Dutch. Utrecht.

Treatise on animal Electricity, by J. B. van Mons. French. Brussels.

Report made to the Class for physical and mathematical Sciences of the National Institute, &c. by a Committee. French. Paris.

Short Natural History of the Heavens, the Air, and the Earth; or general notions on natural philosophy, by Philibert. French. Paris.

Celestial Companion, a Treatise containing the elements of Astronomy, by R. Woolsey. London.

Observations on the Nature and Properties of the Atmosphere, by N. Dowuie. London.

Complete Treatise on Electricity in Theory and Practice, with original experiments, to which is added the practice of medical electricity, by Tiberius Cavallo, F. R. S. with plates. London.

Treatise on Astronomy, in which the elements of the science are deduced, in a natural order, from the appearances of the heavens to an observer on the earth, demonstrated on mathematical principles, and explained by an application to the various phenomena; by Olinthus Gregory. Cambridge.

Philosophical Papers, being a collection of memoirs, dissertations, and experimental investigations, relating to various branches of natural philosophy and mechanics, by Benj. Count Rumford, L. L. D. F. R. S, &c. Vol. 1. London.

Considerations on the Substance of the Sun, by A. B. Woodward. Washington.

Magnetic Atlas, &c. &c. by J. Churchman. New-York.

New physical System of Astronomy, or an attempt to explain the operations of the powers that impel the planets to perform elliptical revolutions round the sun, and revolve on their own axis, in which the system of Sir Isaac Newton is examined, &c. by Joseph Young. New-York.

Observations on the influence of the Moon on Climate and animal Economy. Philadelphia.

Hydrogeology, or Inquiries concerning the Influence of the Waters upon the Surface of the terrestrial Globe, concerning the cause of the existence of the bason of the sea, of its change of place and successive encroachments on different parts of the surface of the globe, and on the changes affected by living bodies on the nature and state of the surface, by J. B. Lamark. French. Paris.

Journal of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, or a periodical collection of all the discoveries in those sciences, by J. B. Von Mons. French. Brussels.

Memoirs to serve as a History of modern astronomical discoveries, by J. H. Schroeter. Vol. III. German. Gottingen.

Manual to serve for a Knowledge of the starry Heavens, by J. E. Bode, 7th edit. with plates. German. Berlin.

Abridgment of Astronomy for the Use of young Ladies, by Mad. Calemard, with plates. French. London.

Transactions of the American philosophical Society. Philadelphia.

Naval Science, and Maritime Affairs.

History of Marine Architecture, by J. Charnock, Esq. F. R. S. with plates. London.

Memoir on the Port of Marseilles, showing the means of putting it in a better state, with the project of a second port to assist the entrance of

vessels in all winds, &c. by Jean Greimet. French. Marseilles.

The British Mariner's Directory and Guide to the Trade and Navigation of the Indian and Chinese Seas, by H. M. Elmore. London.

Naval Chronology, or an historical summary of naval and maritime events, from the time of the Romans to the definitive treaty of peace in 1802, by Isaac Schomberg, Esq. Vol. 1. to 4.

The Naval History of the late War, by W. Stewart Rose. Vol. 1. 7s.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Pursers in the Royal Navy. London.

Correspondence between Earl St. Vincent and Vice Admiral Sir J. Orde, Bart. London.

Novels and Romances.

Nobility run Mad, or Raymond and his three Wives. London.

Massorf, or the Philosophy of the Day, an Eastern Tale. London.

Correlia, or the Mystic Tomb, by the author of Humbert Castle. London.

Man of Fortitude, by B. Frere. London.

Splendid Misery, by T. Surr, author of George Barnwell, &c. London.

Scenes in Wales, or the Maid of Llangolf, by a Clergyman. London.

Peasant of Ardenne Forest, by Mrs. Parsons. London.

Follies of Fashion, a dramatic novel. London.

Minerva Castle, a tale, by Jane Harvey. London.

Accusing Spirit, or de Courcy and Eglantine, a romance, by the author of Rosina. London.

History of Netterville, or the chance pedestrian, by a Lady of Bristol. London.

Helen of Glenross, a novel, by the author of historical Tales. London.

Odd Enough, to be Sure! or Emilius in the World, a novel, from the German of La Fontaine. London.

Welsh Legends, No. 1. containing the Weird Witch of the Wood, and the Sighs of Ulla. London.

Ditto, No. 2. containing the Infidel. London.

Julietta, or the Triumph of mental Acquirements over personal Defects. London.

Three Spaniards, a Romance, by G. Walker. London.

Meditations of a Recluse, by John Brewster, M.A. London.

Phatima et Zoroe, an Arabian tale, by M. Alciator. French. London.

Truth and Fiction, by Mrs. S. V. R. Gooch. London.

Alfred, by Mrs. Parker. London.

Clara Howard, by the author of Wailand, Ormond, &c. &c. Philadelphia.

Wanderings of William, or the inconstancy of youth, by J. Davies, author of Ferdinand and Elizabeth, &c. Philadelphia.

Lascelles, interspered with characteristic sketches from nature, by Marian Moore. London.

Bride's Embrace on the Grave, or the Midnight Wedding in the Church of Mariengarten, taken from the German, by Maria Geisweiler. London.

Sufferings of the Family of Ortenberg, a novel, from the German of Kotzebue. London.

Letters of a solitary Wanderer, containing narratives of various descriptions, by C. Smith. London.

St. Margaret's Cave, by Mrs. Helme. London.

Algerine Captive, or the Life and Adventures of Dr. Updicke Underhill, six years a prisoner among the Algerines. London.

Wonderful Travels of Prince Fanferedin, in Arcadia. London.

Mottos, or Imagery of Life, by W. Robson, of Castle Carey. London.

Delaval, a novel. London.

Wakefield Castle, a tale, by Jane Harvey. London.

St. Mary's Abbey. London.

Historical Tales, curious and instructive. London.

Farmer's Boy, a novel, by Miss Gunning. London.

Hermit of the Alps, a tale from the German, translated by J. Richardson, Esq. London.

Heir Apparent, a novel, by the late Mrs. Gunning, revised and augmented by her Daughter. London.

Miralba, Chief of Banditti, translated from the French. London.

School for Fashion, by Mrs. Thicknesse. London.

Mysteries of Abruzzo, a romance. London.

Lady of the Cave, by H. H. Hasworth, London.

Mouland Vale, or the fair Fugitive, by a Lady, author of Henry Villers. New York.

Edgar Huntly, by the author of Arthur Mervyn, &c. &c. London.

Farmer of New Jersey, or a Picture of domestic Life, by J. Davies. Philadelphia.

Ladouski and Floriska, by L***. French. Paris.

Augustine de Rochaimon, by the author of Alexandrine de Châteaufort. French. Paris.

Love and Philosophy, by B. Saint-Prix. French. Paris.

Beautiful Alsacien, or like Mother like Daughter. French. Paris.

Henry and Sophia, by the author of Tiamy. French. Paris.

Two Cousins, or the uncommon Wife. French. Paris.

Juliette Grenville, or a History of the human Heart. French. Paris.

Recluses of the Alps, or the Adventures of two illustrious Outlaws. French. Paris.

Eugénie de Monclare, or the History of the Mother and Daughter, by C. M***. French. Paris.

Parsonage, or the Illustrious persecuted during the Revolution, by Mad. C. D. V. French. Paris.

Illustrious Islanders, or the History of M. de Fayel, and Mad. de Forlis, by Mad. de B***. French. Paris.

Event of the Day, or a physical and moral Caricature. French. Paris.

Charles de Tusannes, or Families to be erased from the list of Emigrants, by K. de L. author of Hector Martin. French. Paris.

Busiris, or the new Telemachus, by J. S. Quesné, French. Paris.

Pauline de Ferrieu, by G. de Faverolle. French. Paris.

New Library of Romance, by a Society of Men of Letters. Vol. 9. French. Paris.

Agathon, by Wieland, a new and complete translation. French. Paris.

Three Gil Blas, taken from the manuscript of one, and edited by Lamartelliere. French. Paris.

Modern Faublas, or the Adventures of a Swiss, by C. F. Fexevali. French. Paris.

Brassman, or the inexorable Father, by Dampmartin. French. Paris.

Less true than probable, or the Forest of Sercotte, by Mad. Houdin. French. Paris.
Lorimon, or Man as he is, by B. d'Arnaud. French. Paris.
Clemence, a moral romance, by A. L. Lamaisonneuve. French. Paris.
Infant of the Priory, or the Canoness of Metz, by Mad. Guenard, author of Irma. French Paris.
My Wedding-Night. French. Paris.
Mélicute and Zirphile. French. Paris.
Charles and Henrietta, or the Castle of Apenflur, a romance, translated from the German, by Principée and Laveau. French. Paris.
Universal Lover. French. Paris.
Paul, or the deserted Farm, by Ducray-Duminil.
Pleasures of Illusion, or memoirs and adventures of Volsange, by Nougaret. French. Paris.
M. Renard, or the Man of a Thousand, by Mad. Delagrave. French. Paris.
Death of Ernance, or the Victims of Civil War, by Desfontaines. French. Paris.
Theodeline, or the abandoned Daughter. French. Paris.
Orphana, or the Child of the Hamlet, by the author of Allyrine. French. Paris.
Adrien, or the Adventures of a young Seminarist. French. Paris.
Elizabeth de S***, or the History of a Russian. French. Paris.
Clara Hartford, or the Victim of Appearances, by Moreau the elder. French. Paris.
Constance, or Destiny, by Mad. Saintvenan, author of Olympia. French. Paris.
Eugénic de Montcalde, or the Effects of Inconsequence, by Mad. J***. French. Paris.
Alexander and Seraphine, a History not incredible. French. Paris.
After Supper at Alexandria, or the Nights of the French Ladies with the Army of the East. French. Paris.
Florral and Mirsa, or the Lovers united. French. Paris.
History of Edward and Caroline: the correspondence of Edward, chief of the Chouans, in the prison of the Abbaye. French. Paris.
Aurora, or the mysterious Lover, a translation from the German, by C. D. French. Paris.
Outlaws, by Charles Nodier. French. Paris.
Adeline and Solignac, or the Lovers of the Priory. French. Paris.
Zirphée, or Memoirs of a French Lady, written by herself, and containing her misfortunes since the revolution. French. Paris.
Bianca del Giglio, by L. T. Kosegarten. German. Dresden.
Wanderings of Gustavus, a romance. German. Leipsic.
Journey after Death. German.
Sickness and Love, by W*. X*. German. Bremen.
Cave of the enchanted Castle, or the Deliverance of Emmeric, a tale of the times of Bela IVth. German. Vienna.
Elesa of Waldhiem and Bernardo, by G. Müller. German. Stutgaid.
Economy of Axenflur. German. Frankfort.
Spirit of the fair Géniévra. German. Leipsic.
Albert Belheim, or the Consequences of the Blunders of Youth. German. Weisenfils.
Count Donomar: Letters written in Germany during the seven years war. German. Gottingen.
Werner, or the sailor's cottage, a moral tale. German. Brunswick.
Count Robert and his Friend St. Michel, or the Princess of Orimbal and Bambouk. German. Leipsic.
Sebastian the unknown, by the author of Rinaldo Rinaldini. German. Berlin.
Henriette Dufort, an Anecdote of the French Revolution, during the reign of terror, by A. Lafontaine. German. Berlin.
History and authentic Correspondence of Abeilard and Héloïse, with the poems of Pope, Colardeau and Bürger, by J. Weidemann. German. Halle.
Mysteries of Greece, by Blaschke. German. Leipsic.
Romantic Fictions, by Kosegarten. Vol. 4. German. Leipsic.
Laurent Stark, a characteristic Picture, by J. J. Engel. German. Berlin.
Family of Hohenstamm, by C. S. Ludwig. German. Leipsic.
Mirror of the human Passions, by Beker, Huber. Lafontaine, Lindemaan, &c. &c. German, Leipsic.

Philosophy, Ethics, Logic, and Metaphysics.

Memoirs towards a History of Philosophy, at the commencement of the 19th century, by C. L. Rienhold. German. Hamburg.
Essays on the Principles of philosophical Intuition, by W. T. King. German. Meissen.
Manual of Logic, with an introduction to philosophy in general, and metaphysics in particular. German. Leipsic.
Elementary principles of modern philosophy, translated from the original Latin, by Victorin Laaber. German. Vienna.
General and critical History of Ethics, ancient and modern, by Ch. Meiners. German. Gottingen.
Collection of some Pieces, little known, by Emanuel Kant, edited by F. T. Rink. German. Konigsburg.
Abstract of the history of philosophy, and the critical literature of that science, by J. G. Buhle. Vol. 6. German. Gottingen.
Essay towards a succinct Exposition of the Criticism of right Reason, by M. J. Kimber. Dutch. Amsterdam.
New miscellaneous Extracts from the Manuscripts of Mad. Necker. French. Paris.
Three Books on Wisdom, by Parineu. French. Paris.
Essay on public Spirit, by Toulongeon. French. Paris.
Essay on Marriage, and its relations with the religion and new laws of France. French. Paris.
Treasures of History and Morality, extracted from the best authors. Greek, Latin, and French; with reflections, by A. L. Delaroche. French. Paris.
Hartley's Essay on Man, translated from the English, with notes and additions, by R. A. Sicard. French. Paris.
Works of Francis Bacon, translated from the English, by Ant. Lasalle, with historical, critical, and literary notes. Vol. 12. French. Dijon.
Philosophical Letters on the Intelligence and Perfectability of Animals, with some Letters on Man, by C. G. Leroi. French. Paris.

Practical Philosophy of social Life, or the art of conversing with men, from the German of Baron Knigge, by the Rev. S. Will. London.

Novum Organum Scientiarum, containing rules for conducting the understanding in the search of truth, and raising a solid structure of universal philosophy, translated from the Latin of Bacon, by P. Shaw, M. D. with notes. London.

Intellectual Physicks, an essay concerning the nature of being and progression of existence, by C. Pownall. London.

Explanation of a philosophical Table of human Knowledge, by A. Thiebaut. French. Paris.

Poetry.

Select Odes from Anacreon, with odes from Sappho, accompanied with remarks, by C. G. Ramler.

Poems of Ossian, translated into free verse, by J. G. Rhode. German. Berlin.

Collection of German Poetry, for public instruction, by F. Rambach. Vol. 2. German. Berlin.

Flowers, by T. Kosegarten. German. Berlin.

Poems of Friedericke Brun. Vol. 4. German. Zurich.

Poems of Aloyse Schreiber. German. Dusseldorf.

Urania, or the god of immortality and liberty, a lyro-didactic poem, by C. W. Tiedge. German. Halle.

Violets of Hella, collected by Hedder, and woven into garlands by a friend of the Greek muse. German. Chemnitz.

German Romances and Ballads, collected by C. F. Waitz. German. Altenburg.

Poetical works of C. G. Ramler. Vol. 1. containing lyric poems, with engravings. German. Berlin.

Poems of Sophia Moreau. Vol. 1. German. Berlin.

Speaking Animals, an epic poem, in twenty-six cantos, by Giambatista Casti. Italian. Paris.

Collection of the fugitive Poems of Hoffmann. French. Paris.

Dinners of Vaudeville. Vol. 5. French. Paris.

Milton's Paradise lost, a new translation, with notes, by J. Mossneron. French. Paris.

Moses in Egypt among the Midianites. French. Paris.

Young's Night Thoughts, translated by Letourneur. French. Paris.

Poetic Trifles, or a collection of new fables, songs, and various poems. French. Paris.

New Collection of Poems, by Cit. N. L. A. French. Paris.

New World, or Christopher Columbus, a poem, by Cit. Lesuire. French. Paris.

Bouquet of Roses, or the songster of the graces, by Chazet. French. Paris.

Poetical Almanack of Brussels, for the year 10. French. Brussels.

New Almanack of the Muses, for the year 1802. French. Paris.

Songs and other Poems of Armand Gouffé. French. Paris.

Virgil's Georgics, translated into French verse, with remarks on those of the Abbé Delille, with a translation into Latin verse of the "Cherries overset" of Mlle. Cheron, by J. F. Raux. French. Paris.

Arts, a poem in three cantos, by J. B. Lavedon. French. Paris.

Epistle to Fools. French. Paris.

Idyls and Romances of Berquin. French. Paris.

Lyre of Anacreon, by Chazet. French. Paris.

Trident, or the natural policy of naval celebration. London.

Selborne Hill, a poem, with an account of the place, and notes, by D. Griffiths. London.

Pleader's Guide, a didactic poem. Part. 2. containing the conduct of suits at law. London.

Poems by Mad. Guion, translated by the late W. Cowper, Esq. London.

Poems on various subjects, by Thomas Dumody. London.

Translation of the Rev. Dr. Geddes's Ode to Peace, by John Ring. London.

Dream, a poem, celebrating the glorious victories of our naval commanders, from the commencement of the war with France to August 1, 1800; and the great events which, from the earliest agents, have taken place on the shores of Egypt. London.

Works of Solomon Gessner, translated from the German, with some account of his life and writings. London.

Juvenile Epigrams and Poems, written by J. Nash, LL. B. addressed to the gentlemen of the army and navy. London.

Complaint of Scotland, written in 1548, with a preliminary dissertation and glossary; by J. Leyden. London.

Medico-metrical address to the students at the University of Edinburgh, containing characteristic sketches of the medical professors in that celebrated school, part 2, by Samuel Lancet, Esq. London.

Elegy, sacred to the memory of his Grace, Francis, Duke of Bedford, who exchanged this life for another, March 2, 1802, at Woburn, in Bedfordshire, by John New. London.

Lenitive after lashing, an antidote to the Painter's Letter to N. Desenfans, Esq. London.

Minstrelsy of the Scottish Bards, with an introduction and notes, by W. Scott, Esq. London.

Science revived, or the vision of Alfred. With engravings. London.

Observations on the present State of the Poor, with remarks on parish assessments, by the Rev. H. B. Dudley. London.

Monopolists, a poem, by Mr. Harrison. London.

Sonnets and Odes, by Mr. Thompson. London.

Poetical Register and Repository of fugitive Poetry, for the year 1801. Vol. 1. London.

Select Translations of Homer and Horace, with original Poems, by Gilbert Thompson, M. D. London.

Methodist, a poem. London.

Union, a poem, in commemoration of the union of Ireland with Great-Britain; with an emblematical engraving. London.

Poems and ballads, embellished with four wood cuts. London.

Rosciad, a poem, for 1802. Dedicated to Mr. Kemble, by George Butler. London.

Peasant's Fate, a rural poem, with miscellaneous pieces, by William Holloway. London.

Histrionade, or the theatrical tribunal, a poem descriptive of the principal performers in both houses. In two parts, by Marmaduke Myrtle, Esq. London.

Island of Innocence, a poetical epistle to a friend, by P. Pindar, Esq. London.

Soldier, an historical Poem, in three parts, containing an epitome of the wars entered into by Great-Britain from 1739 to the present time. Part 1. London.

Odes of Anacreon, translated into English verse, by T. Moore, Esq. London.

Jacobinism, a Poem, by John Clark Hubbard, A.M. London.

Sorrows of Love, a Poem. London.

La Bagatella, or Delineation of Home Scenery, a descriptive poem, in two parts. With notes critical and historial, by W. Fox, jun. London.

Sketches in Elegy, and other Poems, containing an address on the 19th century. London.

Poetical Introduction to the Study of Botany, by Frances A. Rowden. London.

Rural Tales, Ballads, and Songs, by R. Bloomfield. With engravings on wood, by Nesbet. London.

Songs on the Peace, by J. Bisset, Birmingham. London.

Ode to Peace; to which is added the Negro's Appeal, by J. H. Colls. London.

The Poetical Works of Englefield Smith, Esq. London.

Poetry explained, for the use of young people, by R. L. Edgeworth, Esq. London.

The Wreath, or Poetical Gleanings, by C. Earnshaw. London.

Poems and Ballads. London.

Thoughts on Happiness, a Poem, in 4 Books. London.

Italy and England, each in her children. French. London.

Scelti of T. J. Mathias. Italian. London.

Poetical Version of the four Gospels, by Ralph Darling. London.

Satires of Decimus Junius Juvenalis. Translated into English verse. With copious notes and illustrations, by William Gifford, Esq. London.

Miscellaneous Translations and Imitations of the Greek Poets, by J. B. S. Morritt, Esq. London.

Plants, a Poem, by Rene Richard Castel. French. London.

Somerville's Chase. With engravings on wood by Bewick. London.

Festival of the Rose, and other poems. London.

Commiserating Epistle to James Lowther, Earl of Lonsdale, &c., by Peter Pindar, Esq. London.

Youth, a poem, by J. Bidlake. A.B. London.

History of England in Verse, by Caroline Fry. London.

Divina Commedia of Dante Alighieri, consisting of the Inferno, Purgatorio, and Paradiso. Translated into English verse, with preliminary essays, notes, and illustrations, by H. Boyd, A.M. London.

Italian Poetry for the 18th Century, by G. B. Cassano. Italian. London.

Poems, by Samuel Low. New York.

Present State of Literature, a poem, by Warren Dutton. Hartford.

Poems written chiefly in South Carolina, by John Davis. New York.

Powers of Genius, a poem in three parts, by Rev. John Blair Linn, A.M. Philadelphia.

Pedagogiad, or literary Fracas. New York.

Poems by Sir John Honeywood, with some pieces in prose. New York.

Parnassian Shop, opened in the pindaric Style, by Peter Quince, Esq. Boston.

Politics and Political Economy.

Historical, statistical, and economical Collections, intended to convey some knowledge of the North of Germany, particularly the Duchies of Sleswic and Holstein, by A. Neimann. Vol. 2. German. Altona.

Picture of Europe during the last Year of the 18th Century, by Hippolethus à Lapide. German. Gera.

Address of a French Citizen to the Congress of Luneville, in behalf of all the inhabitants of Europe who profess the Jewish religion, by Michael Berr. French. Strasburg.

General Peace, or a political and moral Picture of France, by Bataillard. French. Paris.

Selection of Memoirs on humane Establishments, translated from the German, English, Spanish, Italian, &c. &c. Edited by A. Duquesnoy. Vol. 9. French. Paris.

Tyranny, by Victor Alfieri. French. Paris.

Political Picture of Europe at the Commencement of the 19th Century, and the means of securing the duration of the general peace, by Eschasseriaux, the elder. French. Paris.

Principles of political Law, in opposition to those of Rousseau on the social contract, by M***. French Paris.

Smith's Wealth of Nations, translated; with numerous notes and observations, by G. Garnier. French. Paris.

Free Navigation of the Rhine, by J. F. Paravay. French. Paris.

Considerations on the Accumulation of Capitals, &c., by J. Bose. French. Paris.

Letter to Sir William Pulteney, Bart. on the Trade between India and Europe, by Sir George Dallas. London.

Proceedings at the India-House, on the 16th December 1801, by W. Woodfall. London.

Elucidation of the Conduct of his Holiness, Pope Pius VII. with respect to the bishops and ecclesiastical affairs of France, by Rev. J. Milner. London.

Reports of the Society for bettering the Condition of the Poor. London.

Observations on Mr. Dundas's Letter of the 30th June 1801, to the Chairman of the East-India Company. London.

Letters on Peace, and on the commerce and manufactures of Great-Britain, by Sir F. M. Eden, Bart. London.

Letters on the Irish Nation, written during a visit to that kingdom in 1729, by G. Cooper, Esq. London.

Address to every Class of British Subjects on the Slave-trade, and on a new mode of abolition, by D. Reid, Esq. of Jamaica. London.

Letter addressed to the Hon. C. J. Fox, in consequence of a publication entitled "a Sketch of "the Character of the noble Francis, Duke of "Bedford." London.

Letters on the present state of the Jewish Poor in the Metropolis, &c. by Joshua Vanhoven. London.

Letters to Abraham Goldsmith, Esq. containing strictures on Vanhoven's Letter on the present State of the Jewish Poor, &c., by Philojudais. London.

Political Essay on the Commerce of Portugal and her Colonies, particularly Brazil in South America, by T. T. Da Cunha de Azeredo, Bishop of Fernambuco, and Fellow of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Lisbon. Portuguese. Lisbon.

Enquiry into the Nature and Effects of the Paper Credit of Great-Britain, by Henry Thornton, Esq. M.P. London.

Serious Reflections on Paper-Money in general, particularly on the alarming inundation of forged Bank Notes, with hints for remedying the evil. London.

Utility of Country Banks considered. London.

Concordat between Buonaparté and Pope Pius VII. with the speech of Portalis on presenting it to the legislative Body. London.

The whole of the official Documents, Reports, Specches, Conventions, Bulls, &c. relative to the Concordat between the Pope and Buonaparté. London.

Crisis of the Sugar Colonies, or an enquiry into the probable effects of the French expedition to the West Indies, and their connexion with the colonial interests of the British empire, &c. &c. London.

Appeal to Experience and Common-sense, by a comparison of the present with former periods. London.

Probable Effects of the Peace with respect to the commercial interests of Great-Britain, &c. London.

Collection of Hand-bills, Addresses, Songs, and other Publications, relative to the election of members to represent the city of Oxford. &c. Oxford.

Short Views of the Administrations of Washington, Adams, and Jefferson, with observations on the present state of the United States, by G. Henderson, Esq. London.

Review of the French Revolution, with inferences respecting men and manners in all ranks of society, by the Rev. W. Cameron. London.

Sketch of the late Duke of Bedford, by the Hon. C. J. Fox, delivered in his speech on a motion for a new writ for the borough of Tavistock. London.

Remarks on the Poor Laws, and on the State of the Poor, by C. Weston. London.

Financial and political Facts of the 18th century, with comparative estimates of the revenue, expenditure, debts, manufactures, and commerce of Great-Britain, by J. M'Arthur, Esq. London.

The Names of Parishes and other Divisions, maintaining the poor in the county of Westmoreland, &c. &c., by a Justice of the Peace. London.

Substance of the Speech of the Rt. Hon. Lord Grenville on the motion for approving the convention with Russia, with an appendix and notes. London.

Estimate of the comparative Strength of Great-Britain, and of the losses of her trade from every war since the revolution, &c. &c., by G. Chalmers. F.R.S. S.A. London.

Income Tax scrutinized, and some amendments proposed to render it more agreeable to the English constitution, by J. Gray. LL.D. London.

Observations on the Factions that have ruled Ireland, &c. &c., by T. E. Devereux, Esq. London.

Dissertation on landed Property, as far as respects farms, mills, and timber, by Robert Serle. London.

Impolicy of returning Bankers to Parliament in the ensuing Election, by a Friend to the Poor. London.

Address to those who govern, and those who are governed, by M. Herrenschwand. French. London.

Profusion of Paper Money, not deficiency in Harvests; taxation, not speculation; the principal causes of the sufferings of the people, by a Banker. London.

Letters to the Rt. Hon. Henry Addington, on the fatal effects of the Peace with Buonaparté, by W. Cobbett. London.

Guilt of democratic Scheming fully proved against the Dissenters, at the request of Mr. Parsons, by an Enquirer. London.

Address to the independant Freeholders of the County of Suffolk on the approaching election, by a Suffolk Freeholder. London.

English Country Gentleman's Address to the Irish Members of the Imperial Parliament, on the Slave Trade. London.

Letter of the Hon. C. J. Fox to the Electors of Westminster, dated Jan. 23, 1793, with application of its principles to subsequent events, by R. Adair, Esq. M.P. London.

Substance of Sheridan's Speech on the Definitive Treaty. London.

Kearsley's improved Tax-tables for England and Scotland, for the present year. London.

Public Credit in Danger, or frauds on the revenue, private wrongs and public ruin, by a Member of the Inner Temple. London.

Letter to Sir J. Banks, containing strictures on his Letter to the National Institute of France. London.

Speech of Sir F. Burdett on his motion for instituting an inquiry into the conduct of His Majesty's late Ministers. London.

Spirit of Anti-Jacobinism for 1802. London.

Substance of the Speech of the Rt. Hon. Sir William Scott in the House of Commons, relative to the Non-residence of the Clergy. London.

Debate at the East-India House, at a special general Court, April 2, 1802. London.

State of Europe before and after the French Revolution: translated from the German of Frederick Gentz, by J. C. Herries, Esq. London.

Address to the Electors of the Borough of Chippenham, in consequence of a verdict in favour of H. Guy, in an action against him for a libel, at the suit of C. Brooke. London.

Broad Hints submitted to the consideration of those whom it may concern, respecting the profit and loss of a war called just and necessary. London.

Prerogatives of the Crown defended, and electors apprised of the duties on paper, with answers to Reviewers. London.

Letter to the Proprietors of East-India Stock, respecting the present situation of the Company's affairs, both abroad and at home. London.

Considerations on the Debt on the Civil List, by the Rt. Hon. George Rose, M.P. London.

Serious Reflections on Paper-money, &c. London.

Improvement of the Fisheries, Letter 3, or a plan for establishing a nursery for disbanded soldiers and seamen, &c. London.

Address to the good Sense and Candour of the People, in behalf of the Dealers in Corn, with observations on a late trial, by Sir Thomas Turton, Bart. London.

Answer to a Memorial, said to have been presented to the Rt. Hon. Secretary of War, in favour of the suppression of the Tower-Hamlet's militia, by a Housekeeper in the Tower Hamlets. London.

Manual of Liberty, &c. in prose and verse. London.

Views of the Public Debt, Receipts, and Expenditures, of the United States, in 1800, by Albert Gallatin. New York.

Essay on Political Society. Philadelphia.

Letters to the Inhabitants of Northumberland and its neighbourhood, on subjects interesting to the author and to them, &c. by Joseph Priestley, L.L.D. &c. Philadelphia.

Origin and Principles of the American Revolution, compared with the Origin and Principles of the French Revolution, translated from the German of Gentz, by an American. Philadelphia.

Thoughts on the increasing Wealth and national Economy of the United States. Boston.

State Department of the German Empire, edited by J. A. Reuss. Vol. 5. German. Ulm.

True Principles of Government, or an analysis of the fundamental principles of true liberty, by P. L. Gin. French. Paris.

Manual of a French Citizen. French. Paris.

Observation on the Organization of the Tribunals of Commerce, and their Duties, &c. &c. by Cit. Coppens. French. Paris.

Political Essays, by James Workman, Esq. Alexandria.

Selection of patriotic Addresses to the President of the United States, with the President's Answers. Philadelphia.

Sermons, &c.

Sermon preached in the chapel at Gosport, on Sunday, February 14th, 1802, being the early meeting of the children educated at the charity schools in the town of Gosport, published by desire of the Committee, to whom it is dedicated, by Ed. Poulter, M. A. London.

Proposals for a new Arrangement of the Revenue and Residence of the Clergy, by Ed. Poulter, M. A. London.

Sermons, by John Mackenzie, D.D. Minister of Portpatrick. London.

Pocket Sermons for Families and Village reading. London.

Remarks on the Design and Formation of the Articles of the Church of England, intended to illustrate their true meaning; a Sermon preached before the University of Oxford, at St. Mary's, on Sunday, February 14, 1802, by William, Lord Bishop of Bangor. London.

Sermons to Young Women, by James Fordyce, D.D. London.

Sermons on the Christian Temper, by the late Caleb Evans, D.D. with the life of the author, by J. Erskine, D.D. London.

Sacred Biography, with an additional Vol. on the Life of Christ, by H. Hunter, D.D. London.

Two Sermons preached at Dominica on the 11th and 13th of April, 1800; and officially noticed by his Majesty's Privy Council in that island, to which is added an appendix, containing minutes of three trials which occurred at Roseau in the spring of the preceding year, by the Rev. C. Peters, A. M. London.

Rock of Israel, a sermon preached at Salter's Hall, for the benefit of the charity school in Gravel Lane, Southwark, March 7, 1802, by W. B. Collyer. London.

Discourses on various Subjects, delivered in the English Church at the Hague, by A. Maclaine, D.D. London.

Thanksgiving for Plenty, and a Warning against Avarice; a Sermon preached in the Cathedral of Litchfield, by the Rev. R. Narves. London.

Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Durham, at the ordinary Visitation of the Diocese, in July 1801, by Shute, Bishop of Durham. London.

Sermons on the Dignity of Man, and the value of the objects principally relating to human happiness, from the German of the late Rev G. J. Zollikofer, minister of the reformed congregation at Leipsic, by the Rev. W. Tooke, F.R.S. London.

Blessings of Peace; a Sermon, by the Rev. T. Haweis, LL.B. M.D. London.

Utility of Seminaries for Religion and Learning, with a view to the Christian Ministry, a sermon, by James Knight. London.

Nicodemus, or a Treatise against the Fear of Man, by Aug. Herman Frank. London.

Ninth Volume of Sermons, by the Rev. John Wesley. London.

Day of good Tidings; a Sermon at Bath, by T. Broadhurst. London.

Dr. Evans's Sermons on the Christian Temper; a new edition: with his life, by Dr. Erskine. London.

Sermons by J. B. Massillon, Bishop of Clermont, selected and translated by W. Dickson, to which is prefixed the life of the author. London.

Dying Christian fleeing for Refuge to the Lord; a sermon, occasioned by the death of Miss Nancy Wilson, by J. Bowden. London.

Discourses at the Ordination of the Rev. J. Clayton, jun. by the Rev. W. Humphreys, J. Clayton, sen. and W. Nichol. London.

Difficulties and Supports of a Gospel Minister; and the duties incumbent on a Christian Church: a charge by J. Ryland, D.D. and a sermon by J. Hinton, at the ordination of T. Coles, A.M. at Bourton on the Water. London.

Memory of the Just: a sermon on the death of the Rev. J. Angus, Dec. 22, 1801, by W. Chaplin. London.

Introductory Discourse, by the Rev. R. Stevenson; the charge, by the Rev. J. Conchin; and the sermon, by the Rev. Joel Ray, at the ordination of the Rev. C. Dewhirst, Bury St. Edmund. London.

Sermons, chiefly designed for young Persons, by Daniel Sandford, A. M. chaplain to the Rt. Hon. Lady Abercromby. London.

Sermons on various subjects, by T. Gisbourne. London.

Lectures in Lent, during 1798, 99, 1800, and 1801, by Beilby Porteus, Lord Bishop of London. London.

St. Paul no Arian; or the End of the mediatorial Kingdom, a sermon, preached on Sunday the 25th of April, 1802, by the Rev. J. White Middleton, M.A. London.

Christian Principles the only Foundation of consistent Virtue; a sermon, at St. Edmund's Bury, before the Hon. Sir Nash Grose, Knt. at the Assizes held there for the County of Suffolk, March 26th, 1802, by the Rev. George Mathew, A.M. London.

Sermon, preached at the close of a Series of Lectures, on the signs and duties of the times, continued for nearly three years in the metropolis, by a Society of Clergymen, by Thos. Scott, chaplain to the Lock Hospital. London.

Stage playing immoral, vain, and dangerous; a Sermon, by J. Cobbin. London.

Sermon on the Sin of Cruelty towards the Brute Creation; preached in the Abbey Church at Bath, on February 15th, 1801, by the Rev.

Leigh Richmond, A.M. of Trinity College, Cambridge, &c. London.

Funeral Oration for the late Rev. Arthur O'Leary, O. S. F. pronounced at St. Patrick's Chapel, Soho Square, by the Rev. Morgan D'Arcy. London.

Thoughts on the late Harvest; a sermon, by C. V. Le Grice, A.B. London.

Sermons and Charges of the Right Rev. John Thomas, LL.D. late Lord Bishop of Rochester, and Dean of Westminster, published from the original MSS. by G. A. Thomas, A. M. his lordship's chaplain and executor, and rector of Woolwich, Kent, to which is prefixed, a sketch of the life and character of the author, by the editor, published for the benefit of the Philanthropic Society, St. George's Fields, under the patronage of his Grace the Duke of Leeds. London.

Great Mercies of the Lord, by the Rev. J. Clayton. London.

Blessings of Peace, by the Rev. S. Lowel. London.

I am for Peace, by J. Evans, A.M. London.

Removal of Judgments, by the Rev. W. B. Williams, A.B. London.

Reflections on War, by R. Hall, A.M. of Cambridge. London.

Volume of Sermons, by the Rev. W. Jay, of Bath. London.

Sermon on the Ignominy of ministerial Studies, by the Rev. S. Charrier, of Lancaster. London.

Four Sermons, on Repentance;—Evil of Sin;—Christ's Love;—Promise of the Spirit, by T. Scott. London.

Christian Zeal; a Sermon before the Scots' Society for propagating the Gospel in the Highlands, by J. Hughes, A.M. London.

Sermons and Essays, by J. Maclaurin. London.

Modern Infidelity considered, by R. Hall, A.M. London.

Young Christian's Triumph; a Sermon, by W. Smelle, on the Funeral of his only daughter. London.

Helps to Composition, or Five Hundred Skeletons of Sermons, by the Rev. Charles Simeon, M.A. Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. London.

Influence of the Female Character upon Society considered, more especially with a reference to the present crisis, in a Sermon preached in the parish church of St. John, at Hackney, on Sunday, November 22, 1801, by the Rev. Henry Handley Norris, M. A. London.

Sermon preached before the Earl of Radnor, by C. P. Layard, D.D. F.R.S. F.S.A. Dean of Bristol. London.

Sermon, preached before the University of Oxford, May 16, 1802, by G. S. Faber, M.A. F.L.C. London.

Sermon, preached at Marsham on the 1st of June, by the author of Thoughts on the Preliminaries of Peace. London.

Four Sermons, preached in May last, before the Missionary Society, by the Rev. S. Lowell, G. Townshend, J. M. Mason, of New York; and Dr. Hawker; with the Annual Report, List of Subscribers. &c. London.

Statistics and Topography.

View of the Prussian Monarchy, with respect to its statistical and political situation. German. Berlin.

Statistical View of the Department of the Rhine and Moselle, by Cit. Van Recum. German. Coblentz.

Sketch of a statistical Table of Austria, &c. &c. by Baron de Lichtenstern. German. Vienna.

Valley of Murg considered with respect to its statistical situation, and its productions of nature and art, by K. F. V. Jagerschmidt, with plates. German. Nuremburg.

Abstract of the statistical Views, published by order of the Minister of the Interior. French. Paris.

Continuation of the statistical Views, published by the order of the Minister of the Interior. French. Paris.

Topographical Description of the Department of Marne. French. Paris.

Statistical Views of the Department of Golo, by Cit. Pietry. French. Paris.

Statistical View of the Department of Gers, by Cit. Balguerie. French. Paris.

Willis's Survey of St. Asaph, considerably enlarged, and brought down to the present time, with the life of the author, by E. Edwards, A.M. London.

Picture of London for the present Year, with tables, maps, and views. London.

Topographical Description of Campania. Italian. Naples.

Switzerland at the End of the 18th Century. German.

Stockholm. 2 Vol. Swedish. Stockholm.

Topography of Holstein, by J. F. A. Doerfer. German. Sleswic.

Essay towards a physico-medical Description of Hamburg, by J. J. Ramback. German. Hamburg.

Castles, by Edward King, Esq. F.R.S. with plates. London.

Fugitive Sketches of the History and natural Beauties of Clifton Hot-Wells and Vicinity, by G. Manley, Esq. with plates. London.

Theology and Church Affairs

Plain Reasons why we should believe in Christ, and adhere to his religion; addressed to the patrons and professors of the new philosophy, by Richard Cumberland, Esq. London.

Form of Unitarian Worship, for the use of a society of Dissenters at Witham. London.

Epistle of Paul to the Romans analysed, from a development of the circumstances by which it was occasioned, by J. Jones. London.

Roman Catholic Religion in France in 1801, by Bonnet. French. Paris.

Influence of Religion on the Glory and Happiness of the People, by J. Monnier. French. Paris.

Genius of Christianity, or the beauties of the Christian Religion, by F. A. Châteaubriand. French. Paris.

Village Dialogues, by the Rev. R. Hill, A.M. London.

Holy Bible, printed in a new manner, with notes, by J. Reeves, Esq. London.

New Testament, ditto, Book of Common Prayer, ditto. London.

Buck's Theological Dictionary. London.

Leslie's short and easy Method with the Deists,

wherein the certainty of the Christian Religion is established by four infallible marks. (In a letter to a friend.) To which are subjoined four additional marks from the same author's subsequent tract. London.

Anguis in Herba, a sketch of the true character of the Church of England and her Clergy, as a caveat against the misconstruction of artful, and the misconception of weak men, on the subject of a bill about to be brought into Parliament for the revisal of certain Ecclesiastical Statutes concernidg non-residence, &c. London.

Address to Mr. N———, of Pentonville, in answer to his Pamphlet, "Is Persecution a Christian Substitute for the Commands of Christ," &c. by Phebe, a servant of the church which is at London. London.

Annotations on the Holy Bible, by the late Rev. and learned Mr. Poole, and others. London.

Critical Remarks on many important passages of Scripture, together with Dissertations upon several Subjects, tending to illustrate the Phraseology and Doctrine of the New Testament, by the late Rev. Newcome Cappe; to which are prefixed Memoirs of his Life, by the editor, Catherine Cappe. London.

Missionary Society reviewed and examined; shewing, that its constitution is without Scripture Institution, with some Hints on the absurd manner of giving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and Ordination of Itinerant Preachers, by an old Puritan. London.

Calvinistic and Socinian Systems compared, with an Appendix in answer to Dr. Toulmin and Mr. Kentish, by A. Fuller. London.

Character and Properties of true Charity displayed, translated from the French of Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray. London.

Scenic Arrangement of Isaiah's Prophecy, by N. Scarlett. London.

Last Days of a Person who had been one of Thomas Paine's Disciples, and who departed this life on Thursday, 11th February, 1802, by William Wait, A.B. London.

Christian Remembrancer, in short Reflections upon the Faith, Life, and Conduct of a real Christian. London.

Zion's Pilgrim, by R. Hawker, D.D. Vicar of Charles, Plymouth. London.

Christian Observer, miscellaneous, literary, and historical (a new monthly publication), conducted by Members of the Church of England. London

Glorious Prospects opened up in North America, favourable to the views and wishes of all persons friendly to the interests of humanity and religion. London.

Door of knowledge, opened in a spiritual campaign, by John Allen, author of the Spiritual Magazine. London.

Scripture illustrated by Engravings, referring to natural science, customs, manners, &c. London.

Apology for Adherence to the Doctrine, Discipline, and Communion of the Church of England, in two dialogues, between John Newman and Peter Waver. London.

Essay on the Sign of the Prophet Jonah, intended to remove the deistical objection concerning the time of our Saviour's burial, in attempting to prove, that the prediction relates to the duration of his ministry upon earth, by L. James; with a letter to a friend on Rev. xii. 6. London.

Introduction to Christianity, designed to preserve young people from irreligion and vice. London.

Backslider, or an inquiry into the nature, symptoms, and effects of religious declension, with the means of recovery, by A. Fuller. London.

Truth and Excellence of the Scriptures, taken from French writers. French. London.

Books of Prophecies and inspired Writings of Joanna Southcott, of Exeter, foretelling the immediate destruction of Satan's kingdom, and the immediate establishment of Christ's kingdom of peace on earth. London.

Summary View of the Nature and Tendency of Sunday Evening Lectures in the Parish-Churches of populous or large manufacturing Cities and Towns; or a serious and candid appeal to the members of the established church; with an account of some of the causes which have prevented their establishment, and suggestions for removing those causes in future. London.

Plain Thoughts on the New Testament Doctrine of Atonement, by John Simpson. London.

Sequel to the Sketch of the Denominations of the Christian World, being testimonies in behalf of Christian candour and unanimity, by divines of the church of England, the kirk of Scotland, and among the Protestant dissenters. To which is prefixed, an Essay on the Right of private Judgment in Matters of Religion, by John Evans, A.M. London.

Illustrations of the Truth of the Christian Religion, by Edw. Maltby, B.D. Chaplain to the bishop of Lincoln. London.

Self Employment in Secret, left under the hand-writing of the Rev. Mr. Corbet late of Chichester, edited by the Rev. W. Unwin, A.M. London.

Essay on Faith, and its connection with good works, by the Rev. J. Rotheram, M.A. London.

History of the Life and Death of our blessed Saviour, by Mrs. Catharine D'Oyly; with a recommendatory advertisement, by the Rev. W. Gilpin, M.A. London.

Critical and practical Elucidation of the Book of Common Prayer, by John Shepherd, M.A. London.

Religion without Cant, &c. by R. Fellowes, A.M. London.

Letter humbly addressed to the Most Rev. and Right Rev. the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England. London.

Vindication of Dissenters against the Charge of Democratic Scheming, by Edward Parsons. London.

Sermons and Essays by the late Rev. John M'Laurin, one of the Ministers of Glasgow, published from the author's MS. by Dr. John Gillies, a new edition. London.

Charge by the Bishop of Durham. London.

Remarks on the Doctrine of Justification by Faith, in a letter to the Rev. John Overton, A.B. by E. Pearson, B.D. London.

History of the Reformation, from the French of M. de Beausobre, by J. Macauly, Esq. A.B. M.R.I.A. to which is prefixed the author's life. London.

Oriental Customs, or an illustration of the sacred Scriptures, by an explanatory application of the customs and manners of the Eastern nations, by Samuel Burder. London.

Extracts from the Pentateuch, compared with similar passages from the Greek and Latin Authors, with notes, by G. Popham, D.D. London.

Observations on Dr. Sturges' Pamphlet respecting the Non-residence of the Clergy, in a letter to Mr. Baron Maseres. London.

Nonconformist's Memorial. With portraits. London.

Periodical Accounts of the Baptist Missionary Society. London.

Letters to the anonymous Author of Remarks on Marsh's Michaelis and his Commentator, relating to, especially, the Dissertation. By H. Marsh, B.D. F.R.S. London.

Plea for Religion and the Sacred Writings, addressed to the disciples of Thomas Paine, and wavering Christians of every persuasion; with an appendix, containing the author's determination to have relinquished his charge in the established church, and the reasons on which that determination was founded, by the Rev. David Simpson, M. A. London.

Articles of the Church of England proved not to be Calvinistic, by T. Kipling, D. D. London.

Act of Grace, &c. explained to a man of a very singular character in a county gaol. London.

Evidence for the Authenticity and divine Inspiration of the Apocalypse stated, and vindicated from the objections of the late Professor Michaelis, in letters addressed to the Rev. Herb. Marsh, B. D. F.R.S. London.

Scriptural Defence of Election and Predestination, in a sermon, preached at the Baptist Meeting House, Horsham, Suffolk, by Edward Manser. London.

Essay on the Method of illustrating the Scripture, by J. Foster, A. B. London.

Small Collection of private Devotions for Persons of all Ages, by a Lady of Distinction. London.

Remarks on Justification, in a letter to the Rev. J. Overton, by E. Pearson, B.D. London.

Secular Essay, containing a retrospective view of Events, connected with the ecclesiastical history of England during the eighteenth century, with reflections on the state of practical religion in that period, by John Brewster, A.M. London.

Doctrines and Duties of the Christian Religion, extracted from the sacred writings. French. London.

Letters on the Existence and Character of the Deity, and on the moral state of man. Philadelphia.

Age of Revelation, by E. Boudinot, LL.D. Philadelphia.

Bishop Moore's pastoral Letter to the Members of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the State of New York. New York.

Force of Contrast continued, or extracts and animadversions, with occasional strictures on the contraster and others of Mr. Beere's opponents, &c. &c. London.

Recorder, a collection of tracts relative to the Quakers, by W. Mathews. Bath.

Beauties of the Bible, by E. Sampson. Hudson.

Veterinary Science.

Veterinary Transactions, &c. &c. published by order of the Veterinary College. With plates. London.

Veterinary Pathology, or a treatise on the cure and progress of the diseases of the horse, by W. Riding. Vet. Surg. London.

Outlines of the Veterinary Art, or the principles of medicine as applied to a knowledge of the structure of the functions and economy of the horse, ox, sheep and dog, with a scientific method of treating their disorders, by D. Blaine. With plates. London.

Dictionary of the Veterinary Art, by T. Bordman. London.

Veterinary Economy, or the art of raising and managing the principal domestic animals, edited by J. Riem and G. S. Bentler. With plates, German. Leipsic.

Voyages and Travels.

Journal of Frederick Horneman's Travels from Cairo to Mourzank, the capital of the kingdom of Fezzam, in Africa, in the years 1797-8. London.

Cambrian Itinerary, or Welch tourist, by T. Evans. London.

Magazine of modern Voyages and Travels, translated from all languages, and accompanied with notes. With many engravings. German. Berlin.

Letters of a Russian Traveller, by N. Karamsin. Russian. Petersburgh.

Travels through part of Germany, Italy, and France, during the years 1798 and 9, by E. M. Arndt. German. Leipsic.

Universal Traveller, or notices of the old and new world, extracted from the works of the best travellers, by D.P. E.P. Spanish. Madrid.

Traveller in Germany and the neighbouring Countries, intended for travellers of all classes, with a large map of roads, by Reichard. German. Weimar.

Travels in Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and a part of Italy, in the years 1797-8-9, with numerous engravings, by M. Küttner. German. Leipsic.

Travels in Italy, by the Abbé Barthélemy. Printed from his original letters, written to Count de Caylus. French. Paris.

Historical and pictoresque Tour through Istria and Dalmatia, compiled by J. Lavallee, designed by Cassas, and engraved by Nee. French. Paris.

Norden's Travels in Egypt, &c. &c. with notes and additions, by Langles, Mem. Nat. Inst. With many plates. French. Paris.

Voyage to Senegal, &c. &c. by Lejaille, with notes, &c. by Labarthe, with a map by Tardieu. French. Paris.

Travels in Italy, by J. L. Meyers. French. Paris.

Pictoresque Tour through Syria, Phenicia, Palestine, and Lower Egypt, by Cit. Cassas. With plates. French. Paris.

Travels in the Departments of France. The text by Lavallée, the geographical part by Brion, and the drawings by Brion, jun. French. Paris.

Journey to Mount d'Or, by the Author of the Journey to Constantinople through Germany and Hungary. French. Paris.

General Picture of all the Roads and Cross-roads of France, to which is added the itinerary of the Low Countries, and the direction of all the roads to the capital towns in the kingdoms bordering upon France, with a large map of roads. French. Paris.

Travels in Sicily, Greece, and the Levant, by Baron de Reidesel; with a history of Sicily, by A. Novairi; translated from the Arabic, by Cit. Caussen. French. Paris.

Travels through the Southern Provinces of the Russian Empire, translated from the German

of Professor Pallas. With numerous engravings. London.

Tour through the northern Counties of England, and the Borders of Scotland, by Rev. R. Warner. With plates. London.

Travels in the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, and Persia, translated from the French of G. A. Olivier, Mem. Nat. Inst. &c. With many engravings. London.

Travels in Greece and Turkey, by C. S. Sonini. With an atlas. London.

Travels through Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and Sicily, translated from the German of Count Stolberg, by T. Holcroft. With many plates. London.

Voyage round the World, performed during the years 1790-1-2, by Marchand, preceded by an historical introduction, &c. translated from the French of C. P. Claret Fleurieu, Mem. Nat. Inst. &c. With many engravings. London.

Travels through Sweden, Finland, and Lapland, to the North Cape in 1798-9, by J. Acerbi. With numerous plates. London.

Historical Tour in Monmouthshire, by Rev. W. Coxe, A.M. &c. &c. London.

Sketches and Observations on a Tour through Part of the South of Europe, by J. Wolff. London.

Eccentric Excursions through England and Wales, by G. M. Woodward. With more than 100 plates. London.

Pictoresque Tour through London and Westminster, with 100 views of the principal objects, by T. Malton. London.

Walk through Southampton, by Sir H. C. Englefield, Bart. F.R.S. With plates. London.

Letters from an English Traveller, written in French, by the Rev. Mr. Sherlock, A.M. translated from the original. London.

Account of a Voyage from Hamburg to England, and travels in England in 1799, by P. A. Nomnich. German. Tubingue.

Weights, Measures, and Coins.

Constitutional and primitive Metrology compated together, with the system formerly in use in France. French. Paris.

The Weigher's Guide, according to decimal calculation, with comparative tables of the former and present systems in use in France, by Alletz. French. Paris.

Comparison of the former and present Systems of Metrology, by Carondelet. French. Paris.

SOCIETY OF ARTS, &c.

An Account of the Society, instituted at London, for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce; as also of the PREMIUMS *offered, and of the* REWARDS *awarded, by the said Society, in* 1802.

The chief objects of the *Society* are to promote the Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce of this kingdom, by giving rewards for all such useful inventions, discoveries, and improvements, (though not mentioned in this book), as tend to that purpose; and, in pursuance of this plan, the *Society* have already expended near *fifty thousand pounds*, advanced by voluntary subscriptions of their members, and legacies bequeathed.

The manner in which this money has been distributed may be seen by applying to the Secretary or other officers of the *Society*, at their house in the Adelphi. The Register of the Premiums and Bounties they have given will shew the very great advantages which the Public have derived from this Institution.

The meetings of the *Society* are held every Wednesday, at seven o'clock in the evening, from the fourth Wednesday in October to the first Wednesday in June. The several Committees meet on other evenings in the week during the session.

In order still further to promote the laudable views of this *Society*, it may be necessary to explain the mode by which its members continue to be elected.

Each member has the privilege, at any weekly meeting of the *Society*, of proposing any person who is desirous to become a member, provided such proposal is signed by three members of the *Society*.

Peers of the Realm or Lords of Parliament are, on their being proposed, immediately ballotted for; and the name, with the addition and place of abode, of every other person proposing to become a member, is to be delivered to the Secretary, who is to read the same, and properly insert the name in a list, which is to be hung up in the *Society's* room until the next meeting; at which time such person shall be ballotted for; and, if two-thirds of the members, then voting, ballot in his favour, he shall be deemed a perpetual member, upon payment of twenty guineas at one payment; or a subscribing member, upon payment of any sum not less than two guineas annually.

Every member is entitled to vote and be concerned in all the transactions of the *Society*, and to attend and vote at the several Committees. He has also the privilege of recommending two persons as Auditors, at the weekly meeting of the *Society*; and, by addressing a note to the housekeeper, of introducing his friends to examine the various models, machines, and productions, in different branches of arts, manufactures, and commerce, for which rewards have been bestowed; and to inspect the magnificent series of moral and historical paintings so happily contrived and completed by *James Barry*, Esq. which, with some valuable busts and statues, decorate the Great Room. He has likewise the use of a valuable library; and is entitled to the annual volume of the *Society's* transactions.

The time appointed for admission to the paintings or models, is from ten to two o'clock, Sundays and Wednesdays excepted.

Premiums in Agriculture.

The public are requested to take notice that the *Society* abide by the premiums offered in the 18th volume of their Transactions, for the setting of acorns, and planting of timber-trees, although such premiums are not here reprinted.

Class 1. *Forest-Trees.*—To the person who shall have inclosed and planted, or set, the greatest number of acres (not less than ten) of land, that is incapable of being ploughed, such as the borders of rivers, the sides of precipices, and any land that has too many rocks, or that is not calculated to repay the expense of tillage, owing to the stiffness or poverty of the soil, the surface being too hilly, mountainous, or otherwise unfit for tillage, with the best sorts of forest-trees, namely, oak, Spanish chesnuts, ash, elm, beech, alder, willow, larch, spruce and silver fir, with or without screens of Scotch fir, adapted to

the soil, and intended for timber trees, between the 1st of October, 1801, and the 1st of April, 1802, the gold medal.

2. For the second greatest quantity of land, not less than seven acres; the silver medal, or twenty guineas.

3. For the third greatest quantity of land, not less than five acres, the silver medal. A particular account of the methods used in making and managing the plantations, the nature of the soil, the probable number of each sort of plants, together with proper certificates that they were in a healthy and thriving state two years at least after making the plantation, to be delivered to the *Society* on or before the first Tuesday in November, 1805.

4, 5, 6. The same premiums are extended one year further. Certificates to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in Nov. 1806.

7. *Ascertaining the best method of raising Oaks.* To the person who shall ascertain in the best manner, by actual experiments, the comparative merits of the different modes of raising oaks for timber, either from acorns set on land of the foregoing description properly dug or tilled, from acorns set by the spade or dibble, without digging or tillage, either on a smooth surface, or among bushes, fern, or other cover; or from young plants previously raised in nurseries, and transplanted; regard being had to the expense, growth, and other respective advantages of the several methods; the gold medal. The accounts and proper certificates that not less than one acre has been cultivated in each mode, to be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in November, 1802.

8. The same premium is extended one year further. The accounts and certificates to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in November, 1803.

9. *Osiers.*—To the persons who shall have planted, between the 1st of October, 1801, and the 1st of May, 1802, the greatest quantity of land, not less than five acres, with those kinds of willows, commonly known by the names of osier, Spaniard, new-kind, or French, fit for the purpose of basket-makers, not fewer than twelve thousand plants on each acre; the gold medal, or thirty guineas.

10. For the second greatest quantity of land, not less than three acres; the silver medal, or ten guineas. Certificates of the planting, and that the plants were in a thriving state five months at least after the planting, to be produced to the Society on or before the last Tuesday in November, 1802.

11. The same premiums are extended one year farther. Certificates to be produced on or before the last Tuesday in Nov. 1803.

*** The candidates for planting all kinds of trees are to produce certificates that the respective plantations are properly fenced and secured, and particularly to state the condition of the plants at the time of signing such certificates. Any information which the candidates for the foregoing premiums may choose to communicate, relative to the methods made use of in forming the plantations, or promoting the growth of the several trees, or any other observations that may have occurred on the subject, will be thankfully received.

12. *Securing Plantations of Timber-trees and Hedge-rows.*—To the person who shall give to the Society the most satisfactory account, founded on experience, of the most effectual and least expensive method of securing young plantations of timber-trees, and hedge-rows, from hares and rabbits, as well as sheep and larger cattle, which at the same time shall be least subject to the depredations of wood-stealers, the silver medal, or twenty guineas. The accounts and certificates of the efficacy of the method to be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in November, 1802.

13. The same premium is extended one year farther. The accounts and certificates to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in Nov. 1803.

14. *Preventing the Blight, or Ravages of Insects, on Fruit-trees and Culinary Plants.*—To the person who shall discover to the Society the most effectual method of preventing the blight, or ravages of insects, on fruit-trees and culinary plants, superior to any hitherto known or practised, and verified by actual and comparative experiments; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. The accounts with proper certificates, to be delivered to the Society on or before the second Tuesday in November, 1802.

15. The same premium is extended one year farther. The accounts and certificates to be delivered on or before the second Tuesday in November, 1803.

16. *Removing the ill effects of Blights or Insects.*—To the person who shall discover to the Society the most effectual method of removing the ill effects of blights, or insects, on fruit-trees and culinary plants, superior to any hitherto known or practised, and verified by actual and comparative experiments; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. The accounts and certificates to be delivered to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

17. *Comparative Tillage.*—For the most satisfactory set of experiments, made on not less than eight acres of land, four of which to be trench-ploughed *, and four to be ploughed in the usual manner, in order to ascertain in what cases it may be adviseable to shorten the operations of tillage, by adopting one trench-ploughing, for the purpose of burying the weeds, instead of the method, now in common use, of ploughing and harrowing the land three or four times, and raking the weeds together and burning them; the gold medal, or forty guineas. It is required that every operation and expense attending each mode of culture be fully and accurately described, and that proper certificates of the nature and condition of the land on which the experiments are made, together with a circumstantial account of the appearance of the subsequent crops during their growth; and also of the quantity and weight of the corn and straw under each mode of culture, or, in case of a green crop, the weight of an average sixteen perches, be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in Feb. 1803.

18. *Comparative Culture of Wheat, broad-cast, drilled, and dibbled.*—For the best set of experiments made on not less than twelve acres, four of which to be sown broad-cast, four drilled, and four dibbled, the two latter in equi-distant rows, in order fully to ascertain which is the most advantageous mode of cultivating wheat; the gold medal, or forty guineas. It is required that every operation and expense of each mode of culture be fully described; and that proper certificates of the nature and condition of the land on which the experiments are made, together with an account of the produce of the corn, the weight per bushel, and also of the straw, be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

19. *Spring Wheat.* To the person who, between the 10th of January and the 10th of April, 1802,

* It is a common practice among gardeners, when they have a piece of very foul land, to dig it two spits, or about eighteen inches deep, shovelling the weeds to the bottom. This they call trenching.

shall cultivate the greatest quantity of wheat, not less than ten acres; the silver medal, or twenty guineas. It is required that the time of sowing and reaping be noticed; also a particular account of the species, cultivation, and expense attending it, with proper certificates of the nature and condition of the land on which the experiments were made, and the name of the crop, if any, which the same land bore the preceding year; together with an account of the produce, the weight per Winchester bushel; and a sample, not less than a quarter, be produced to the Society on or before the second Tuesday in February, 1803.

It is supposed that sowing wheat early in the spring will not only allow more time to till the land but less for the growth of weeds; thus rendering the wheat as clean as a barley crop, and exhausting the soil much less than autumnal sowing. It may be seen in the 19th volume that the wheat usually sown in autumn may be put into the ground, with great success, so late as February or March, thus giving time to clear the ground from turnips, or to avoid a bad season

20. *Beans and Wheat.* To the person who shall have dibbled or drilled, between the first of December, 1801, and the 1st of April, 1802, the greatest quantity of land, not less than ten acres, with beans, in equi-distant rows, and hoed the intervals twice or oftener, and shall have sown the same land with wheat in the autumn of the year 1802; the silver medal, or twenty guineas. It is required that an account of the sort and quantity of beans, the time of dibbling or drilling, and of reaping or mowing them, the produce per acre threshed, the expense of dibbling or drilling, hand or horse hoeing, the distance of the rows, and the quality of the soil, together with certificates of the number of acres, and that the land was afterwards actually sown with wheat, be produced on or before the second Tuesday in March, 1803.

21. *Beans.* To the person who, in the year 1801, shall discover and cultivate, either by the drill or dibbling-method, on not less than five acres, a species of horse-beans or tick-beans, that will ripen their seeds before the 21st of August; the silver medal, or twenty guineas. It is required that a particular account of the bean, the cultivation, and the expense attending it, with proper certificates of the nature and condition of the land on which the experiments are made, together with an account of the produce, the weight per Winchester bushel, and a sample of not less than a quart, be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in December, 1802. It is apprehended that, if a bean should be brought into cultivation with the habits of the hotspur, or other early peas, that it would, in a great measure, escape the danger arising from the collier-insect, or other insects, and allow more time for the farmers to till the land for the subsequent crop of wheat. The accounts and certificates to be delivered on or before the first Tuesday in December, 1802.

22. The same premium is extended one year farther. The accounts and certificates to be delivered on or before the first Tusday in December, 1803.

23. *Comparative Culture of Turnips.* For the best set of experiments made on not less than eight acres of land, four of which to be sown broad-cast, and four drilled, to ascertain whether it is most advantageous to cultivate turnips by sowing them broad-cast and hand-hoeing them, or by drilling them in equi-distant rows, and hand or horse-hoeing the intervals; the silver medal, or twenty guineas. It is required that every operation and expense of each mode of culture be fully described, and that proper certificates of the nature and condition of the land, on which the experiments were made, together with the weight of the turnips grown, on a fair average sixteen perches of land, under each mode of culture, be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in March, 1803. The object which the Society have in view in offering this premium is experimentally to ascertain the most advantageous method of growing turnips. To do this in a satisfactory manner, both the drilled and broad-cast crops should have the advantage of the most perfect cultivation, consequently the drilled crops should have the intervals between the rows worked by the horse or hand-hoe, or by both these implements; and the rows should be either weeded or hand-hoed, or both weeded and hand-hoed. The broad-cast crop should have every advantage which weeding and hand-hoeing can give it, consistently with leaving the soil a flat surface.

24. The same premium is extended one year farther. Certificates to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in March, 1804.

25. *Parsnips.* To the person who, in the year 1802, shall cultivate the greatest quantity of land, not less than five acres, with parsnips, for the sole purpose of feeding cattle or sheep; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. Certificates of the quantity of land so cultivated, with a particular account of the nature of the soil and weight of the produce on sixteen perches, and also of the condition of the cattle or sheep fed with the parsnips, and the advantages resulting from the practice, to be produced to the Society on or before the second day in November, 1803.

26. *Buck Wheat.* To the person who shall cultivate the greatest quantity of land with buck wheat, not less than thirty acres; the gold medal. It is required that the time of sowing and reaping be noticed, also a particular account of the species, cultivation, and expense attending it, the manner of reaping it, threshing it, and housing the grain, with proper certificates of the nature and condition of the land on which the experiments were made, and the name of the crop, if any, which the same land bore the preceding year, together with an account of the produce, and a sample of the seed, not less than a quart, be produced to the Society on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1803.

27. For the next greatest quantity, not less than fifteen acres, on similar conditions; the silver medal. Information respecting its application to the feeding of cattle, hogs, and poultry, and other of its uses, is also desired. It is known to be particularly serviceable in furnishing honey to bees.

28. *Raising Grass Seeds.* To the person who shall raise the greatest quantity of each or any of the following named grass seeds, viz.—Meadow fox-tail (alopecurus pratensis,) sweet scented vernal grass (anthoxanthum odoratum,) Timothy grass, meadow Fescue grass, smooth-stalked meadow grass (poa pratensis,) rough-stalked meadow grass (poa trivalis); the silver medal, or ten guineas. It is required that certificates from persons who have viewed them in a proper state, to identify that they are one or other of the seeds above-mentioned, indicating clearly the particular species, and noticing the quantity produced of such seeds, free from weeds or mixture of other grasses, together with proper samples of the seeds, be produced to the Society on or before the first day of February, 1803.

29. The same premium is extended one year farther. Certificates to be produced on or before the first day of February, 1804.

30. *Rotation of Crops.* To the person who shall,

between the 10th of August, 1801, and the 10th of September, 1803, cultivate the greatest quantity of land, not less than forty acres, in the following rotation, viz.—1st, winter tares; 2d, turnips; and 3d, wheat; and apply the two former crops, in the best and most farmer-like mannner, to the rearing, supporting, and fattening horses, cattle, sheep, or hogs, on the land which produced the crops; the gold medal, or one hundred guineas.

31. For the next in quantity and merit, on not less than thirty acres; the silver medal, or fifty guineas.

32. For the next in quantity and merit, on not less than twenty acres; the silver medal. It is required that every operation and expense be fully described, and that satisfactory certificates of the nature and condition of the soil on which the crops have grown, together with an account of their appearance, the number of horses and cattle, sheep or hogs, fed by the two green crops, and, as near as possible, the improved value of the live stock by the consumption of those crops, and also the quantity of wheat per acre, and its weight per bushel, be produced to the Society on or before the first day of November, 1804.

It is presumed that very great advantages will arise to such agriculturists as shall adopt this rotation of crops on a dry soil. They will be enabled, with the addition of a few acres of turnip-rooted cabbage for spring-food, to keep such large flocks of sheep and herds of neat cattle as may secure a sufficient quantity of manure to fertilize their land in the highest degree, and in every situation. It is farther conceived what wheats which will bear sowing in the spring will be particularly suitable for this premium.

33. The same premium is extended one year farther. Certificates to be delivered on or before the first day of November, 1805.

34. *Preserving Turnips.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the best and cheapest method of preserving turnips perfectly sound, and in every respect fit for the purpose of supporting and fattening sheep and neat cattle, during the months of February, March, and April; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. It is required that a full and accurate account of the method employed, and the expense attending the process, together with certificates that the produce of four acres at the least have been preserved according to the method described, and applied to the feeding of sheep and neat cattle; that the whole were drawn out of the ground before the first day of February, in order to clear the greater part of it previous to its being prepared for corn, and to save the soil from being exhausted by the turnips; and also of the weight of an average sixteen perches of the crop; be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in November, 1803.

N. B. It is recommended to those who may be induced to try the necessary experiments for obtaining this and the following four premiums to consider the method employed for the preservation of potatoes in ridges, (which the growers call pies,) and also the propriety of adopting a similar method in cases where they are previously frozen. It is supposed that, in the latter instance, the addition of ice or snow, and the construction of the ridges upon a large scale, may be sufficient to preserve the freezing temperature till the vegetables are wanted for the use of cattle or sheep, at which time they may be thawed by immersion in cold weather, and the rot which a sudden thaw produces may be prevented.

35. For the next in quantity and merit, on not less than two acres, the silver medal, or fifteen guineas.

36. *Preserving Cabbages.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the best and cheapest method of preserving drum-headed cabbages perfectly sound, and in every respect fit for the purpose of supporting and fattening sheep and neat cattle during the months of February, March, and April; the gold medal, or thirty guineas.

37. For the next in quantity and merit, on not less than two acres, the silver medal, or fifteen guineas. Conditions the same as for preserving turnips, Cl. 34. And the accounts to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in November, 1803.

38. *Preserving Carrots, Parsnips, or Beets.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the best and cheapest method of preserving carrots, parsnips, or beets, perfectly sound, and in every respect fit for the purpose of supporting horses, and fattening sheep and neat cattle, during the months of February, March, and April; the silver medal, or fifteen guineas. Conditions the same as for preserving turnips, Cl. 34. and the accounts to be delivered in on or before the first day in November, 1803.

39. *Preserving Potatoes.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the best and cheapest method of preserving potatoes, two or more years, perfectly sound, without vegetating, and in every other respect fit for the purpose of sets and the use of the table, and, consequently of supporting and fattening cattle; the silver medal, or twenty guineas. It is required, that a full and accurate account of the method employed, and the expense attending the process, with certificates that one hundred bushels at the least have been preserved according to the method described, and that one or more bushels of the same potatoes have been set, and produced a crop without any apparent diminution of their vegetative power; and also that they have been used at table, with entire satisfaction to the person who eat of them, together with a sample of one bushel, be sent to the Society, on or before the first Tuesday in November, 1804.

40. *Making Meadow Hay in wet Weather.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the best and cheapest method, superior to any hitherto practised, of making meadow hay in wet weather; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. A full account of the method employed, and of the expense attending the process, with not less than fifty-six pounds of the hay; and certificates that at least the produce of six acres of land has been made according to the method described, and that the whole is of equal quality with the samples; to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

41. *Harvesting Corn in wet Weather.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the best and cheapest method, superior to any hitherto practised, of harvesting corn in wet weather; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. A full account of the method employed, and of the expense attending the process, with not less than two sheaves of the corn, and certificates that at least the produce of ten acres has been harvested according to the method described, and that the whole is of equal quality with the samples, to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

42. *Ascertaining the component Parts of arable Land.* To the person who shall produce to the Society the most satisfactory set of experiments to ascertain the due proportion of the several component parts of rich arable land, in one or more counties in Great-Britain, by an accurate analysis of it; and who hav-

ing made a like analysis of some poor arable land, shall, by comparing the component parts of each, and thereby ascertaining the deficiencies of the poor soil, improve a quantity of it, not less than one acre, by the addition of such parts as the former experiments shall have discovered to be wanting therein, and therefore probably the cause of its sterility; the gold medal, or forty guineas. It is required that the manurings, ploughings, and crops, of the improved land, be the same after the improvement as before; and that a minute account of the produce in each state, of the weather, and of the various influencing circumstances, together with the method made use of in analysing the soils, be produced, with proper certificates, and the chemical results of the analysis, which are to remain the property of the Society, on or before the last Tuesday in November, 1803.

It is expected that a quantity, not less than six pounds, of the rich, of the poor, and of the improved soils, be produced with the certificates.

43. *Improving Land lying waste.* For the most satisfactory account of the best method of improving any of the following soils, being land lying waste or uncultivated, viz. clay, gravel, sand, chalk, peat-earth, and bog, verified by experiments on not less than fifty acres of land; the gold medal, or thirty guineas.

44. For the next greatest quantity, not less than thirty acres, the silver medal, or twenty guineas. It is required that the land before such improvement be absolutely uncultivated, and in a great measure useless, and that, in its improved state, it be enclosed, cultivated, and divided into closes. Certificates of the number of acres, of the quality of the land so improved, with a full account of every operation and expense attending such improvement, the state it is in as to the proportion of grass to arable, and the average-value thereof, to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

45. *Manures.* For the most satisfactory set of experiments, to ascertain the comparative advantages of the following manures, used as top-dressings on grass or corn land, viz. soot, coal-ashes, wood-ashes, lime, gypsum, night-soil, or any other fit article; the gold medal, or the silver medal and twenty guineas. It is required that the above experiments be made between two or more of the above-mentioned manures, and that not less than two acres of land be dressed with each manure. An account of the nature of the soil, quantity and expense of the manure and crops, with certificates, to be produced on or before the last Tuesday in February, 1803.

46. The same premium is extended one year farther. The accounts and certificates to be produced on or before the last Tuesday in February, 1804.

47. *Gaining Land from the Sea.* To the person who shall produce to the Society an account of the best method, verified by actual experiment, of gaining land from the sea, not less than twenty acres, on the coast of Great-Britain or Ireland; the gold medal. Certificates of the quantity of land, and that the experiments were begun after the 1st of January, 1796, to be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in October, 1802.

48. The same premium is extended one year farther. Certificates to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in October, 1803.

49. The same premium is extended one year farther. Certificates to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in October, 1804.

50. *Machine for dibbling Wheat.* To the person who shall invent a machine, superior to any hitherto known or in use, to answer the purpose of dibbling wheat, by which the holes for receiving the grain may be made at equal distances and proper depths; the silver medal, or twenty guineas. The machine, with certificates that at least three acres have been dibbled by it, to be produced to the Society on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1803. Simplicity and cheapness in the construction will be considered as principal parts of its merit.

51. *Machine for reaping or mowing Corn.* For inventing a machine to answer the purpose of mowing or reaping wheat, rye, barley, oats, or beans, by which it may be done more expeditiously and cheaper than by any method now practised, provided it does not shed the corn or pulse more than the methods in common practice, and that it lays the straw in such a manner that it may be easily gathered up for binding; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. The machine, with certificates that at least three acres have been cut by it, to be produced to the Society on or before the second Tuesday in December, 1802. Simplicity and cheapness in the construction will be considered as principal parts of its merits.

52. *Threshing Machine.* To the person who shall invent a machine by which corn of all sorts may be threshed more expeditiously, effectually, and at a less expense, than by any method now in use, the gold medal, or thirty guineas. The machine or a model with proper certificates, that such a machine has been usefully applied, that at least thirty quarters have been threshed by it, and of the time employed in the operation, to be produced to the Society on or before the last Tuesday in February, 1803.

53. *Destroying the Grub of the Cockchafer.* To the person who shall discover to the Society an effectual method, verified by repeated and satisfactory trials, of destroying the grub of the cockchafer, or of preventing or checking the destructive effects which always attend corn, peas, beans, and turnips, when attacked by those insects; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. The accounts, with proper certificates, to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

54. *Destroying Worms.* To the person who shall discover to the Society an effectual method, verified by repeated and satisfactory trials, of destroying worms, or of preventing the destructive effects they occasion on corn, beans, peas, or other pulse; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. The accounts, with proper certificates, to be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

55. *Destroying the Fly on Hops.* To the person who shall discover to the Society an easy and efficacious method of destroying the fly on hops, superior to any hitherto known or practised, on not less than four acres of hop ground, the gold medal, or thirty guineas. Accounts and certificates to be delivered to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

56. *Cure of the Rot in Sheep.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the best and most effectual method of curing the rot in sheep, verified by repeated and satisfactory experiments; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. It is expected, that the candidates furnish accurate accounts of the symptoms and cure of the disease, together with the imputed cause thereof, and the actual or probable means of prevention, which, with proper certificates, must be delivered to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

between the 10th of August, 1801, and the 10th of September, 1803, cultivate the greatest quantity of land, not less than forty acres, in the following rotation, viz.—1st, winter tares; 2d, turnips; and 3d, wheat; and apply the two former crops, in the best and most farmer-like manner, to the rearing, supporting, and fattening horses, cattle, sheep, or hogs, on the land which produced the crops; the gold medal, or one hundred guineas.

31. For the next in quantity and merit, on not less than thirty acres; the silver medal, or fifty guineas.

32. For the next in quantity and merit, on not less than twenty acres; the silver medal. It is required that every operation and expense be fully described, and that satisfactory certificates of the nature and condition of the soil on which the crops have grown, together with an account of their appearance, the number of horses and cattle, sheep or hogs, fed by the two green crops, and, as near as possible, the improved value of the live stock by the consumption of those crops, and also the quantity of wheat per acre, and its weight per bushel, be produced to the Society on or before the first day of November, 1804.

It is presumed that very great advantages will arise to such agriculturists as shall adopt this rotation of crops on a dry soil. They will be enabled, with the addition of a few acres of turnip-rooted cabbage for spring-food, to keep such large flocks of sheep and herds of neat cattle as may secure a sufficient quantity of manure to fertilize their land in the highest degree, and in every situation. It is farther conceived what wheats which will bear sowing in the spring will be particularly suitable for this premium.

33. The same premium is extended one year farther. Certificates to be delivered on or before the first day of November, 1805.

34. *Preserving Turnips.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the best and cheapest method of preserving turnips perfectly sound, and in every respect fit for the purpose of supporting and fattening sheep and neat cattle, during the months of February, March, and April; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. It is required that a full and accurate account of the method employed, and the expense attending the process, together with certificates that the produce of four acres at the least have been preserved according to the method described, and applied to the feeding of sheep and neat cattle; that the whole were drawn out of the ground before the first day of February, in order to clear the greater part of it previous to its being prepared for corn, and to save the soil from being exhausted by the turnips; and also of the weight of an average sixteen perches of the crop; be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in November, 1803.

N. B. It is recommended to those who may be induced to try the necessary experiments for obtaining this and the following four premiums to consider the method employed for the preservation of potatoes in ridges, (which the growers call pies,) and also the propriety of adopting a similar method in cases where they are previously frozen. It is supposed that, in the latter instance, the addition of ice or snow, and the construction of the ridges upon a large scale, may be sufficient to preserve the freezing temperature till the vegetables are wanted for the use of cattle or sheep, at which time they may be thawed by immersion in cold weather, and the rot which a sudden thaw produces may be prevented.

35. For the next in quantity and merit, on not less than two acres, the silver medal, or fifteen guineas.

36. *Preserving Cabbages.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the best and cheapest method of preserving drum-headed cabbages perfectly sound, and in every respect fit for the purpose of supporting and fattening sheep and neat cattle during the months of February, March, and April; the gold medal, or thirty guineas.

37. For the next in quantity and merit, on not less than two acres, the silver medal, or fifteen guineas. Conditions the same as for preserving turnips, Cl. 34. And the accounts to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in November, 1803.

38. *Preserving Carrots, Parsnips, or Beets.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the best and cheapest method of preserving carrots, parsnips, or beets, perfectly sound, and in every respect fit for the purpose of supporting horses, and fattening sheep and neat cattle, during the months of February, March, and April; the silver medal, or fifteen guineas. Conditions the same as for preserving turnips, Cl. 34. and the accounts to be delivered in on or before the first day in November, 1803.

39. *Preserving Potatoes.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the best and cheapest method of preserving potatoes, two or more years, perfectly sound, without vegetating, and in every other respect fit for the purpose of sets and the use of the table, and, consequently of supporting and fattening cattle; the silver medal, or twenty guineas. It is required, that a full and accurate account of the method employed, and the expense attending the process, with certificates that one hundred bushels at the least have been preserved according to the method described, and that one or more bushels of the same potatoes have been set, and produced a crop without any apparent diminution of their vegetative power; and also that they have been used at table, with entire satisfaction to the person who eat of them, together with a sample of one bushel, be sent to the Society, on or before the first Tuesday in November, 1804.

40. *Making Meadow Hay in wet Weather.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the best and cheapest method, superior to any hitherto practised, of making meadow hay in wet weather; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. A full account of the method employed, and of the expense attending the process, with not less than fifty-six pounds of the hay; and certificates that at least the produce of six acres of land has been made according to the method described, and that the whole is of equal quality with the samples; to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

41. *Harvesting Corn in wet Weather.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the best and cheapest method, superior to any hitherto practised, of harvesting corn in wet weather; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. A full account of the method employed, and of the expense attending the process, with not less than two sheaves of the corn, and certificates that at least the produce of ten acres has been harvested according to the method described, and that the whole is of equal quality with the samples, to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

42. *Ascertaining the component Parts of arable Land.* To the person who shall produce to the Society the most satisfactory set of experiments to ascertain the due proportion of the several component parts of rich arable land, in one or more counties in Great-Britain, by an accurate analysis of it; and who hav-

ing made a like analysis of some poor arable land, shall, by comparing the component parts of each, and thereby ascertaining the deficiencies of the poor soil, improve a quantity of it, not less than one acre, by the addition of such parts as the former experiments shall have discovered to be wanting therein, and therefore probably the cause of its sterility; the gold medal, or forty guineas. It is required that the manurings, ploughings, and crops, of the improved land, be the same after the improvement as before; and that a minute account of the produce in each state, of the weather, and of the various influencing circumstances, together with the method made use of in analysing the soils, be produced, with proper certificates, and the chemical results of the analysis, which are to remain the property of the Society, on or before the last Tuesday in November, 1803.

It is expected that a quantity, not less than six pounds, of the rich, of the poor, and of the improved soils, be produced with the certificates.

43. *Improving Land lying waste.* For the most satisfactory account of the best method of improving any of the following soils, being land lying waste or uncultivated, viz. clay, gravel, sand, chalk, peat-earth, and bog, verified by experiments on not less than fifty acres of land; the gold medal, or thirty guineas.

44. For the next greatest quantity, not less than thirty acres, the silver medal, or twenty guineas. It is required that the land before such improvement be absolutely uncultivated, and in a great measure useless, and that, in its improved state, it be enclosed, cultivated, and divided into closes. Certificates of the number of acres, of the quality of the land so improved, with a full account of every operation and expense attending such improvement, the state it is in as to the proportion of grass to arable, and the average-value thereof, to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

45. *Manures.* For the most satisfactory set of experiments, to ascertain the comparative advantages of the following manures, used as top-dressings on grass or corn land, viz. soot, coal-ashes, wood-ashes, lime, gypsum, night-soil, or any other fit article; the gold medal, or the silver medal and twenty guineas. It is required that the above experiments be made between two or more of the above-mentioned manures, and that not less than two acres of land be dressed with each manure. An account of the nature of the soil, quantity and expense of the manure and crops, with certificates, to be produced on or before the last Tuesday in February, 1803.

46. The same premium is extended one year farther. The accounts and certificates to be produced on or before the last Tuesday in February, 1804.

47. *Gaining Land from the Sea.* To the person who shall produce to the Society an account of the best method, verified by actual experiment, of gaining land from the sea, not less than twenty acres, on the coast of Great-Britain or Ireland; the gold medal. Certificates of the quantity of land, and that the experiments were begun after the 1st of January, 1796, to be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in October, 1802.

48. The same premium is extended one year farther. Certificates to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in October, 1803.

49. The same premium is extended one year farther. Certificates to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in October, 1804.

50. *Machine for dibbling Wheat.* To the person who shall invent a machine, superior to any hitherto known or in use, to answer the purpose of dibbling wheat, by which the holes for receiving the grain may be made at equal distances and proper depths; the silver medal, or twenty guineas. The machine, with certificates that at least three acres have been dibbled by it, to be produced to the Society on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1803. Simplicity and cheapness in the construction will be considered as principal parts of its merit.

51. *Machine for reaping or mowing Corn.* For inventing a machine to answer the purpose of mowing or reaping wheat, rye, barley, oats, or beans, by which it may be done more expeditiously and cheaper than by any method now practised, provided it does not shed the corn or pulse more than the methods in common practice, and that it lays the straw in such a manner that it may be easily gathered up for binding; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. The machine, with certificates that at least three acres have been cut by it, to be produced to the Society on or before the second Tuesday in December, 1802. Simplicity and cheapness in the construction will be considered as principal parts of its merits.

52. *Threshing Machine.* To the person who shall invent a machine by which corn of all sorts may be threshed more expeditiously, effectually, and at a less expense, than by any method now in use, the gold medal, or thirty guineas. The machine or a model with proper certificates, that such a machine has been usefully applied, that at least thirty quarters have been threshed by it, and of the time employed in the operation, to be produced to the Society on or before the last Tuesday in February, 1803.

53. *Destroying the Grub of the Cockchafer.* To the person who shall discover to the Society an effectual method, verified by repeated and satisfactory trials, of destroying the grub of the cockchafer, or of preventing or checking the destructive effects which always attend corn, peas, beans, and turnips, when attacked by those insects; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. The accounts, with proper certificates, to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

54. *Destroying Worms.* To the person who shall discover to the Society an effectual method, verified by repeated and satisfactory trials, of destroying worms, or of preventing the destructive effects they occasion on corn, beans, peas, or other pulse; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. The accounts, with proper certificates, to be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

55. *Destroying the Fly on Hops.* To the person who shall discover to the Society an easy and efficacious method of destroying the fly on hops, superior to any hitherto known or practised, on not less than four acres of hop ground, the gold medal, or thirty guineas. Accounts and certificates to be delivered to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

56. *Cure of the Rot in Sheep.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the best and most effectual method of curing the rot in sheep, verified by repeated and satisfactory experiments; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. It is expected, that the candidates furnish accurate accounts of the symptoms and cure of the disease, together with the imputed cause thereof, and the actual or probable means of prevention, which, with proper certificates, must be delivered to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

57. *Preventing the ill Effects of Flies on Sheep.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the most effectual method of protecting sheep from being disturbed and injured by flies; the silver medal, or twenty guineas. It is required that the method be ascertained by repeated experiments, and that a certificate of its efficacy be delivered to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in December, 1802.

58. *Protecting Sheep.* To the person who, in the year 1802, shall protect the greatest number of sheep, not fewer than one hundred, by hovels, sheds, or any other means, and give the most satisfactory account, verified by experiment, of the advantages arising from the practice of protecting sheep from the inclemency of the weather, by hovels, sheds, or any other means; the silver medal, or twenty guineas. A particular account of the experiments made, with the advantages arising therefrom, together with the expense, and certificates of its utility, to be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in March, 1803.

59. The same premium is extended one year farther. The accounts and certificates to be delivered on or before the first Tuesday in March, 1804.

N. B. It is required that the certificates shall specify the length of time the sheep were so protected, and the manner in which they were maintained during that time; together with the general method of managing them.

60. *Improving the Condition of the labouring Poor, by erecting Cottages, and apportioning Land.* To the person who, in the year 1801, shall erect the greatest number of cottages for the accommodation of the labouring poor, and apportion not less than two acres of land to each cottage; the gold medal. The accounts and certificates to be delivered to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

61. The same premium is extended one year farther. The accounts and certificates to be delivered to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1804.

62. The same premium is extended one year farther. The accounts and certificates to be delivered to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1805.

63. *Improving the Condition of the labouring Poor, by apportioning Land to Cottages.* To the person who, in the year 1802, shall apportion to the greatest number of cottages, already built upon his or her estate, any quantity of land, not less than two acres to each cottage, for the better accommodation of the respective inhabitants; the gold medal. The accounts of the number of cottages, and of the quantity of land apportioned to each, to be delivered to the Society, with proper certificates, on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

64. The same premium is extended one year farther. The accounts and certificates to be delivered on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1804.

65. The same premium is extended one year farther. The accounts and certificates to be delivered on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1805.

66. *Raising Water for the Irrigation of Land.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the cheapest and most effectual method of raising water in quantities sufficient to be beneficially employed for the purposes of irrigating land, superior to and cheaper than any other method now in use; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. A model on a scale of one inch to a foot, with certificates that a machine at large on the same construction has been used, specifying the quantity of water delivered in gallons per hour, and the height to which it was raised, to be produced to the Society on or before the first of March, 1803.

The same premium is extended one year farther. Certificates to be produced on or before the first of March, 1804.

67. *Culture of Hemp in certain Parts of Scotland.* The Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce wishing to encourage the growth of hemp for the use of the navy, in certain parts of Scotland, comprehending the whole county of Argyle, that part of Perthshire situated to the north of the river Tay, and west of the Military Road (see Ainslie's Map of Scotland) leading from Logierait to the County of Inverness, and such other parts of Scotland as lie north of Inverness-shire, offers to the person who shall sow with hemp, in drills at least eighteen inches asunder, the greatest quantity of land in the above-mentioned district, not less than fifty acres statute measure, in the year 1802, and shall at the proper season cause to be plucked the summer hemp (or male hemp bearing no seed) and continue the winter hemp (or female hemp bearing seed) on the ground until the seed is ripe; the gold medal, or fifty guineas.

67*. To the person who shall sow with hemp, (in drills at least eighteen inches asunder) the next greatest quantity of land in the same above-mentioned district, not less than twenty-five acres statute measure, in the year 1802, and shall at the proper season cause the same to be plucked as above-mentioned; the silver medal, or twenty-five guineas. Certificates of the number of acres, of the distance of the drills, of the plucking of hemp, with a general account of the soil, cultivation, and produce, to be delivered to the Society, along with fourteen pounds of the hemp, and two quarts of the seed, on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1803.

Premiums for Discoveries and Improvements in Chemistry, Dying, and Mineralogy.

68. *Preserving Seeds of Vegetables.* For the best method of preserving the seeds of plants in a state fit for vegetation a longer time than has hitherto been practised, such method being superior to any known to the public, and verified by sufficient trial, to be communicated to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in December, 1802; the gold medal, or thirty guineas.

69. *Preventing the Dry-rot in Timber.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the cause of the dry-rot in timber, and disclose a certain method of prevention superior to any hitherto known; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. The accounts of the cause, and method of prevention, confirmed by repeated experiments, to be produced to the Society on or before the second Tuesday in December, 1802.

70. *Preserving salted Provisions from becoming rancid or rusty.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the best, cheapest, and most efficacious method of preserving salted provisions from growing rancid or rusty; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. A full description of the method, with proper certificates that it has been found, on repeated trials, to answer the purpose intended, to be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

71. *Clearing Feathers from their animal Oil.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the best and most expeditious method, superior to any hitherto practised, of clearing goose-feathers from their offensive animal oil, for the use of upholders, in

making beds, cushions, &c. the silver medal, or twenty guineas. A quantity of such feathers unstripped and so cleared, not less than forty pounds weight, with a full account of the process, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

72. *Refining Whale or Seal Oil.* For disclosing to the society an effectual method of purifying whale or seal oil from the glutinous matter that incrusts the wicks of lamps and extinguishes the light, though fully supplied with oil; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. It is required that the whole of the process be fully and fairly disclosed, in order that satisfactory experiments may be made by the society to determine the validity of the claim; and certificates that not less than twenty gallons have been purified according to the process delivered in, together with two gallons of the oil, in its unpurified state, and two gallons so refined, be produced to the society on or before the second Tuesday in February, 1803.

73. *Manufacturing Tallow-Candles.* To the person who shall discover to the society a method of hardening or otherwise preparing tallow, so that candles may be made of it which will burn as clear and with as small a wick as wax candles, without running, and may be afforded at a less expense than any at present made with spermaceti; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. Certificates that 112lb. of such tallow have been made into candles, and 12lb. of the candles made thereof, to be produced to the society on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1803.

74. *Candles from Resin or other Substances.* To the person who shall discover to the society the best method of making candles of resin, or any other substance, fit for common use, at a price much inferior to those made of tallow only; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. Six pounds at least of the candles so prepared, with an account of the process, to be delivered to the society on or before the first Tuesday in December, 1802.

75. *Method of separating Sugar in a solid Form from Treacle.* To the person who shall discover to the society the best method of separating sugar from treacle in a solid form, at such an expense as will render it advantageous to the public; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. A quantity of the sugar so prepared in a solid form, not less than thirty pounds weight, with an account of the process, and certificates that not less than one hundred weight has been prepared, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

76. *Proof-Spirit.* To the distiller who, in the year 1802, shall make the greatest quantity, not less than one hundred gallons, of a clean marketable spirit, from articles not the food of man or cattle, equal in strength or quality to the proof-spirit now in use, and at a rate not higher than the spirit produced from corn or melasses; the gold medal, or one hundred guineas. Ten gallons of the spirit, together with proper certificates, and a full account of the expense and mode of making it, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

77. *Increasing Steam.* To the person who shall invent and discover to the society a method, verified by actual experiments, of increasing the quantity or force of steam, in steam-engines, with less fuel than has hitherto been employed, provided that in general the whole amount of the expenses in using steam-engines may be considerably lessened; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. To be communicated to the society on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

78. *Substitute for Tar.* To the person who shall invent and discover to the society the best substitute for Stockholm tar, equal in all its properties to the best of that kind, and prepared from materials the produce of Great-Britain; the gold medal, or one hundred guineas. A quantity of the substitute, not less than one hundred weight, with certificates that at least one ton has been manufactured, and that it can be afforded at a price not exceeding that of the best foreign tar, together with an account of the process, to be delivered to the society on or before the first Tuesday in March, 1803.

79. *Preparation of Tan.* To the person who shall prepare in the most concentrated form, so as to be easily portable, and at a price applicable to the purposes of manufactures, the largest quantity, not less than one hundred weight of the principle called by the French tannin, which abounds in oak-bark and many other vegetable substances; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. Certificates of the above quantity having been prepared, and a sample of not less than 28lb. to be produced to the society on or before the last Tuesday in January, 1803.

80. *Preparation of a red Stain for cotton Cloth.* To the person who shall communicate to the society, the cheapest and most effectual method of printing or staining cotton cloths with a red colour, by an immediate application of the colouring-matter to the cloth, equally beautiful and durable with the red colours now generally procured from decoctions of madder; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. Certificates that the above process has been advantageously used on ten pieces of callico, each twenty-one yards or upwards in length, one piece of the callico so printed, a quart of the colour in a liquid state, and a full account of the preparation and application, to be produced to the society on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1803.

81. *Preparation of a green Colour for printing Cotton Cloth.* To the person who shall communicate to the society the best and cheapest method of printing with a full green colour on cotton cloth, by an immediate application of the colouring-matter from a wooden block to the cloth, equally beautiful and durable as the colours now formed from the complicated process of the decoction of weld on alomine and the solutions of indigo by earths or alcaline salts; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. Certificates and conditions as for premium 80.

82. *Substitute for the Basis of Paint.* To the person who shall produce to the society the best substitute, superior to any hitherto known, for the basis of paint, equally proper for the purpose as the white lead now employed; such substitute not to be of a noxious quality, and to be afforded at a price not materially higher than that of white lead; the gold medal, or one hundred guineas. A quantity of the substitute, not less than 50lb. weight, with an account of the process used in preparing it, and certificates that at least one hundred weight has been manufactured, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

83. *Red Pigment.* To the person who shall discover to the society a full and satisfactory process for preparing a red pigment, fit for use, in oil or

water, equal in tone and brilliancy to the best carmines and lakes now known or in use, and perfectly durable; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. One pound weight of such colour, and a full disclosure of its preparation, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

N. B. It is not required that the colour should resist the action of fire or chemical applications, but remain unaltered by the common exposure to strong light, damps, and noisome vapours.

84. *Ultramarine.* To the person who shall prepare an artificial ultramarine, equal in colour, brilliancy, or durability, to the best prepared from lapis lazuli, and which may be afforded at a cheap rate; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. The conditions are the same as in the preceding premium for the red pigment.

85. *Analysis of British Minerals.* To the person who shall communicate to the society, the most correct analysis of any mineral production of Great-Britain, hitherto either unexamined or not examined with accuracy; the gold medal. The analysis and sufficient specimens to be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

86. *Preparation of sulphuric Acid from Sulphur without the Use of any nitric Salt.* To the person who shall prepare the largest quantity (not less than one ton) of sulphuric acid from sulphur, without any nitric salt, of specific gravity, not inferior to the best sulphuric acid of commerce; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. Certificates that not less than the above quantity of such an acid has been prepared, together with a sample, to be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

87. *Preparation of any alkaline or earthly Nitrate.* To the person who shall prepare, in Great-Britain, the largest quantity, not less than one hundred weight, of any salt of nitric acid, with either earths or alkalies, by a method superior to those hitherto practised; the gold medal, or one hundred guineas. Certificates of the above quantity having been prepared, and a sample of not less than 28lb. to be produced to the Society on or before the last Tuesday in January, 1803.

88. *Fine Bar-Iron.* To the person in Great-Britain, who shall make the greatest quantity of bar-iron, not less than ten tons, with coak, from coak-pigs, equal in quality to the best iron imported from Sweden or Russia, and as fit for converting into steel; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. Samples not less than one hundred weight, with certificates that the whole quantity is of equal quality, to be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

89. *Preserving Iron from Rust.* To the person who shall invent and discover to the Society a cheap composition, superior to any now in use, which shall effectually preserve wrought iron from rust, the gold medal, or fifty guineas. A full description of the method of preparing the composition, with certificates that it has stood at least two years unimpaired, being exposed to the atmosphere during the whole time, to be produced to the Society, with ten pounds weight of the composition, on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

90. *Refining Block-Tin.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the best method of purifying or refining block-tin, so as to render it fit for the finest purposes to which grain-tin is now applied, and not higher in price; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. Certificates that not less than three tons have been refined or purified, with a full detail of the process, and a quantity, not less than one hundred weight, of the tin so refined, to be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

91. *Glazing Earthen-Ware without Lead.* To the person who shall discover to the society the cheapest, safest, most durable, and most easily-fusible, composition, fit for the purpose of glazing the ordinary kinds of earthen-ware, without any preparation of lead, and superior to any hitherto in use; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. Specimens of the ware so glazed, with proper certificates of its having succeeded, and a sample of the materials made use of, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

92. *Refining Copper from the Ore.* To the person who shall discover to the society the best method of separating, purifying, and refining copper from the ore, so as to render it fit for the finest purposes to which fine copper is now applied, and by a process superior to any hitherto known or in use, and not higher in price; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. Certificates that not less than three tons have been so prepared or refined, and a quantity not less than one hundred weight of the copper so refined, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

93. *Mineralogical Map of England and Wales.* To the person who shall complete and publish an accurate mineralogical map of England and Wales, on a scale of not less than ten miles to an inch, containing an account of the situation of the different mines therein, and describing the kinds of minerals thence produced; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. Certificates of the accuracy of such map, together with the map, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1804. The map to remain the property of the society.

94. *Mineralogical Map of Ireland.* The same premium is offered for a mineralogical map of Ireland on similar conditions.

95. *Mineralogical Map of Scotland.* The same premium is offered for a mineralogical map of Scotland on similar conditions.

96. *Natural History.* To the author who shall publish, in the year 1802, the natural history of any county in England or Wales; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. It is required that the several natural productions, whether animal, vegetable, or mineral, peculiar to the county, or found therein, be carefully and specifically arranged and described, in order that the public may be enabled to judge what arts or manufactures are most likely to succeed in such county. The work to be delivered to the society on or before the last Tuesday in January, 1803.

Premiums in polite Arts.

97. *Honorary Premiums for Drawing, by Nobility.* For the best drawing, of any kind, made with water-colours, crayons, chalk, black lead, pen, Indian ink, or bister, by young gentlemen under the age twenty-one, sons or grandsons of peers, or peeresses in their own right, of Great-Britain or Ireland, to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in March, 1803; the honorary medal of the society in gold.

98. The same in silver for the next in merit.

99, 100. The same premiums will be given, on the like conditions, to young ladies, daughters or grand-daughters of peers, or peeresses in their own right, of Great-Britain or Ireland.

101. *Honorary Premium for Drawing, by Gentlemen.* For the best drawing, of any kind, made with water-colours, crayons, chalk, black lead, pen, Indian ink, or bister, by young gentlemen under the age of twenty-one; to be produced on or before the first Thesday in March, 1803; the gold medal.

102. For the next in merit, the silver medal.

103, 104. The same premiums will be given for drawings by young ladies.

N. B. As the foregoing honorary premiums are intended only for such of the nobility and gentry as may hereafter become patrons or patronesses of the arts; persons professing any branch of the polite arts, or any business dependent on the arts of design, or the sons or daughters of such persons, will not be admitted candidates in these classes.

105. *Drawings of Outlines.* For the best outline, after an original group or cast, in plaster, of human figures, by persons of either sex, under the age of sixteen, the principal figure not less than twelve inches; to be produced on or before the third Tuesday in February, 1803; the greater silver pallet.

106. For the next in merit; the lesser silver pallet.

N. B. These drawings are to be made on paper, and the original either to be produced to the society, or to be referred to for their examination.

107. *Drawings of Landscapes.* For the best drawing of a landscape after nature, by persons of either sex, under twenty-one years of age, to be produced on or before the third Tuesday in February, 1803; the greater silver pallet.

108. For the next in merit, the lesser silver pallet. Each candidate must mention, on the front of the drawing, whence the view was taken; and the drawings must be made with chalk, pen, Indian ink, water-colours, or bister.

109. *Historical Drawings.* For the best historical drawing, being an original composition, of five or more human figures; the height of the principal figure not less than eight inches; to be made with crayons, chalk, black lead, pen, Indian ink, water-colours, or bister, and to be produced on or before the third Tuesday in February, 1803; the gold pallet.

110. For the next in merit; the greater silver pallet.

111. *Chints Patterns for Calico-Printers.* For the best original pattern in a new taste, of light or dark ground chints for garment-work, fit for the purposes of calico-printers, by persons of either sex; the gold medal. To be produced to the society on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1803; the pattern to which the premium is adjudged to remain the property of the society.

112. For the next in merit; the silver medal, on similar conditions.

113. *Copper-plate Patterns for Calico-printers.* For the best pattern, in a new style, fit for the purposes of calico-printers for garment-work; the silver medal. To be produced to the society on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1803. The pattern to which the premium is adjudged to remain the property of the society.

114. *Line Engravings of Landscapes.* For the best line engraving of a landscape, published in the year 1803, the size of the engraving not less than eighteen inches by fourteen; the gold medal. To be produced to the society on or before the last Tuesday in January, 1804; and the impression to which the premium is adjudged to remain the property of the society.

115. For the next in merit; the silver medal, on similar conditions.

116. *Line Engravings of historical Subjects.* For the best line engraving published in the year 1802, of an historical subject, the size of the engraving not less than eighteen inches by fourteen; the gold medal.

117. For the next in merit; the silver medal, Conditions, &c. the same as in classes 114 and 115.

118. *Model in Clay or Plaster.* For the best model in clay or plaster of an ornamental design for the purpose of embellishing works of architecture; the silver medal, or twenty guineas. To be produced to the society on or before the last Thuesday in January, 1803. The model not to be less than thirty inches by twelve.

The following Premium (class 119,) is offered in conformity to the Will of the late John Stock, of Hampstead, Esq.

119. *Ornamental Drawings for architectural Designs.* For the best ornamental drawing for the purpose of embellishing architectural designs; a silver medallion with the following engraved inscriptions: "The Premium given by the Society for En-" couragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Com-" merce, in conformity to the Will of John Stock, " of Hampstead, Esq." The drawing to which the premium is adjudged to remain the property of the society.

120. For the best model in clay or plaster of a design for the same purpose; the silver medal. The performances in these two classes not to be less than thirty inches by twelve, to be made by persons under the age of twenty-one years. To be produced to the society on or before the last Tuesday in January, 1803.

121. *Perspective Drawings of Machines.* For the best perspective drawing of machines by persons under eighteen years of age; the greater silver pallet. To be produced to the society on or before the last Tuesday in January, 1803.

122. For the next in merit; the lesser silver pallet, on similar conditions.

123. *Engraving on Wood or Metal Blocks.* For the best engraving on wood, or metal blocks, of a subject or allegorical decoration for a volume of the Society's Transactions, proper to be prefixed to the premiums offered by the society, and capable of being worked with the letter-press; the gold medal. The engraved wood or metal block, and two or more impressions from it, to be produced to the society on or before the second Tuesday in February, 1803, and the engraved wood or metal block to which the premium is adjudged to remain the property of the society. The engraving to be of a proper size to form an octavo page in the volume.

124. For the next in merit; the silver medal, on similar conditions.

125. *Statuary Marble.* To the person who shall discover, within Great-Britain or Ireland, a quarry of white marble fit for the purposes of statuary, and equal in all respects to those kinds now imported from Italy; the gold medal, or one hundred pounds. A block of at least three feet in

length, two in height, and two in width, with an account of the situation of the quarry, and certificates of its possessing considerable extent, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

N. B. In order to prevent useless expense or trouble to the claimant in forwarding so large a block, the society will be ready to examine any smaller specimen of the marble, and express their opinion of its value to the candidate before the block required by the above premium is produced.

126. *Bronzes.* For the best drapery-figure or group cast in bronze; if a single figure, not less than twelve inches high; and, if a group, not less than nine inches, and which will require the least additional labour to repair; the gold medal, or the silver medal and twenty guineas. The cast to be exhibited to the Society before it is begun to be repaired, with the original figure or group, on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1802, together with a full explanation of the whole process.

Premiums for encouraging and improving Manufactures.

127. *Machine for carding Silk.* For the best machine, superior to any now in use, for carding waste silk equally well as by hand; to be produced, together with a specimen of the cardings, on or before the first Tuesday in November, 1802; the silver medal, or twenty guineas.

128. *Cloth from hop-stalks,* &c. To the person who shall produce to the society the greatest quantity, not less than thirty yards of cloth, at least twenty-seven inches wide, made in Great Britain, of hop-stalks or bines, or other raw vegetable substances, the produce of Great Britain or Ireland, superior to any hitherto manufactured from such substances, and which can be generally afforded as cheap as cloth of equal quality and appearance now made from hemp, flax, or cotton, and much finer in quality than any hitherto manufactured in England from hop-stalks, &c. the gold medal, or thirty guineas. One pound of the thread of which the cloth is made, and thirty yards of the cloth, together with proper certificates that the whole is manufactured from hop-stalks or bines, &c. to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in December, 1802.

N.B. The society is already in the possession of cloth made in England from hop-stalks or bines, which may be inspected by application to the housekeeper.

129. *Wicks for Candles or Lamps.* To the person who shall discover to the society a method of manufacturing hop-stalks or bines, or any other cheap material, the growth of Great Britain, so as to render them equally fit for the purpose of supplying the place of cotton, for wicks of candles or lamps; twenty guineas. Samples, not less than five pounds weight, of the wicks so prepared to be produced to the society, with certificates that the whole quantity is equal in quality to the sample, on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1803.

130. *Paper from raw vegetable Substances.* To the person, in Great Britain, who shall, between the first of January 1802, and the first of January, 1803, make the greatest quantity, and of the best quality, (not less than ten reams) of good and useful paper, from raw vegetable substances, the produce of Great Britain or Ireland, of which one hundred weight has not been used in manufacturing paper previous to January, 1801, superior to any hitherto manufactured from such substances, and which can be generally afforded as cheap as paper of equal quality and appearance now made from rags; twenty guineas.

N.B. The object of the society being to add to the number and quantity of raw materials used in this manufacture, it is their wish to include every useful sort of paper, and to introduce such natural products as can be easily and cheaply procured in great quantities. The society are in possession of two volumes containing a great variety of specimens of paper made from raw vegetable substances, viz. — nettles, potatoe-haum, poplar, hop-bines, &c. which volumes may be inspected by any person on application to the housekeeper.

Certificates of the making such paper, and one ream of the paper, to be produced on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1803.

131. *Transparent Paper.* To the person who shall discover to the society a method of making paper from the pulp that shall be perfectly transparent, and of a substance and body equal to fools-cap, that shall take and bear common writing ink with the same facility and correctness as writing paper generally in use; the silver medal, or twenty guineas. Certificates of the making such paper, an account of the process, and one ream of the paper, to be produced on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1803.

132. *Taking Porpoises.* To the people in any boat or vessel, who, in the year 1802, shall take the greatest number of porpoises on the coast of Great Britain, by gun, harpoon, or any other method, not fewer than thirty, for the purpose of extracting oil from them; the gold medal, or thirty pounds. Certificates of the number, signed by the persons to whom they have been sold or delivered for the purpose of extracting the oil, to be produced to the society on or before the last Tuesday in January, 1803.

133. *Oil from Porpoises.* To the person who shall manufacture the greatest quantity of oil from porpoises taken on the coast of Great Britain, in the year 1802, not less than twenty tons; the gold medal, or thirty pounds. Certificates of the oil having been made from porpoises actually caught on the coast of Great Britain, and two gallons of the oil as a sample, to be produced to the society on or before the last Tuesday in February, 1803.

Premiums in Mechanics.

134. *Gunpowder Mills.* To the person who, in the year 1802, shall invent and bring to perfection the most effectual method of so conducting the works of gunpowder-mills, in the business of making gunpowder, as to prevent explosion; the gold medal, or one hundred guineas. Certificates and accounts of the method having been put in practice in one or more gunpowder-mills in this kingdom, and that it promises, in the opinion of the best judges concerned in such works, to answer the purpose intended, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in Feb. 1803.

N.B. As an encouragement to persons to turn their thoughts to improvements of this nature, if any should be made on the present method of conducting the business of gunpowder making, which fall short of the total prevention of explosion, and they are sent to the society for the sake of humanity, the papers so sent in will receive due consideration, and such bounty or reward will be bestowed thereon as they appear to merit.

135. *Transit-instrument.* To the person who shall

invent and produce to the society a cheap and portable transit-instrument, which may easily be converted into a zenith-sector, capable of being accurately and expeditiously adjusted for the purpose of finding the latitudes and longitudes of places, and superior to any portable transit-instrument now in use; the gold medal, or forty guineas. To be produced on or before the last Tuesday in Jan. 1803.

136. *Taking Whales by the Gun-harpoon.* To the person, who, in the year 1802, shall strike the greatest number of whales, not fewer than three, with the gun-harpoon; ten guineas. Proper certificates of the striking such whales, and that they were actually taken in the year 1802, signed by the master, or by the mate when the claim is made by the master, to be produced to the society on or before the last Tuesday in December, 1802.

137. *Family Mill.* To the person who shall invent and produce to the society the best constructed mill for grinding corn for the use of private families, or parish-poor; the construction to be such as to render the working of the mill easy and expeditious, and superior to any hitherto in use; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. The mill, and certificates of its having been used to good effect, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

N.B. Cheapness and simplicity will be considered an essential part of its merit; and the mill, or the model, to remain with the society.

138. *Machine for raising Coals, Ore,* &c. &c. To the person who shall invent a machine for raising coals, ore, &c from mines, superior to any hitherto known or in use, and which shall produce the effect at a less expense than those already known or in use; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. A model of the machine, made on a scale of not less than one inch to a foot, with a certificate that a machine at large on the same construction has been advantageously used, to be produced to the society on or before the second Tuesday in February, 1803.

139. *Machine for raising Water.* To the person who shall invent a machine on a better, cheaper, and more simple construction than any hitherto known or in use, for raising water out of wells, &c. from a depth of not less than fifty feet; the gold medal, or forty guineas. Certificates of the performance of the machine, and a model of it, on a scale of not less than one inch to a foot, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

140. *Machine for making Bricks.* To the person who shall invent the best and cheapest machine for making bricks, superior to any hitherto known or in use, whereby the labour and expense of making bricks in the usual mode, by hand, may be greatly diminished; forty guineas. A model, with certificates that a machine at large, on the same construction, has been used to good effect for the purpose of making bricks, and that at least one hundred thousand statute-bricks have been made therewith, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in March, 1803.

141. *Boring and blasting Rocks.* To the person who shall discover to the society a more simple, cheap, and expeditious method than any hitherto known or in use of boring and blasting rocks in mines, shafts, wells, &c.; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. Certificates of the method having been practised with success, with a full description thereof, to be delivered to the society on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

142. *Heating Rooms for the Purposes of Manufacturers.* To the person who shall invent and discover to the society a method of heating rooms, superior to any hitherto known or in use, and at a moderate expense, for the purposes of painters, japanners, and other manufacturers, so as to avoid the necessity of iron or copper tunnels going through the rooms to convey the smoke, whereby the danger from such tunnels may be prevented; the gold medal, or forty guineas. A model, or complete drawing and description of the method, with certificates that it has been successfully practised, to be delivered to the society on or before the last Tuesday in March, 1803.

143. *Improved Ventilation.* To the person who shall invent and produce to the society a mode of permanently ventilating the apartments in hospitals, workhouses, and other crowded places, superior to any known or used; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. A model of the apparatus, and a full account of the means by which the effect has been produced, with proper certificates, to be delivered to the society on or before the last Tuesday in February, 1803.

144. *Mill-stones.* To the person who, shall between the first of February, 1802, and the first of February, 1803, prepare and bring into use the greatest number of mill-stones, taken from any quarry in the United Kingdoms, equal in quality to the French burrs, not less than thirty pairs; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. Certificates that the said mill stones were all taken from the same quarry, with their prices and dimensions, that they are equal to the French burr, not less than three feet eight inches diameter, and are actually in use, to be produced to the society on or before the third Tuesday in February, 1803.

145. For the next greatest quantity, not less than twenty-five pair; the silver medal, or fifteen guineas, on similar terms.

146. *Preventing Accidents from Horses falling with two wheeled Carriages.* To the person who shall invent and produce to the society a method superior to any hitherto known or in use, to prevent accidents from the falling of horses with two wheel carriages, especially on steep declivities; the silver medal, or fifteen guineas. A model of the apparatus, and a full account of the means by which the effect has been produced, with proper certificates that the same has been used with success, to be delivered to the society on or before the second Tuesday in Jan. 1803.

147. *Clearing the Turnpike and other Roads in Winter from Mud, and in Summer from Dust.* To the person who shall discover to the society the most effectual and the cheapest method, verified by experiments, of clearing the turnpike and other roads of great resort, in winter from mud, and in summer from dust, or most effectually preventing the accumulation of either; the gold medal, or fifty guineas.

148. For the second best account; the silver medal, or twenty guineas. It is required that an accurate account of the method used, and every expense attending it, together with satisfactory certificates of its being effectual, be delivered to the society on or before the first Tuesday in March, 1803.

Premiums offered for the advantage of the British Colonies.

149. *Nutmegs.* For the greatest quantity of

merchantable nutmegs, not less than ten pounds weight, being the growth of his Majesty's dominions in the West Indies, or any of the British settlements on the coast of Africa, or the several islands adjacent thereto, and equal to those imported from the islands of the East Indies; the gold medal, or one hundred guineas. Satisfactory certificates, from the governor, or commander in chief, of the place of growth, with an account of the number of trees, their age, nearly the quantity of fruit on each tree, and the manner of culture, to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in December, 1802.

150. *Cloves.* For importing into the port of London, in the year 1802, the greatest quantity of cloves, not less than twenty pounds weight, being of the growth of some of the islands of the West Indies subject to the crown of Great Britain, or any of the British settlements on the coast of Africa, or the several islands adjacent thereto, and equal in goodness to the cloves brought from the East Indies; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. Samples, not less than two pounds weight, with certificates that the whole quantity is equal in goodness, together with satisfactory certificates signed by the governor, or commander in chief, of the place of growth, with an account of the number of trees growing on the spot, their age, and the manner of culture, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

151. *Plantations of Bread-fruit-trees.* To the person who shall have raised in any of the islands of the West Indies subject to the crown of Great Britain, or in any of the British settlements on the coast of Africa, or the several islands adjacent thereto, between the 1st of January, 1801, and the 1st of January, 1802, the greatest number of bread-fruit-trees, not fewer than one hundred, and properly fenced and secured the same, in order to supply the fruit to the inhabitants; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. Proper accounts and certificates, signed by the governor, or commander in chief, of the methods made use of in cultivating the plants and securing the plantation, and that the trees are in a growing and thriving state at the time of signing such certificates, to be produced to the society, with samples of the fruit, on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

152. *Kali for Barilla.* To the person who shall have cultivated, in the Bahama-Islands, or any other part of his Majesty's dominions in the West Indies, or any of the British settlements on the coast of Africa, or the several islands adjacent thereto, in the year 1801, the greatest quantity of land, not less than two acres, with Spanish Kali, fit for the purpose of making barilla; the gold medal, or thirty guineas.

153. For the next greatest quantity, not less than one acre, the silver medal, or fifteen guineas. Certificates, signed by the governor, or commander in chief, for the time being, of the quantity of land so cultivated, and of the state of the plants, at the time of signing such certificates, to be delivered to the society, with samples of the kali, on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1803.

154. The same premium is extended one year farther. Certificates to be produced on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1804.

155. *Destroying the Insect commonly called the Borer.* To the person who shall discover to the society an effectual method of destroying the insect commonly called the borer, which has, of late years, been so destructive to the sugar-canes in the West India islands, the British settlements on the coast of Africa, and the several islands adjacent thereto; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. The discovery to be ascertained by satisfactory certificates, under the hand and seal of the governor, or commander-in-chief, for the time being, and of some other respectable persons, inhabitants of the islands, or other place, in which the remedy has been successfully applied; such certificates to be delivered to the society on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

156. *Cultivation of hemp in upper and lower Canada.* To the person who shall sow with hemp the greatest quantity of land in the province of Upper Canada, not less than six arpents (each four-fifths of a statute acre) in the year 1802, and shall at the proper season cause to be plucked the summer hemp (or male hemp bearing no seed) and continue the winter hemp (or female hemp bearing seed) on the ground until the seed is ripe; the gold medal, or one hundred dollars.

157. To the person who shall sow with hemp the next greatest quantity of land in the same province of Upper Canada, not less than five arpents, in the year 1802, in the manner above-mentioned; the silver medal, or eighty dollars.

158. For the next greatest quantity of land, in the same province, and in a similar manner, not less than four arpents; sixty dollars.

159. For the next greatest quantity of land, in the same province, and in a similar manner, not less than three arpents; forty dollars.

160. For the next greatest quantity of land, in the same province, and in a similar manner, not less than one arpent; twenty dollars. Certificates of the number of arpents, the method of culture, of the plucking of the hemp, with a general account whether sown broad-cast or in drills, the expense, soil, cultivation, and produce to be transmitted to the society, certified under the hand and seal of the governor or lieutenant-governor, together with 28lb. of the hemp, and two quarts of the seed, on or before the first Tuesday in November, 1803.

161, 162, 163, 164, 165. The same premiums are extended one year farther. Certificates, &c. as before-mentioned, to be transmitted to the society, on or before the last Tuesday in February, 1804.

166 to 176. Premiums exactly similar in all respects to those held out for the province of Upper Canada, are also offered for the province of Lower Canada, and are extended to the same period.

177. *Importation of Hemp from Canada.* To the master of that vessel, which shall bring to this country the greatest quantity of marketable hemp, not less than one hundred tons, in the year 1803, the produce of Upper or Lower Canada; the gold medal.

178. To the master of that vessel which shall bring the next quantity, not less than fifty tons; the silver medal. Certificates satisfactory to the society to be produced by the master of the vessel on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1804, to testify that such hemp was grown and prepared in Canada.

Premiums offered for the Advantage of the British Settlements in the East Indies.

179. *Bhaugulpore Cotton.* To the person who shall import into the port of London, in the year 1802, the greatest quantity, not less than one ton, of the

Bhangulpore cotton, from which clothes are made in imitation of nankeen, without dying; the gold medal. A quantity of the cotton, not less than five pounds weight in the pod, and five pounds carded, to be produced to the society, with proper certificates, signed by the secretary to the board of trade of Bengal or Bombay, on or before the last Tuesday in February, 1803.

180. *Annatto.* To the person who, in the year 1802, shall import into the port of London, from any part of the British settlements in the East-Indies, the greatest quantity of annatto, not less than five hundred weight; the gold medal. A quantity of the annatto, not less than ten pounds weight, to be produced to the society, with proper *certificates*, signed by the secretary of the board of trade of the respective settlement, that the annatto is the produce of such settlement, on or before the last Tuesday in February, 1803.

181. *True Cochineal.* To the person who, in the year 1802, shall import into the port of London, from any part of the British settlements in the East-Indies, the greatest quantity of true cochineal, not less than five hundred weight; the gold medal. A quantity of the cochineal, not less than ten pounds weight, with proper *certificates*, signed by the secretary of the board of trade of the respective settlement, that the cochineal is the produce of such settlement, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

Conditions for the Polite Arts.

No person who has gained the first premium in any class shall be admitted a candidate in a class of an inferior age: and no candidate shall receive more than one premium in one year; nor shall they, who for two successive years have gained the first premium in one class, be again admitted as candidates in that class.—No person shall be admitted a candidate in any class, who has three times obtained the first premium in that class.—No more than one performance in any class shall be received from the same candidate.—All performances (to which premiums or bounties are adjudged) shall remain with the society till after the public distribution of rewards in May, when they will be re delivered unless mentioned in the premiums to the contrary.—No performance shall be admitted, that has obtained a premium, reward, or gratification, from any other society, academy, or school, or been offered for that purpose.—All performances that obtain premiums in the polite arts must have been begun after the publication of such premiums, except line engravings.—To encourage real merit, and prevent attempts to impose on the society, by producing drawings made or retouched by any other person than the candidate, the society requires a specimen of the abilities of each successful candidate in classes 97 to 122 inclusive, under the inspection of the committee of polite arts, in every instance where such proof may appear necessary.—All candidates in the polite arts are required to signify, on their drawings, their age; and whether the performances are originals or copies; and if copies, whence they were taken.

Society's Office, Adelphi, June 1, 1802.

Ordered—That the several candidates and claimants to whom the society shall adjudge premiums or bounties, do attend at the society's office in the Adelphi, on the last Tuesday in May, 1803, at 12 o'clock at noon precisely, to receive the same; that day being appointed by the society for the distribution of their rewards: and before that time no premium or bounty will be delivered, excepting to those who are about to leave the kingdom.—In cases where the society may think fit to admit excuses for not attending in person, deputies may be substituted to receive the rewards, provided such deputies are either members of the society, or the superior officers thereof.

General Conditions.

As the great object of the society in rewarding individuals is to draw forth and give currency to those inventions and improvements, which are likely to benefit the public at large, candidates are requested to observe, that if the means, by which the respective objects are effected, do require an expense or trouble too great for general purposes, the society will not consider itself as bound to give the offered reward; but, though it thus reserves the power of giving in all cases such part only of any premium as the performance shall be adjudged to deserve, or of with-holding the whole if there be no merit, yet the candidates may be assured the society will always judge liberally of their severally claims.

It is required that the matters for which premiums are offered, be delivered in without names or any intimation to whom they belong; that each particular thing be marked in what manner each claimant thinks fit, such claimant sending with it a paper sealed up, having on the outside a corresponding mark, and, on the inside, the claimant's name and address; and all candidates are to take notice, that no claim for a premium will be attended to, unless the conditions of the advertisement are fully complied with.

No papers shall be opened, but such as shall gain premiums, unless where it appears to the society absolutely necessary for the determination of the claim; all the rest shall be returned unopened with the matters to which they belong, if inquired after by the mark, within two years; after which time, if not demanded, they shall be publicly burnt, unopened, at some meeting of the society.

All models of machines, which obtain premiums or bounties, shall be the property of the society; and, where a premium or bounty is given for any machine, a perfect model thereof shall be given to the society.

All the premiums of this society are designed for Great Britain and Ireland, unless expressly mentioned to the contrary.

The claims shall be determined as soon as possible after the delivery of the specimens.

No person shall receive any premium, bounty, or encouragement, from the society, for any matter for which he has obtained, or purposes to obtain, a patent.

A candidate for a premium, or a person applying for a bounty, being detected in any disingenuous method to impose on the society, shall forfeit such bounty, and be deemed incapable of obtaining any for the future.

The performances which each year obtain premiums or bounties, are to remain with the society until after the public distribution of rewards.

No member of this society shall be a candidate for, or entitled to receive, any premium, bounty, or reward, whatsoever, except the honorary me-

dal of the society. The candidates are, in all cases, expected to furnish a particular account of the subject of their claims; and, where certificates are required to be produced in claim of premiums, they should be expressed, as nearly as possible, in the words of the respective advertisements, and be signed by persons who have a positive knowledge of the facts stated.

Where premiums or bounties are obtained in consequence of specimens produced, the society mean to retain such part of those specimens as they may judge necessary, making a reasonable allowance for the same.

No candidates shall be present at any meetings of the society or committees, or admitted at the society's rooms, after they have delivered in their claims, until such claims are adjudged, unless summoned by the committee.

N. B. The society farther invite the communications of scientific and practical men upon any of the subjects for which premiums are offered, although their experiments may have been conducted upon a smaller scale than the terms of each require, as they may afford ground for more extensive application, and thus materially forward the views of the society and contribute to the advantage of the public. Such communications to be made by letter, addressed to the society, and directed to Mr. Charles Taylor, the secretary, at the society's office, in the Adelphi, London.

The models required by the society should be upon the scale of one inch to a foot. The Winchester bushel is the measure referred to for grain; and, as the acres of different districts vary in extent, it is necesary to observe, that the society mean statute acres, of five and a half yards to the rod or pole, when acres are mentioned in their list of premiums; and they request that all communications to them may be made agreeably thereto.

The society desire that the papers on different subjects sent to them may be full, clear, explicit, fit for publication, and rather in the form of essays than of letters.

*** To persons inclined to leave a sum of money to this society by will, the following form is offered for that purpose:

Item. I give and bequeath to A. B. and C. D. the sum of upon condition and the intent that they, or one of them, do pay the same to the collector for the time being, of a society in London, who now call themselves the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce; which said sum of I will and desire may be paid out of my personal estate, and applied towards the carrying on the laudable designs of the society.

By order of the society,
Charles Taylor, Sec.

On Wednesday, the 2d of June, the society held the last meeting of that session, and adjourned to the fourth Wednesday in October next.

On Tuesday the 25th of May last, agreeably to the resolutions of the society, the premiums and bounties which had been then adjudged during the session, were delivered to the claimants from the chair, by his grace the Duke of Norfolk, the president, in presence of a very numerous and respectable assembly. The business was begun by an appropriate speech from the secretary, noticing the objects of the society from its institution, in the year 1754, to the present time, and particularising the rewards which had been then adjudged this session.

The rewards awarded, are arranged under the following classes.

In Agriculture.

To John Hunter, esq. of Gubbins, in Hertfordshire, for having planted 40,000 oaks, the gold medal.

Thomas Johnes, esq. of Hafod, in Cardiganshire, for having planted 400,000 forest trees, the gold medal.

John Christian Curwen, esq. of Workington-Hall in Cumberland, for having planted 84,900 larch trees, the gold medal.

Henry Vernon, esq. of Hilton Park, near Wolverhampton, for planting 10,000 silver firs, the gold medal.

James Beech, esq. of Shaw, near Cheadle, in Staffordshire, for his plantation of timber trees, the silver medal.

Rev. Richard Yates of Chelsea, for his Essay on raising and promoting the Growth of Oaks the silver medal.

Charles Gibson, esq. of Quermore Park, near Lancaster, for planting 6,000 elms, the silver medal.

William Fairman, esq. of Miller's House, near Sittinghourn, in Kent, for his experiments on extreme branch grafting of fruit trees, the silver medal.

Robert Brown, esq. of Markle, near Haddington, in Scotland, for his culture of beans and wheat in one year on the same land, the silver medal.

Mr. Frederick Clifford Cherry of New Wood farm, near Stoke d'Aubenton, in Surry, for planting 60 acres with osiers, the sum of thirty guineas.

Mr. Seth Bull, of Ely, in Cambridgeshire, for planting eight acres with osiers, the sum of ten guineas.

In Chemistry.

Mr. Thomas Willis, of Lime-Street, London, for his preparation of the bulbs of the hyacinthus non scriptus, or common field blue bells, as a substitute for gum arabic, the silver medal.

In Polite Arts.

George William Gent, esq. of Upper Guildford Street, for a drawing of Lewes Castle, in Essex, the gold medal. Cl. 89.

Miss Elizabeth Mac Dowall, of Brook-Street, Holborn, for a chalk drawing of the Virgin and Child, the gold medal. Cl. 91.

Miss Winnifred Barrett, of Stockwell, in Surry, for a drawing of a landscape, the silver medal. Cl. 91*.

Miss Jackson, of Hanover-Street, Hanover-Square, for a drawing in black chalk after an engraving by Bartolozzi, the silver medal.

Miss Blackburne, of Park-Street, Westminster, for a drawing of Demosthenes from a bust, the silver medal.

Miss Mary-Anne Gilbert, of Devonshire-Street, Portland-Place, for a miniature drawing of an old woman, after nature, the silver medal.

Miss Emma Farhill of Mortimer-Street, Cavendish-Square, for a drawing of peasants in a storm, the silver medal.

William-Stone Lewis, esq. of High Holborn, for a drawing of outlines of the Laocoon, from a cast, the large silver pallet. Cl. 92.

George Jones, esq. of Great Portland-Street, Mary-le-bone, for a drawing of outlines of Her-

cules and Antæus, from a cast, the lesser silver pallet. Cl. 93.

Richard Speare, esq. of Dean-Street, Soho, for a drawing, a view at Eltham, in Kent, the greater silver pallet. Cl. 94.

Mr. Richard Cook, of Upper Charlotte-Street, Fitzroy-Square, for a drawing of Mutius Scævola, before Porsenna, the gold pallet. Cl. 96.

Mr. John Summerfield, of Packington, Coventry, for a stroke engraving, the subject Rubens and his wife, the gold medal. Cl. 98.

Mr. C. Nesbitt, of Fetter-Lane, for engravings on wood, the silver medal. Cl. 103.

Mr. Richard Austin, of Paul's-Alley, Barbican, for engravings on wood, the silver medal.

Mrs. Elizabeth Coppins, of St. Stephen's, Norwich, for a drawing in crayons of Belisarius, copied from a painting of Salvator Rosa, the greater silver pallet.

Miss Frances Talbot, of Wymondham, Norfolk, for a painting of an herb girl, from nature, the silver medal.

Miss Beauchamp, of Langley Park, near Beccles, in Suffolk, for a painting of a landscape, copied from both, the silver medal.

Dr. John Evans, of Shrewsbury, for two maps of North Wales, the sum of forty-five guineas.

In Manufactures.

Mr. Thomas Clulow, of Shoreditch, for his invention of weaving purses, pockets, and sacks, in a loom, and improving the construction of looms in general, twenty-five guineas.

In Mechanics.

Mr. Henry Greathead, of South Shields, in the bishoprick of Durham, for his construction of a cork boat, by which the lives of many persons shipwrecked have been preserved, the gold medal and fifty guineas.

William Hall Timbrel, esq. of Streatly, in the county of Berks, for an improved herniary truss, and new invented calico cushion, the gold medal.

Mr. Richard Knight, of Foster-Lane, Cheapside, for his method of clearing land from stumps of trees, and rendering them in a proper state for fuel, the silver medal.

Mr. James Brownhill, of Aloa Mills, near Stirling, in Scotland, for his discovery of a quarry of stone, proper for making mill stones, the sum of one hundred pounds.

Mr. John Webb, of Dorrington-Street, for an invention in gun locks, to prevent accidents in using guns or pistols, and to guard against their being improperly fired, the sum of twenty guineas.

Mr. James Woart, of Fulham, for securing beams of timber decayed by time, or injured by accidents, in buildings, the sum of ten guineas.

In Colonies and Trade.

Dr. Alexander Anderson, of St. Vincent, for the culture of cloves and cinnamon, the gold medal.

Hon. Joseph Robley, of Tobago, for a plantation of bread-fruit-trees, the gold medal.

DISPUTE

Between the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London.

This dispute is, in itself, of a very insignificant nature. It was begun, continued, and ended in a manner far from being dignified; yet, as it affects persons filling most important offices, and as it may possibly be revived at some future period, attended with consequences more serious, we think it right, after a few remarks by way of preface, to insert here all such documents relating to it as have not yet been laid before the public.

It is well known, that sheriffs who have been elected, not from the court of aldermen, but from the livery at large, have long been regarded by the mayor and aldermen as objects of jealousy, rather than respect. Notwithstanding this, the peace and harmony of the city remained undisturbed by the few trifling causes of pique, arising from the election of the present sheriffs until a short time before the last Easter festival, when a circumstance, purely accidental, appears to have led to the rupture in question. Previous to the execution of Governor Wall, there was a fear of popular tumult should he have been again respited, and the disgraceful shoutings of savage triumph at his execution fully justified the apprehension. It was the duty of the sheriffs (a duty for the discharge of which they were accountable to the King) to provide the means of resistance. They expected the city marshals to attend personally, with a sufficient number of constables. Some constables appeared in the morning, but no marshal to head them, in case of necessity. After the execution, however, one of the marshals appeared; but from having been detained by the lord mayor, the whole of the preceding night, to attend the lady mayoress's private rout, was so fatigued as to be incapable of any exertion. At the next court of aldermen, the sheriffs reported the absence of the marshals; but, out of compliment to the chief magistrate, forbore to insist on a minute inquiry.

Their having made this report, however, appears to have been the reason of their receiving the card (No. I.) on the 15th of April, instead of the usual Easter invitation. On the next morning they went to the Mansion-House expressing their surprise at so unofficial and unusual a proceeding, informing the lord mayor what was the custom, and impressing the peculiar propriety of their chaplains attending them. What they required, and what his lordship's answer was respecting *themselves*, may be gathered from their letters (No. II. and No. III.), but respecting their chaplain's attendance, he informed them, verbally, "that in Sir Richard "Glynn's mayoralty, they did attend, but that "Sir Richard personally told them they had "no right there, and absolutely *turned them* "*out of the house*:" to which Mr. Rawlins replied, "My lord, had I been sheriff, and my "chaplain turned out, representing as we do "the two great orders of the state, I would "have gone with him; for church and king "never should be separated." It may not be amiss to mention, that Sir Richard's friends positively denied the fact as stated by his lordship; and, to say the truth, such denial appears not altogether unnecessary to defend the me-

mory of the knight against the imputation of rudeness, insolence, and sectarism.

The day after this communication the sheriffs received the letter No. IV. and afterwards followed No. V. and No. VI. On Easter-Monday the sheriffs attended, with their chaplains, in the state carriages, at the hour precisely mentioned in the precept, and were kept in waiting among the mob, before the MANSION-HOUSE, *one hour and fifty minutes*, having refused, after what they conceived improper behaviour on the part of the lord mayor, to enter his lordship's *private* house. When the procession moved, they joined it, and attended the lord mayor back again, after which they drove off to Saint Bartholomew's.

On the next day, having waited so long before, they went an hour later, and were kept *more than two hours in the street*, whether by the intention of his lordship we do not pretend to decide. On the evening of this day the sheriffs sent a letter to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, which may be found in page 471 of the Register: a copy of that letter, and also of that of No. 6. was sent to the Mansion-House. His Royal Highness's reply may be referred to in the Register, p. 571.

It may be naturally supposed, that, after these occurrences, no great cordiality could be felt on either side, but some common friends interfered, to prevent the breach from becoming still wider, that the concerns of the city might not be impeded. They met for this purpose, neither side giving up their opinion, but reserving the claim to be argued and settled at a proper time and place.

No. I.

Copy of the Card which was sent to each Sheriff on the Evening of the 15th.

Mansion-House, 13*th April*, 1802.

The lord mayor presents his compliments to Mr. Sheriff * * * * and lady, and requests the honour of their company to dinner at the Mansion-House, on Monday the 19th of April, 1802, at five o'clock precisely. The favour of an answer is particularly desired.

No. II.

Mansion-House, 16*th April*, 1802.

GENTLEMEN,

When you honoured me with a call on Wednesday, and expressed an idea that you had equal right with the aldermen to the same number of admissions for the dinner on Easter-Monday, I told you that I had never heard of such a right, but, if I was mistaken, I certainly would disappoint my own family rather than deprive you of your right.

I also mentioned my intention of making inquiry and acquainting you with the result, on or before this day, as it would not be possible for me to do it sooner.

The opportunity had not occurred when you called on me again this morning, but feeling desirous to render every accommodation to gentlemen whose situation is so closely connected with the state of the city, as well as from the personal respect I bear you both, I offered you two tickets each, for your respective friends—this offer was declined on your part.

From all the inquiries I have been able to make, they have not as yet furnished me with any ground for the claim, and can only say, unless you can substantiate the right, I must still decline complying with your request as a matter of right.

I must request it may be understood it is material for me to keep inviolate the customs and precedents of my predecessors, which is the only motive I can have in not complying with your demand; but I will most chearfully present you both with any tickets you may desire for your friends, being anxious to contribute as much as possible to prevent any interruption of that harmony that has ever subsisted between us. I have the honour to be, with high regard and respect, gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

(Signed) John Eamer, Mayor.

W. Rawlins, and R. A. Cox, Esqs. Sheriffs of London.

No. III.

MY LORD,

In answer to your lordship's favour dated yesterday, but only received this day at half past two, we have to return your lordship our thanks for the personal civility expressed therein to ourselves; but, as sheriffs of London, we must beg to recall your lordship's attention to what passed between your lordship and ourselves on Wednesday at the Mansion House, when *your lordship denied the right of the Sheriffs of London to dine at the Mansion House on the Easter Monday but through your lordship's favour, as being your lordship's private dinner*; and with regard to what your lordship states, that yesterday morning you "offered us two "tickets each, but which we declined;" *we do not admit that any such offer was made*; though, if it had, as a matter of favour, after what had passed, it would have been impossible for us to have accepted it.

The sheriffs of London beg your lordship to understand that they consider it a duty to attend the public procession on Easter Monday, and claim the right to dine with the lord mayor and aldermen afterwards at the entertainment usually given on that occasion; and they also claim the right agreeable to uniform custom to have the same number of admissions that each alderman has in his own right. A part of this claim seems admitted by your lordship's letter, the sheriffs consider themselves as entitled to the whole. And they feel it would be inconsistent with the situation of sheriffs of London, and that it would be impairing the dignity of that office if they were to wave it. Thus circumstanced they have no alternative, and therefore, they still insist upon it; but in doing this they are equally anxious with your lordship that the state and splendour of the corporation should not be lessened on Easter Monday, at least by the sheriffs; and, therefore, they will

attend their duty in the procession according to ancient custom.—To dine with your lordship, as your lordship's *private* friends they must decline. We have the honour to be &c. &c.

(Signed) W. Rawlins, R. Albion Cox, } Sheriffs.

The Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor.

No. IV.

Mansion House, Saturday, 17th April, 1802.

GENTLEMEN,

Having been charged with a message to you from the lord mayor, and understanding you were waiting at the secondaries office for an answer to your letter, I went there for the purpose of delivering you such message by way of answer, in order that you might not be detained while a written answer was sending, but not being so fortunate to meet with you either at the secondaries, solicitors, or sheriffs offices, I beg you will allow me this opportunity of acquainting you, that I was requested by the lord mayor to wait upon you to acknowledge the receipt of your letter at that instant received; and to say, that he sent the cards of invitation for the dinner on Easter Monday to you as sheriffs of London, and for your ladies. He further requested me to say, as the matter of right is not ascertained, he will feel himself exceedingly sorry if you with your ladies do not honour him with your company to dinner, and if you will not also do *him* the further favour to accept of four tickets each for your friends. Agreeable to his lordship's request, I have therefore, enclosed herewith the cards and tickets. I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your most obedient, humble servant,

W. Rawlins, R. A. Cox, Esqrs. (Signed) W. L. Newman, Sec.

No. V.

MY LORD,

As sheriffs of London we must beg leave to decline all the personal favours your lordship is pleased to offer us, in your private invitation to the public dinner this day at the Mansion House.

We have received some tickets late on Saturday evening, which were transmitted to us through the communication of Mr. Newman, and presuming this could not be made through your knowledge, as you yourself have passed the high office we have now the honour to serve, we think it proper to return them, unwilling to suppose you could mean to offer any further indignity to our situations.. We have the honour to be, &c. &c.

W. Rawlins, R. Albion Cox, } Sheriffs.

Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor.

No. VI.

MY LORD,

We thought it necessary to justify our not waiting on the Prince of Wales when he visited the city on Easter Monday, and though your lordship did not either on that or the succeeding day treat us like gentlemen, yet we cannot descend from that character ourselves, and have therefore, enclosed a copy of the letter we yesterday sent to His Royal Highness.

With the greatest respect for your lordship's station, we remain your humble servants,

April 21st, 1802. (Signed) W. Rawlins, R. A. Cox, } Sheriffs.

To the Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor.

COLLEGE OF NOVA SCOTIA.

Copy of His Majesty's Royal Charter for founding and incorporating King's College at Windsor, in the Province of Nova Scotia, dated 12th May, 42d George III, 1802.

George the Third, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, to all whom these presents shall come greeting:

Whereas we have declared our royal intention to establish, within our province of Nova Scotia, in North America, a College for the education of youth in the principles of true religion, and for their instruction in the different branches of science and literature, which are taught at our Universities in this Kingdom.

And whereas the sum of four thousand pounds granted by our Parliament in that part of our united kingdom, called Great-Britain, hath been applied in erecting a suitable building within the town of Windsor, in our said Province, on a piece of land which had been purchased by means of a grant of the General Assembly of our said Province for that purpose.

And whereas the said building hath been fitted for the residence of professors and students, and an endowment of four hundred pounds currency of that Province (equal to three hundred and sixty pounds British sterling) per annum, hath been granted for the support thereof, by the said General Assembly.

And whereas humble application hath been made to us by many of our loving subjects in our said Province, that we would be pleased to grant our ROYAL CHARTER for the more perfect establishment of the said College, and for incorporating the members thereof for the purposes aforesaid, and for such further endowment thereof as to us should seem meet.

We having taken the premises into our Royal Consideration, and duly weighing the great utility and importance of such an institution, are willing and desirous to condescend to their request: KNOW YE, therefore, that we, of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion have willed, ordained and granted, and do by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, will, ordain and grant, that upon the said land, and in the building, or buildings so erected, or to be erected thereon *at our town of* WINDSOR, *in our said Province of* NOVA SCOTIA, *there shall be established from this time one College, the mother of an University, for the education and instruction of youth and students, in arts and faculties, to continue for*

ever; *and to be called* KING'S COLLEGE: and that our trusty and well-beloved *Sir John Wentworth, Baronet, Lieutenant-Governor* of our said Province, or the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor of our said Province for the time being; the Right Reverend Father in God, *Charles Inglis, Bishop* of the Diocese of *Nova Scotia*, or the Bishop of the said Diocese for the time being; our trusty and well-beloved *Samuel Salter Blowers, Chief Justice* of our said Province of Nova Scotia, or the Chief Justice of our said Province for the time being; our trusty and well-beloved *Alexander Croke, Judge of our Court of Vice-Admiralty* in Nova Scotia, or the Judge of our Court of Vice-Admiralty in our said Province for the time being; our trusty and well-beloved *Richard John Uniacke, Speaker of our House of Assembly, and Attorney-General* of our said Province of Nova Scotia, or the Speaker of our Assembly, and the Attorney-General for our said Province severally for the time being; our trusty and well-beloved *James Stewart, Solicitor-General* for our said Province of Nova Scotia, or the Solicitor-General of our said Province for the time being; our trusty and well-beloved *Benning Wentworth, Secretary* of our said Province of Nova Scotia, or the Secretary of our said Province for the time being, together with such other person or persons as shall be elected in manner hereinafter mentioned, shall be GOVERNORS *of the said College*, and that the said College shall consist of *one* PRESIDENT, *three or more* FELLOWS *and* PROFESSORS, and *twelve or more* SCHOLARS, at such salaries, and subject to such provisions, regulations, limitations, rules, qualifications and restrictions as shall hereafter be appointed by the statutes, rules and ordinances of the said College, and until such statutes, rules, and ordinances shall have been framed, subject, in all respects, to the orders and directions, and eligible and removeable at the pleasure of the said Governors, or of the major part of them, and that the said Governors, or the major part of them, shall have the power of electing the president of the said College for the time being, to be a governor of the said College, and also of electing any other person or persons, not exceeding three in number (subject to such regulations as shall be appointed by the statutes, rules and ordinances of the said College) to be a governor or governors of the said College.

And we do by these presents, for us, our heirs and sucessors, will, ordain and grant, that the said governors, president, and fellows, and their successors for ever, shall be one distinct and separate body politic and corporate, in deed and in name, by the name and style of *the* GOVERNORS, PRESIDENT, *and* FELLOWS *of* KING'S COLLEGE *at* WINDSOR, *in the Province of* NOVA SCOTIA; and that by the same name, they shall have perpetual succession, and a common seal, and that they and their successors shall from time to time, have full power to break, alter, make new, or change, such common seal, at their will and pleasure, and as shall be found expedient; and that by the same name, the said governors, president and fellows, and their successors, from time to time, and at all times hereafter shall be a body politic and corporate, in deed and in law, and be able and capable to have, take, receive, purchase, acquire, hold, possess, enjoy, and retain; and we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant full authority, and free licence to them and their successors by the name aforesaid, to have, take, receive, purchase, acquire, hold, possess, enjoy and retain, to and for the use of the said College notwithstanding any statutes or statute of mortmain, any manors, rectories, advowsons, messuages, lands, tenements, rents, and hereditaments of what kind, nature or quality soever, so as that the same do not exceed in yearly value the sum of six thousand pounds above all charges: and moreover, to take, purchase, acquire, have, hold, enjoy, receive, possess, and retain, notwithstanding any such statute, or statutes to the contrary, all or any goods, chattels, charitable and other contributions, gifts and benefactions whatsoever: and that the said governors, president and fellows, and their successors, by the same name, shall and may be able and capable in law, to sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded, answer and be answered, in all or any court, or courts of record or places of judicature within our United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, and our said Province of Nova Scotia, and other our dominions, and in all and singular actions, causes, pleas, suits, matters and demands whatsoever, of what kind and nature or sort soever, in as large, ample and beneficial manner and form, as any other body politic and corporate, or any other our liege subjects, being persons able and capable in law, may or can have, take, purchase, receive, hold, possess, enjoy, retain, sue, implead or answer, or be sued, impleaded, or answered in any manner whatsoever.

And we do by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, will, ordain and grant that the Governors of the said College, or the major part of them, shall have power and authority to frame and make STATUTES, RULES, *and* ORDINANCES, touching and concerning the good government of the said College, the performance of divine service therein, the studies, lectures, exercises, degrees in arts and faculties, and all matters regarding the same; the election, qualification and residence of the president, fellows, and scholars, the management of the revenues and property of the said College, the salaries, stipends and provision for the president, fellows, scholars and officers of the said College, and also touching and concerning any other matter or thing which to them shall seem good, fit, useful, and agreeable to this our Charter: and also from time to time, to revoke, augment, or alter all, every or any of the said statutes, rules, and ordinances, as to them or the major part of them, shall seem meet and expedient. Provided, that the said statutes, rules and ordinances, or any of them, shall not be repugnant to the laws and statutes

of this our realm, and of our said Province of Nova Scotia; provided also, that the said statutes, rules, and ordinances, or any revocation, augmentation, or alteration thereof, be subject to the approbation of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being, and shall be forthwith transmitted to the said Lord Archbishop, for that purpose; and that in case the said Lord Archbishop shall signify, in writing, his disapprobation thereof, within three years of the time of their being so made and framed, or of their being so revoked, augmented, or altered, the same or such part thereof, as shall be so disapproved by the said Lord Archbishop, shall, from the time of such disapprobation being made known, be utterly void and of no effect, but otherwise shall be and remain in full force and virtue.

And we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, charge and command that the statutes, rules and ordinances aforesaid, subject to the said provisions, shall be strictly and inviolably observed, kept and performed, from time to time, so long as they shall respectively remain, in full vigour and effect, under the penalties to be thereby or therein inflicted or contained.

And we do by these presents for us our heirs and successors, will, order, direct, and appoint that the said *Lord Archbishop of Canterbury* for the time being shall be PATRON of the said College, and the *Bishop of Nova Scotia* for the time being, shall be VISITOR of the said College.

And we do further will, ordain and grant that the said College shall be deemed and taken to be an UNIVERSITY, and shall have and enjoy all such and the like Privileges as are enjoyed by our Universities in our United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, as far as the same are capable of being had and enjoyed, by virtue of these our Letters Patent. And that the students in the said College shall have liberty and faculty of taking the degrees of Bachelor, Master, and Doctor in the several arts and faculties at the appointed times: and shall have liberty within themselves of performing all scholastic exercises for the conferring such degrees in such manner as shall be directed by the statutes, rules, and ordinances of the said College.

And We will, and by these presents for Us our heirs and successors, do grant and declare, that these our Letters Patent, or the enrolment or exemplications thereof, shall and may be, good, firm, valid, sufficient and effectual in the law, according to the true intent and meaning of the same, and shall be taken, construed and adjudged, in the most favourable and beneficial sense for the best advantage of the said governors, president and fellows of the said College at Windsor aforesaid, as well in all our Courts of record as elsewhere, and by all and singular judges, justices, officers, ministers, and other subjects whatsoever, of us, our heirs and successors, any mis-recital, non-recital, omission, imperfection, defect, matter, cause, or thing whatsoever to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding; without fine or fee, great or small, to be for the same in any manner rendered, done or paid to us in our Hanaper, or elsewhere to our use.

And lastly, we do hereby promise and declare for us, our heirs and successors, that we and they shall and will, at all times hereafter, give and grant to the aforesaid governors, president and fellows, and their successors, such other reasonable powers and authorities, as may be necessary for the government of the said college and the more effectual execution of the premises.

In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent.—Witness ourself at Westminster, the twelfth day of May in the forty-second year of our reign.

CHURCH AFFAIRS.

A Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving to Almighty God to be used in all Churches and Chapels throughout those Parts of the United Kingdom called England and Ireland, on Tuesday the first Day of June, 1802, being the Day appointed by Proclamation for a general Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for putting an End to the late bloody, extended, and expensive War in which we were engaged.

¶ *The service shall be the same with the usual office for holy days, except where it is in this office otherwise appointed.*

¶ *Let him that ministereth read with a loud voice these Sentences of Scripture; and after them the Exhortation,* Dearly beloved Brethren, *&c.*

Ascribe unto the Lord, O ye kindreds of the people: ascribe unto the Lord worship and power.

Unto thee, O God, will I pay my vows: unto thee will I give thanks.

I will offer to thee the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and will call upon the name of the Lord.

¶ *Instead of the* Venite, *this Hymn shall be used.*

O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is gracious, and his mercy endureth for ever.

Let them give thanks, whom the Lord hath redeemed, and delivered from the hand of the enemy.

O love the Lord all ye his saints, for the Lord preserveth them that are faithful, and plenteously rewardeth the proud doer.

The Lord shall stand by them, and save them; he shall deliver them from the ungodly, and shall save them, because they put their trust in him.

He ruleth with his power for ever: his eyes behold the people, and such as will not believe, shall not be able to exalt themselves.

It is of the Lord's mercy, that we are not consumed, because his compassions fail not.

Thou, O Lord, art my defender: thou art my worship, and the lifter up of my head.

I will always give thanks unto the Lord, his praise shall be ever in my mouth.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

As it was, &c.

¶ *Proper Psalms.* XXIX. XXXIII. CXLVI.

¶ *Proper Lessons.* { First, Levit. xxvi. 3—12. Te Deum. Second, Matt. v. 1—26.

Jubilate Deo.

¶ *The* Creed, *&c. to the end of the Lord's Prayer.*

¶ *Then the priest, standing up, shall say*;

Priest. O Lord, shew thy mercy upon us —Answ. And grant us thy salvation.—Priest. O Lord, save the king.—Ans. Who putteth his trust in thee.—Priest. Send him help from thy holy place.—Ans. And evermore mightily defend him.—Priest. Let his enemies have no advantage against him.—Ans. Let not the wicked approach to hurt him.—Priest. Endue thy ministers with righteousness.—Ans. And make thy chosen people joyful.—Priest. O Lord, save thy people.—Ans. And bless thine inheritance. —Priest. Give peace in our time, O Lord.—Ans. Because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God.—Priest. O God, make clean our hearts within us.—Answ. And take not thy holy spirit from us.

¶ *Instead of the First Collect for the Day, the following Prayer shall be used.*

O Almighty Lord God, who rulest in all the kingdoms of the earth, bringing to nought by thy wisdom the devices of the prudent, and casting down by thy power the might of the stout-hearted; we yield thee thanks and praise for thy abundant loving kindness, in putting a stop to the rage and devastations of war, and restoring, to this and other countries, the blessing of peace. Give us grace, we beseech thee, to improve this thy great mercy to thy glory, the advancement of thy truth, and the good of mankind. Cleanse us, O Lord, from all our abominations, and renew a right spirit within us; that henceforth we provoke not, as many times heretofore we have done, thy wrath an indignation against us, but become a holy nation, an obedient people, walking in the ways of godliness, and knit together in love and charity, unity and concord. And mercifully vouchsafe to grant, that we may transmit to our posterity the blessings which, through thy goodness, we have so long enjoyed, of our free monarchy and pure religion. These things we humbly beg in the name and mediation of Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord. Amen.

¶ *Then shall follow the second and third Collects at Morning Prayer.*

¶ *In the End of the Litany, which shall be used on this Day, the following Prayer shall be said after the Collect,* "We humbly beseech thee, "&c."

O Lord our creator and preserver, who hast made of one blood all nations of men upon the face of the whole earth, hasten, we beseech thee, that blessed time, when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more; but the work of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever; and the whole earth shall be filled with the light of the glorious gospel of thy Son, to whom with thee, O Father, and with thee, O Holy Ghost, be all honour, praise, and thanksgiving, world without end. Amen.

¶ *Then read to the End of* Morning Prayer, *adding after the* General Thanksgiving *the following Thanksgiving for the Plenty of the last Harvest.*

O merciful Father, of whose gift it cometh, that the earth is fruitful, and animals multiply for the service and sustenance of man; we give thee humble thanks, that, of thy great bounty, thou hast crowned the year with thy goodness; causing both the sun to shine, and the rain to fall, in just measure and due season, and blessing the increase of our kine and of our sheep. Continue, we beseech thee, thy loving kindness towards us, and give us grace to improve thy mercies to thy glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Communion Service.

¶ *Instead of the Collect for the King,* "Al- "mighty God, whose Kingdom, *&c.*" *the following shall be used.*

O Almighty Lord God, to whose powerful protection righteous Kings owe the prosperity of their government, and the safety of their persons, we, thine unworthy servants, offer unto thee our unfeigned thanksgivings for thy great goodness, so often manifested to this nation, in the preservation of the life of thy servant our Sovereign, upon various occasions during the late political distractions, from the designs and attempts of wicked men; by which thou hast rescued this church and kingdom from destruction. Preserve him evermore, we beseech thee, from the gathering together of the froward, and from the insurrection of evil doers. Infatuate the counsels, and frustrate the attempts of his enemies. Grant him long to continue the nursing father of thy church, and the faithful minister of thy blessings to his people, that after a prolonged and prosperous reign on earth, he may receive in heaven the crown of glory which fadeth not away, through the merits of Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord. Amen.

Instead of the Collect of the Day.

O most merciful God, who, in thy mercy, hast given us rest from our enemies; give us also understanding to see, and hearts to follow, the things that be for our peace. Put away from us all bitterness and wrath, all malicious

and revengeful thoughts; and give us grace freely to forgive, as thou hast commanded, those who have injured or offended us, and to be reunited with them in the bands of Christian charity. Grant, O Lord, that being delivered from our enemies abroad, we may live in godliness and honesty at home, in dutiful subjection to the King, and in brotherly love and charity one towards another; that so in all things we may adorn the gospel of thy blessed Son, our Saviour, to whom, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

The Epistle. 1 John iv. 7—12.

Beloved, let us love one another: for love is of God; and every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God. He that loveth not knoweth not God; for God is love. In this was manifested the love of God towards us, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him. Herein his love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins. Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another. No man hath seen God at any time. If we love one another, God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfected in us.

The Gospel. St. Matthew v. ver. 43, *to the end.*

Ye have heard that it hath been said, thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy: but I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? Do not even the publicans the same? And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? do not even the publicans so? Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.

¶ *Then shall follow the* Nicene Creed; *and after that the Sermon.*

After the Prayer, "for the whole state of Christ's Church," *the following shall be used.*

O Lord our God, abundant in goodness and truth, whose tender mercies are over all thy works, we implore thy compassion for the whole race of man, but more especially we beseech thee to look down with pity on the Church, which thy Son has purchased with his blood, particularly on the reformed parts of it. And we humbly entreat thee, to enlighten all those who are in darkness and error, and to bring them to the understanding and acknowledgment of thy truth; that we may all become one fold, under one Shepherd, Jesus Christ the righteous, our only mediator and advocate. Amen.

Grant, O Lord, we beseech thee, that the course of this world may be so peaceably ordered by thy governance, that thy church may joyfully serve thee in all godly quietness, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Almighty God, who hast promised to hear the petitions of them that ask in thy Son's name; we beseech thee mercifully to incline thine ears to us that have made now our prayers and supplications unto thee; and grant, that those things, which we have faithfully asked according to thy will, may effectually be obtained, to the relief of our necessity, and to the setting forth of thy glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ *Then the Priest (or Bishop, if he be present) shall let them depart with this Blessing:*

The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord: and the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst you, and remain with you always. Amen.

Substance of the Speech of the Right Honourable Sir William Scott, *delivered in the House of Commons, Wednesday, April 7, 1802, upon a Motion for leave to bring in a Bill, relative to the Non-residence of the Clergy, and other Affairs of the Church.*

Mr. Speaker,

In pursuance of my notice, I have to move for leave to bring in a bill for amending the Statute of Henry the Eighth respecting the Clergy; and before I enter upon the subject itself, I must trouble you with a very few words in excuse of the person who has been rash enough to undertake it.—Sir, it is by no obtrusion of myself that this office has descended into my hands; no man could be more sensible of its difficulties, or less disposed to a personal encounter with them. But I have yielded to the judgments and inclinations of other minds, aided by a sense of public duty in my own; the House, therefore, will have the satisfaction of knowing, that what I have to offer to its consideration, is not the eager expression of any favourite, preconceived opinions; whatever other demerit may belong to it, it will come, I am sure, without the confidence, and, I trust, without the prejudice of system upon the subject.

The business is to review some of the provisions of the Statute of King Henry the Eighth.—The prosecutions recently brought in great numbers, and in different parts of the kingdom upon that statute, have imposed, what I may venture to call an *admitted* necessity upon the Legislature of reconsidering it. I say *admitted*, because the Legislature, under a sense of that necessity, forcibly impressed upon it last year by two most worthy members, representatives of western counties, has already agreed to suspend its operation. I meddle not with the motives, nor with the characters connected with those prosecutions; if any thing exceptionable belongs to either of them, I fear that the reproach must be shared by the Legislature which has addressed such motives and invited such characters. It is the less necessary for me to advert to them, because if no such pro-

secutions had existed, the statute would nevertheless be, in my opinion, a very fit subject of modern consideration. It is a statute upon important subjects immediately connected with the religion and morals of the country—but a statute made three hundred years ago, in a state of religion and manners very different from the present. It is a statute which enforces its operation by money-penalties—but those penalties prescribed under a very different valuation of money from that which obtains at present. On these considerations alone it might be deemed not unfit to revise this statute, even supposing it to be possessed of all the characters of original wisdom and justice, that are to be looked for in an act of the Legislature, framed with an attention to the exigencies of the times that gave it birth. It is admitted by Lord Coke, one hundred and fifty years ago, that "It then required alterations and addi-"tions, although excellent for its time."—Lord Hobart has likewise described it as a "most wise "and politic statute." May I be permitted to say, with all the profound reverence which I owe and feel to the opinions of very eminent persons (men of oracular weight upon questions of the existing law of their country, but, I may say without offence, not quite of such unappealable authority, upon questions of legislative policy) that I cannot help entertaining a doubt whether these panegyrics, on the original wisdom and equity of this statute, have not been somewhat liberally conferred?

It is impossible not to advert a little to the times in which it was produced, and the motives which, in part at least, operated in producing it. The times were times of great fervour and irritation—the corruptions of the Church collected during the grossness of the darker ages, and which that Church, by neglecting the favourable opportunity of reforming, has entailed upon itself the unhappy necessity of perpetuating and defending, had provoked great popular resentments; but, as was natural to be expected, resentments not always justly directed to their objects, nor very exactly proportioned in their measure. They overflowed upon the whole body of the clergy, deserving and undeserving (for unquestionably there were many of the first description), and upon all clerical claims, just and unjust, for it is equally unquestionable that there are both. In short, the times were exactly those which are the least fitted in any country for a happy exercise of deliberative wisdom, lying in that precise juncture, when ancient opinions and maxims have become the objects of contempt and aversion, and the new and improved system had not yet settled itself, in a firm and sober and correct possession of men's minds. The history of those times abounds with instances of the general animosity, that then prevailed against the clergy. It is a familiar anecdote in every body's mouth, of the observation made by the then Bishop of London in a letter respecting an idle and malicious charge of murder brought against his Chancellor, that a London jury was at that time so prejudiced against the clergy, that were a clergyman was concerned, they "were ready to find Abel guilty of the mur-"der of Cain." A more singular demonstration of the general prevalence of that sort of inveteracy, is recorded by one of the most exact inquirers into our national history, (particularly the ecclesiastical parts of it) Mr. H. Wharton, in his Remarks on Strype's Memorials of the Reformation. "Crimes of incontinence," he says, "were then, "as now, cognoscible only in the ecclesiastical "courts, but rapes were then, as now, triable "at the common law; and of this the laity took "such malicious advantage in times immediately "before the reformation, that they were wont to "pretend all acts, and even indications of incon-"tinence in ecclesiastics to be so many rapes, and "to indict them as such; insomuch, that scarce "any assizes passed at that time wherein several "clergymen were not indicted of rapes, and a "jury of laymen impannelled to try them, who "would be sure not to incur the guilt of shewing "too much favour in their verdicts." There is reason enough to suppose, that Parliament was sufficiently tinctured with the popular prejudice of the times. It had its particular resentments against that great minister and churchman Cardinal Wolsey: a man of great talents! *qui nihil humile aut sensit aut dixit!* but, who had likewise that pride and confidence of great talents, which, in a state of coarse manners, is with difficulty kept free from betraying itself in an oppressive insolence of language and demeanor. "They hated him, be-"cause he hated Parliaments," says Lord Coke in the passage I have alluded to, "and had been "the mean that no Parliament was holden in the "realm but one, for the space of fourteen years;" and it could not well be forgotten, Sir, that in that *one* Parliament, the very one in which *immediately* preceded the Parliament which made this statute, he had come into this room in all the pomp of the most ostentatious prelacy, and seating himself by your chair, had demanded "to know the reasons "of those members who opposed the King's High-"ness' subsidy, in order that he might confer with "them thereon." It is not out of our historical recollection, how severely an intrusion of the like kind cost the Sovereign of this country in the following century. As to the King, he had other passions, besides resentment, to animate him in these measures; he had two years before began the business of his divorce.; it proceeded much too tardily for the impatience of such a lover; he had quarrelled with Wolsey on account of the delay, and was determined to menace the Pope into a compliance. "The King," says Bishop Burnet, "set the bills forward, and they were "agreed to and had the royal assent. The King "intended by this to let the Pope see what he "could do if he went on to offend him, and how "willingly his Parliamnnt would concur with him "if he went on to extremities."

Under this ferment of passions was this statute conceived; and if it *did* come into the world with the characters of wisdom and propriety appearing in its constitution, it would add one more instance to the number, which the experience of mankind has certainly furnished, of good effects produced by questionable and mixed causes. I have ventured to doubt the existence of such characters. The very policy of throwing matters of this nature into the general tribunals of the country is, in my apprehension, subject to very reasonable doubt. I shall speak with the less reserve upon this policy, because, finding it here established, it is not my intention to attempt to remove it, guarded, as I purpose it should be, by the correctives which I propose to apply to it. I cannot help remarking, that it was a violent innovation on the practice of the Church, not only of the

church then existing, but upon the general practice of the christian church, which has considered matters of this nature as administrable in a course of ecclesiastical discipline only. Take, for instance, the matter of residence. The power of enforcing, or dispensing with residence, belonged *de jure communi* to the bishop. *Super residentiâ faciendâ potest ordinarius gratium dispensative ad tempus facere, prout causa rationabilis id exposcit.* Such was the rule of the christian church. The oath of vicars, taken at institution, which has existed in this kingdom for six hundred years, down to the present hour, is, "that they will reside, unless dispensed with by their ordinary." In the *reformatio legum*, a code drawn up for the use of the reformed church of England, by some of the most considerable persons of the age, both laymen and churchmen, the rule is, that absence is excused if the party is *annis gravis, morborum incursione extenuatus, vel ob quamcunque justam aliam causam episcopo approbandam.* And in fact, the power of dispensing with residence continued to be formally exercised by Cranmer, and other eminent prelates of the reformed church, down to a very late period, notwithstanding the apparent prohibition of this statute, as appears from the records of the office of faculties and from episcopal registers. I take such to be the practice of the Lutheran and Calvinistic churches. In that most respectable branch of the Calvinistic church, the church of Scotland, I understand it to be a matter of consistorial discipline; nor does this practice found itself merely upon high and exclusive notions of the immunities of the church; it is no more than what the policy of the law has found it convenient to apply to the regulation of the conduct of men in other professions, the peculiar duties of which are enforced not in the ordinary course of judicial proceeding, but in *forums* of their own, and in a course of official administration, confided to the vigilance and integrity of the respective superiors; nor is it to be alledged (as one sometimes hears,) that the interest, which the laity has in the good conduct of the clergy, makes this absolutely necessary, because, in the first place, no one will deny that they have a pretty considerable interest in the good conduct of other professions; in that, for instance, of their naval and military defenders: and in the next place, because their interest, give it what comparative magnitude you please, seemed to be sufficiently secured by the power which the laity then possessed, and still possess, of applying to the consistorial tribunals, and there enforcing a specific performance of canonical duties, in all cases where it was fit it should be enforced.

I do not, however, object merely on the ground of this policy being a novelty, and a novelty without a necessity, (though this alone is no contemptible objection in acts of legislation,) but, because it is a novelty that is unavoidably productive of practical injustice and inconvenience. When I use these words, let no man be perverse enough to impute to me, that I am hazarding irreverent expressions against the great tribunals of my country; no man venerates more, either the wise constitution, or the honourable administration of them. They have both of them, at all times, and at no times more than the present, been amongst the best securities, and the proudest ornaments of our country. But I may be permitted to express a doubt, whether in consequence of the very fact of their being so admirably adapted to the administration of general justice, they may not be less conveniently framed, for wielding the peculiar discipline of a peculiar profession.

Take, in illustration again, this matter of residence. The statute enacts that, "whoever is "wilfully absent from his benefice," (and which the courts of law have interpreted to be the parsonage house of that benefice) "for one month is "liable to a penalty." The courts have of course followed the strict construction, which as courts of law they were bound to do, and they have accordingly determined, (as far as can be inferred from the adjuged cases) that a wilful absence, is that absence which is not produced by some physical necessity; for I cannot find in any adjuged case, that any cause of absence has been allowed, besides these three: 1st. Imprisonment of the body elsewhere. 2dly, Infirmity of body; and 3dly, Want of habitation, or of an *ubi* in the parish; a plea which, I must observe, has been in effect disallowed, or at least contracted in some late determinations, in which it has not been admitted as a valid defence, unless it has been at the same time shewn, that the clerk has approximated his habitation to the parish, *cy près*, or as near as he could in some contiguous parish. These pleas likewise, (all of which are merely physical,) must be proved in an absolute degree. As to imprisonment of the body, that is not a matter which much admits of *plus* and *minus*, but the matter of infirmity of body must be proved to a degree, not merely of discomfort, but of something approaching to actual peril. With respect to habitation, I have only to mention the late case of the rector of Bow Church; that clergyman was shewn to be one of the most exemplary of his time; it appeared that he not only performed, in an assiduous and edifying manner, the public duties of his church, but in a manner equally assiduous and edifying, the more painful, but not less important offices, of private and constant ministration to the spiritual wants of his parishioners. It was admitted on the part of the prosecution, that on these very accounts he was selected for the purpose of shewing, that no merit could excuse the legal guilt of non-residence; for true it was, that he was legally a non-resident, living not in the parish of Bow Church, but in the no distant parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn; and under these circumstances, that the proper parsonage house was of such confined dimensions, that the only ground floor room was converted into a shop. Any enlargement of the house was hopeless, not only from the obstructions of the statute of Mortmain, but from the excessive value of ground, in that highly commercial part of this capital. Under this representation the jury were instructed, and properly instructed by the learned and noble judge, to consider whether this habitation, incommodious and uncomfortable as it might be, was not yet one in which a clergyman, submitting to a painful necessity, might contrive to live, and the jury found for the full penalties against the defendant. I mention this case to shew the degree in which even these legal pleas must be substantiated. As to pleas of necessity, merely moral, I cannot find the admission of any such, in the cases which the practice of three hundred years has furnished. I cannot deny that an attendance elsewhere, upon the last months of a declining wife, or parent, or child, or upon any other of the charities of life, is certainly a wilful absence, for it must be admitted, that it is produced by a mere determination of the will, though the will may be influenced in the particular case,

by causes as powerful, and as laudable, as any that can act upon human volition. In the consistorial courts acting under the episcopal discretion, or a discretion of the like nature, such pleas can have a reasonable attention paid to them. A court of law acting upon the express letter of a statute, assumes no such discretion itself; and it is expressly forbidden, by the same statute, to invoke or admit the interposition of episcopal discretion. As far as a court of law contemplates such a subject under such an authority, it has been, and, I presume, must be, upon the footing of a something, very little short of a hard and dry physical necessity.

So much as to the general policy—Are the specific provisions more clearly marked with wisdom? The provision made for carrying all its other provisions into effect, is by means of the common informer. Of that personage I shall take care to speak with all due caution, because I perceive, that although he is a very abhorred man, when he is blowing up a conspiracy against the state—not very gracious when he is enforcing a tax—yet that he is received with some degree of kind acceptation, when he betakes himself to the employment of *privateering* upon the church: all, therefore, that I shall venture to say of him, is, that it appears to be but a clumsy sort of policy at best, to make the avarice of mankind the grand instrument of religious and moral reformation. But, supposing it ever so decent a thing to dethrone the bishop, and to put the common informer in his place, look at the penalties with which he is armed!—perfectly ruinous to the majority of the clergy at the time, and in that respect directly contrary to every principle of our happy constitution—ten pounds for a month's absence! By the *valor beneficiorum*, made five years *after* the passing this statute, a very large proportion of the cures in this kingdom, were under ten pounds a year in value; so that the great body of the clergy were put into *this* state, that if they slept out of their parsonage-house, for one day above a month, they were deprived of all subsistence for above twelve months following.

What was the grand object to be secured to the public, by this unnatural change of the ecclesiastical constitution, bearing so hard upon the convenience of individuals? Is it a canonical residence? By no means. What is a canonical residence? not merely *residentia parochialis*, but *personalis ministratio* likewise—*residere in parochia, et deservire in ecclesia.* Such is the general language of the canon law, and mere bodily presence in a parish is no sufficient defence, in the ecclesiastical suit, for non-residence, if it is shewn that the clerk has not likewise performed the duties which ought to accompany it. But this statute takes the bodily presence, independent of the personal ministration—the *corpus sine pectore*—upon the presumption, which, the experience of the world proves, will often fail, that the man who is compelled to be upon the spot, will perform every thing for which he is compelled to be upon that spot. If a man does but sleep in his parsonage bed, he may sleep there from month's end to month's end; he may live in the most slovenly disregard, or in the most insolent defiance of every obligation of duty; and yet, as far as this statute reaches him, he may go utterly unwhipt of public justice. The residence, which this statute secures to the public, may be a parish nuisance, and a parish scandal, and nothing better.

In pointing out such passages in this statute, as appear to me to mark it rather as a statute of vengeance than reformation, as uniting in itself the extremes of violence and inefficiency, I cannot help adding, that if such provisions are really what they have been sometimes called, the *first fruits* of the reformation, they are fruits collected in a state of great acerbity—harsh, and crude, and unmellowed—much fitter to ferment than to compose the passions of mankind. Let me ask those who shelter this statute under the apology, that time may perhaps have rendered some of its provisions unseasonable, for what times such provisions as these could possibly be fit? "that no clergyman, beneficed or unbeneficed, should take a house, except in a city, market town, or borough, under a penalty of ten pounds a month? That no poor vicar could take a lease of the parsonage, to help out his own scanty endowment, under a penalty of ten times the value of the profits of such lease? That no clergyman can hold a lease of land, though not occupied by himself, and though descended to him from his family, under a penalty of ten times its annual value? That no clergyman possessed of a patrimonial freehold estate, in a grazing country, could buy and sell a cow, without a forfeiture of treble the value of that cow?" In my apprehension nothing could have concealed the vices and infirmities of this statute, but its having been consigned by almost general consent, to almost general inefficiency ever since its birth, till within the last two years, when it has been made the commercial bank of two or three trading attornies. Before that time it had rarely been heard of, but occasionally as a postscript to a dispute about tythes, or to some personal squabble between the parishioner and his parson, generally discountenanced in the particular instance by the excellent persons who have presided in the courts, who have repeatedly lamented their own inability to admit pleas, highly proper to be attended to, and that they were bound to consider the most conscientious clergyman, who after twenty years most sedulous performance of all his duties, absented himself for one month from his parish (or even from his parsonage-house, though doing the duties of his cure), and with the permission of his superiors, as a culprit—and as a culprit who was not to be exonerated, on any other plea than that which would exonerate a man from charges of the most atrocious kind—the plea, of having acted under something little short of an irresistible necessity.

But whatever may be the original character of this statute (on which I have ventured to express an opinion, contrary to opinions which I cannot but respect, when I look at those who have entertained them); it is not to be denied, that the change of time and manners has imported into it a degree of incongruity and injustice, which no man can be found to defend.

In the first place, the money-penalties have acquired an additional injustice, by acquiring an additional inequality. Many of the livings of this kingdom, that were meanly endowed with land or tythes, continue in their original poverty; others, better provided with those species of property, have risen into opulence: on the poor livings the statute operates with its original severity, aggravated by the consideration, that it touches the richer benefices, comparatively, with a feather. Its *utmost* effect upon a living of £1,200 per annum (of which there are several in this

kingdom), is compounded for by the payment of an income tax.

In the next place, the general alteration, which has taken place in the general system of life and manners, must be adverted to. The *native clergy* (as far as the statute applied at all to them) were single men, living in the habits of a secluded life. They generally fixed near the places of their nativity. I observe in most ancient catalogues of the English clergy, both secular and regular, that their names are usually taken from some neighbouring village or borough, to that where you find them settled. From the spot where they settled they had few possible calls; there was little communication between different parts of the country or with the capital; correspondence was rare, and carried on either by special messengers, or by the accident of pilgrims passing that way. The gentry themselves, excepting those who attended Parliament, ventured little beyond the sod of their own village, unless to the county court: the business of the county was transacted in the county. All this has undergone a great alteration; the different classes of men are no longer *glebæ adscriptitii*; communication is opened; much of the business of the kingdom is transacted in this town. The clergy are most generally beneficed in parts of the island remote from the places of their birth and education, and they have calls of family affection and duty to the relations they have quitted. Being invited by the reformation to marry, they form new family connexions which again produce calls of a similar nature; and, I presume, no reasonable man would wish that they should be deaf to such calls, and should turn their backs on the happy intercourses of family kindness. It is one of the best effects of the reformation, that by introducing them to the charities of domestic life, it has taught them a practical knowledge of the duties which belong to those charities. They have family property in other parts of the county; they are called to the capital for the transaction of family concerns; they are called to attend to the declining health of a wife or child, by a temporary change of air and situation. I am no advocate for dissipation when I observe, they have families of young persons who are not without their claims to reasonable indulgences for the purposes of health, of education, of improvement, and, I venture to add without fear, even of innocent curiosity and relaxation.

In the next place, the change, not only of the manners, but of that which is every day assuming a greater importance in the country, its agriculture, makes a change of the provisions of the statute relative to farming quite indispensable. It is impossible for me to state this effect half so well in any words of my own, as in those which compose a letter, written to me by two most respectable clergymen of the west of England, and which, with the permission of the House, I beg leave to read as a part of what I have to offer.

" Whilst we were thus indulging in what we " conceived to be innocent pursuits, we find our- " selves amenable to that part of the statute of " Henry VIII. which interdicts us from buying " and selling, and an avowed informer, who has " come into the country with an express inten- " tion of prosecuting the clergy on the other parts " of the Act, has just began to enforce this tre- " mendous clause.

" What constitutes the peculiar hardship of " the modern clergy is, that the restraint in ques- " tion did not materially, if at all, affect their " predecessors at the time the Act was made, " but has, for the most part, been occasioned by " the alteration, that has taken place in the gene- " ral state of society, and our habits of life.

" The facility with which all our wants are at " present supplied, was in the sixteenth century " wholly unknown. Our ancestors, who resided " in the country, derived from their estates the " most ample maintenance for themselves and " dependants. The provisions, which were laid " up against winter in the great mansions, fill " with astonishment the mind of a modern house- " keeper. In conformity to this general practice, " the resident country clergyman had, compara- " tively speaking, few demands for money, the " glebe and tythes supplying all his necessaries; " his wheat provided bread, and the barley, under " his own eye, was converted into malt—most of " the old rectorial houses having, even now, a " building formerly appropriated to that purpose; " the wool was spun under his own roof, and " wrought into cloth in the neighbouring towns; " the cattle, fattened during the summer (there " was no winter feeding), were slaughtered and " laid up for the remainder of the year; and, as " his family must have been large, the day la- " bourer and occasional artificer being fed from " his table, it is reasonable to suppose, that he " had little to spare beyond his own consump- " tion—add to this, that he was then a solitary " being, deprived by superstition of those en- " dearing connexions, which impel mankind to " look beyond themselves, to the welfare of those, " who are of far more importance to them.

" His situation is now totally changed—Com- " merce, and the influx of wealth have entirely " overthrown his domestic arrangements; money " is the medium through which all his wants are " to be supplied; he therefore sells his wheat to " pay his workmen: barley, the laws of his coun- " try restrain him from making into malt, he " sends it to a market, and with the money re- " ceived in return purchases beer—the wool is " disposed of to a distant manufacturer, and with " its value, himself and family are clothed: the " fat cattle are sold instead of being salted, and " the profit ensures a weekly supply of fresh meat, " till the return of summer.

" The expenses also attendant on a marriage- " state (to say nothing of the various and heavy " taxes) occasion repeated demands on him for " money, which were wholly unknown to the " clergy at the time of Henry the Eighth.

" A revolution equally great has taken place " even in our system of agriculture—Formerly a " part of every farm was appropriated to tillage, " another to pasture, and a due proportion of " calves and lambs were annually reared; but by " experience it is found, that some districts are " fitter for each separate purpose, so that a glebe " may be wholly given up to corn, or pasture, " according to its soil, to the great advantage of " the proprietor and the public. In one instance, " different sorts of grain will be sent to market, " in the other, the return must be in fat cattle. " By occupying his lands in this manner, the " modern clergyman doth not violate the spirit " of the Act; though he *buys* to *sell again*, yet " it is a *buying and a selling incidental* to the " farming of his glebe; he is not carrying on a " traffic, which is evidently the offence prohibited,

" but only in conformity with the improved mode " of husbandry, cultivating his ground to the best " advantage. Enforce the statute literally, and at " once he is deprived of his principal support; " it will be impossible for him to farm his glebe, " which he must immediately let, to the incalcu- " lable loss of himself and the community; as " instead of being (which whilst in the hands of " the clergy it will generally be found to be) in " a progressive state of improvement, it will gra- " dually become worse, no tenant chusing to risk " his money in manuring premises, the possession " of which cannot be assured to him for a single " day.

" The foregoing observations apply for the " most part to our own case, but it would be sel- " fish in the extreme were we not to remark, that " there are many of our brethren of opulence " and great respectability, who actuated by the " most politic motives, have, by occupying their " own estates as well as their glebes, held up a " superior mode of husbandry to their neigh- " bourhood, and done essential service to the " country.

" To take them also out of the hands of infor- " mers, would be conceived to be an act well " worthy your serious consideration. Any un- " due restraint on their exertions must prove a " manifest injury to the community at large, and " agriculture in its present state may be consi- " dered so far from an illiberal pursuit, that it is " hard to say how any clergyman can employ " his hours of relaxation (and such hours must " occur in every professsion) with more innocence " to himself, and benefit to the public, than in " the moderated study and practice of its various " branches."

I have my doubts, from what passed within these walls last year, whether the House will quite go along with the sentiments expressed in the last paragraph. I confess that my own sentiments are considerably modified, since the last year, in favour of farming; I see that in this country the parish priest is, by the very constitution of his office, *in some degree*, an agriculturist; he is, *ex officio, in part* a farmer. He is to take care, undoubtedly, that the ecclesiastic shall not merge in the farmer, but shall continue the presiding and predominating character; but the moderated and subordinate practice of farming, supplies many means of cheap subsistence for the clergyman and his family; many means of easy kindness and hospitality to his poorer parishioners; many opportunities of distinguishing the industrious and well-disposed by the favour of employment; and many motives of pleasing attachment to the place, which furnishes the healthy and amusing occupation of his vacant hours. Personal debasement must be guarded against; but when I recollect that it has been the opinion of all antiquity that *agriculturâ libero homine nihil dignius*, and that the practice of modern times reconciles it with the dignity, and even the majesty of the most exalted stations, I am not prepared to admit that personal debasement is a necessary consequence; and in the example of the illustrious Hooker tending his sheep on Barham Downs, I think I see, that even some of its humble occupations may be performed without degradation.

But what above all creates a necessity for new moulding this statute is, the extreme depauperated state of many of the churches and parochial clergy of this kingdom. The statute makes one uniform demand of universal residence, under one uniform penalty; and universal residence cannot be had, without universal competency. If all the benefices in the kingdom were equal and competent, an equal obligation, enforced by an equal penalty, might be applied to them all universally. But the fact is, that the inequality is great, and has greatly increased since the passing of this Act; since it is certain, that if many benefices have increased in value, many have been comparatively depauperated by the Reformation.

The appropriation of the church revenues to the religious houses, was in ancient times a subject of loud and energetic complaint from Parliament. This House represented. " That the reli- " gious men mischievously, under divers colours, " appropriated benefices, and grievously threw " down the houses of the same to the ground, " and cruelly did take away, and destroy divine " service, hospitality, and other marks of cha- " rity; and the clergy from promotion did bar, " in offence to God, confusion of their own souls, " grievous desolation of their country, final de- " struction of the clergy, great impoverishment " of the kingdom, and irrevocable ruin of the " church of England." But the clergy, though pillaged of their glebe and tythes by the monks, had their resources. In market-towns they had a variety of small devotional offices to perform for individuals, for which they were paid. In the country they farmed from the monks the glebe and tythes which they formerly possessed; but their grand resource was in the authority of the bishops, who had a power, and occasionally exercised it, to compel the monks to raise their stipends, as the times required. Temporary vicars, who answer to modern curates, had been raised successively up to ten marks, *consideratâ temporum qualitate*, which Spelman computes to be equal to sixty pounds a year, and the perpetual vicar was raised to twelve marks, equal to seventy pounds a year. They were single men, of small wants, and generally smaller learning; he who had Latin enough to read the office to those who could not read English, had no call for an expensive library. This statute, followed by the Reformation, struck a severe blow at their means of subsistence. In the country it put an end to their farming the glebe and tythes, a grievance bitterly complained of, by the Convocation of the same year with this statute, which represented that the statute had *non-nihil iniquitatis* in it, by robbing the *miseros vicarios*, the miserable vicars of this advantage. The Reformation swept away in towns all the traffic of private superstitious offices; but the great blow was struck by the Statute of Alienations, or rather by the construction which has since grown upon it, and which has now exonerated the impropriated parsonages, from any power of the bishops to provide for the better maintenance of the officiating minister; for though the statute expressly reserved all rights, and transferred these church revenues to the crown, and consequently to its grantees, in the same state and condition, " as " they now be, as held by the religious houses," yet it is settled law, in later times, that these impropriations, being lay fees, are no longer subject to the authority of the bishop.

It is now, Sir, too late to undo what was done at the Reformation in this matter. The property has for three hundred years passed into circulation—is become family inheritance—possessed by as good a title, and as safe a conscience, as other

family inheritance; but, when I observe, that it is to be lamented that a better provision was not, at that time, made out of these revennes, for the support of the national religion, I say no more than what is supported by high authority, particularly by that of a person who was a great favourite and ornament of this House, and no partial friend to ecclesiastical claims—Mr. Selden; and by that of another person of still more elevated character, the ornament of his age and country! whose voice, when not perverted by passions or interests of his own, was the voice of reason and philosophy itself!—the great Lord Bacon. The former expresses himself thus, "I "doubt not, but that every good man wishes "that at our dissolution, their land and tythes, "and churches, had been bestowed rather for the "advancement of the church, to a better maintenance of a labouring, deserving ministry, relief "of the poor, and other such good uses, (as have "in them a character of the good wishes of those "who first dedicated them to God) than conferred, with such a prodigal dispensation, on "those who stood ready to devour what was "sanctified." The latter, thus—"It were to be "wished, that impropriations were returned to "the church, as the most natural and proper endowments. In mine own opinion and sense, I "must confess, (I speak it with all reverence) "all the Parliaments since the 27th and 31st of "Henry VIII. which gave away the impropriations, seem to me to stand, in a sort, obnoxious to God in conscience to do somewhat for "the Church, and to bring the patrimony thereof "back to a due competency."—May I presume with all humility to impress these memorable words upon the recollection of the House! Till that is done, which Lord Bacon says, "ought in "the conscience of Parliament to be done," all legislative provisions I fear, can be mere temporary palliatives and no better.

The truth is, that King Henry VIII. put the matter of the Church establishment into such a state, that without some forcible interposition of Parliament, it is become remediless in all time coming. The poverty-struck condition of the clergy, at that period, is recorded in an hundred striking instances, by Strype, by Kennet, by Wharton, and other collectors. The venerable Latimer, in a sermon preached before King Edward, says, "We of the clergy had too much, but "that is taken away, and now we have too little; "for my own part I have sufficient, God is my "judge, I crave nothing of any man, but I know "them that have too little; there lieth a great "matter by these appropriations, great reformation is to be had in them; I know where there "is a great market town with divers hamlets and "inhabitants, where do rise yearly of their labour "to the value of £50, and the vicar that serveth "hath but 12 or 14 marks, being so great a cure; "so that of his pension he is not able to buy "books, nor give his neighbour drink; all the "great gain goeth another way—A redress God "grant!" The same collectors record similar complaints made in a popular publication of that day, called "the Supplication of the Beggars."—"Your pretence to put down the abbeys, was to "put away what was *amiss:* It was *amiss*, that a great "part of their land was spent on a few superstitious monks, who gave not £40 alms, when they "should have given £200: it was *amiss*, that "monks should have benefices, and preach once "a year to them that paid their tithes of the "parsonage? It was amiss, that scarcely among "twenty, they set one sufficient vicar to preach. "But see now how that was *amiss*, is amended,—"marry as the *devil* amended his dame's leg; "when he should have set it right, he broke it in "pieces. The monks gave little alms, and set "unable men in their benefices; but now where "£20 was given to the poor, in more than a hun"dred places, not one meal's meat is given: *that's* "*a fair amendment*. Where they had always one "or other vicar to preach, now no vicar at all, "but the farmer is vicar and parson altogether, and "only a cast away monk or fryer, which can hardly "say matins, is hired for twenty or thirty shil"lings, and meat and drink, yea, in some places, "for meat and drink only. I know, and twenty "thousand more men know, more than five "thousand benefices thus well and gospelly "served."

The fact of the reduced condition of the clergy, is admitted by the Legislature itself, not only by the acts of shortly afterwards passing the Statutes of Union of Benefices, and of Dilapidation, (which for the first time found their way into our municipal code, from a necessity then first emerging in any pressing degree,) but it is expressly recorded in the preamble of these statutes, lamenting "the "decay of parsonage houses, and the insufficiency of single benefices for the maintenance of "a minister."

The condition of the superior clergy was comparatively little better. Crammer, in a letter to his friend, Sir Wm. Cecil, who had just taken to himself a handsome estate from the newly erected see of Peterborough, and immediately thereon had reproached the Bishops with covetousness, (as was customary, if the Bishops shewed the least repugnance to the operation of being stripped of their property) replies, "As for your admonition, "I take it most thankfully; for the saying of St. "Paul, that they who would grow *rich* fall into "temptation—I fear, it is not half so much, as "*stark beggary*. And if I knew any Bishop that "were covetous, I would surely admonish him, "but I know none but all *very beggars*, except it "be one, and yet I dare well say, *he* is not over "rich!" The general condition of churchmen at that time, affords a solution natural enough of that otherwise extraordinary fact, of their general and hasty relapse into the ancient superstition.

Succeeding times have provided nothing like a sufficient remedy. On a complaint made to King Charles the first by Parliament against non-residents, he answered them, "He recommended "to this House to make due provision, that every "parish should allow a competent maintenance "for an able minister;" and it was upon that occasion well observed in the House, "that scan"dalous livings made scandalous ministers." From that time nothing was done, till the splendid benefaction of the first fruits and tenths made by Queen Anne; on which occasion, Her Majesty observed, "that she had taken into her princely "consideration the mean and insufficient maintenance belonging to the clergy in divers parts of "this kingdom;" and the Parliament in the preamble to the Act, recites, "that a sufficient set"tled provision for the clergy, in many parts of "this kingdom, hath never yet been made."

This fund has now been in operation for near a century, under the administration of a Board composed of persons of high station, both in

Church and State. The number of livings returned, certified to this Board and to the Exchequer, were not exceeding

Per annum.	Livings.
£10	1071
20	1467
30	1126
40	1049
50	844
Total Livings under £50 per annum	5597

Since the first returns, many hundred cures have been returned as of small value, some not more than twenty or forty shillings—so that their being about eleven thousand seven hundred and odd livings in the kingdom, about one moiety of the whole were under fifty pounds a-year, and upon an average less than twenty-three pounds a-year. Private benefactions and accidental improvements have aided the operation of this charity; the two lowest classes have all received an actual augmentation from it; and a third class is now receiving the same benefit. But by a paper from the Secretary of that Board, which I hold in my hand, it appear, that "if we compute the "number of livings under £50 per annum to be "as above about six thousand, a moiety of which "were actually under £30 per annum; and if we "reckon that they have been since improved by "the governors, and by other means upon an "average *two thirds*, which is a *very liberal allowance "indeed*, it follows that there are now six thousand "livings in England and Wales, that do not ex- "ceed upon an average £85 per annum, and that "a very great proportion of them are, at this "time, not £30 per annum, and so progressively "from L.30 to L.40 and from L.40 to L.50." In a document with which I am favoured, by M. Archdeacon Plymley of Salop, I am informed, "that "of one hundred and sixty-eight churches in that "Archdeaconry, (which, as he justly observes, "comprehends a part of five different counties, "and has within it specimens of almost every na- "tural and artificial situation) one hundred and "nine only have any parsonage house. Indepen- "dent of this deficiency of fifty-nine parsonage "houses, many of those in existence are totally "unfit for the residence of any clergyman's fa- "mily; forty-seven churches have no glebe land. "Where there is a house or land to build one "upon, the want of a sufficient residence would "be an excuse, if the livings could afford money "to repair or to build: But twenty-seven churches, "exclusive of those that are subordinate churches, "and which for the most part have no indepen- "dent income, have from L.2: 5s. a year, only, "to L.50 a year: No living would remain so low "as L.2: 5s. a year, if the patrons would accept "of augmentation from Queen Ann's bounty; "but this is declined for fear of putting them "under the Bishop's jurisdiction. Of the livings, "twenty-seven are under L.50,—thirty-three above "L.50, but under L.100,—twenty-three above "L100, but under L.150—twenty four above L150, "but under L.200 per annum: There are but "nineteen livings of the whole hundred and sixty- "eight, that are above L.200 per annum; and "this in a country, in which the ecclesiastical "state is conceived to be much more respectable, "than in the average state of the kingdom"

In adverting to this subject, I just venture to remark, that in a publication of an Honourable Baronet, upon the revenues of the kingdom, (whom I do not see in his place,) it is stated, "that the revenue of this charity of Queen Anne's "bounty, at first amounted to about L.14000 per "annum; and on the 1st of January, 1735, the "governors of that charity, possessed, besides "from savings and private benefactions, the sum "of L.152,500 of Old South Sea annuities, and "L.4857 of cash in the hands of their treasurer; "the state of that fund has of late years been "carefully concealed, but it probably yields at "present from 40 to L.50,000 per annum." The Honourable Baronet will, I am sure, thank me for using the present opportunity of correcting such a misapprehension. It is perfectly true, that such a sum existed in the funds in the year 1735; but it is equally true, that this was a sum fully appropriated to a great number of livings, to which it was paying a money interest 'till proper purchasers of land could be found; and whereever there is a surplus of such interest, it is made principal, and is applied in a similar manner. Its present income is, with very slight accidental variations, the same as its original income, between L.14000 and L.15000 per annum. It would be difficult, indeed, to conceive any reason for an idle unproductive accumulation of the money of this charity, to the prejudice of its present numerous objects; though, if any such practice could exist, I certainly should not be much surprised, at the careful concealment of it.

To the mischiefs arising from the extreme poverty of many parochial benefices, I have heard it suggested in this house as a cure, that there should be an equalization. Equality is in these days the grand panacea for all disorders. Unfortunately, besides twenty other objections, arising from the general interests of the civil and religious policy of the country, there are two objections that seem to dispose of it completely: one is, that it could not be effected without a most enormous plunder of the laity; and the other, that if done, it would not answer the purpose for which it is intended. In the first place, advowsons, though originally perhaps mere trusts, are now become lay fees. They are bought and sold, and are lay property, just as much as any other tenements or hereditaments. And they are not merely lay property in law, but a very large proportion of them is so in fact; for of the *eleven thousand six hundred* and odd livings in this kingdom, two thousand five hundred may be in ecclesiastical patronage, the rest, (exclusive of those which belong to the crown, amounting to near eleven hundred,) either belong to various lay corporations (for even colleges are such,) or to lay individuals, who alone possess near six thousand of the whole number. Now, Sir, in this state of things, I desire to ask, upon what ground I can be called upon to give up half the living, the advowson of which I have purchased, upon a price relative to its value, in order that that moiety may be transferred to improve another living, belonging to another patron, who has paid nothing for that moiety, and who has no other title to it, but that he happens to possess the advowson of a smaller living? I see no ground, except such an one as would justify the legislature in taking away half of any other estate I had purchased, in order to give it to my neighbour, because he happened to have less. Let gentlemen consider the effect of such speculations! In the next place, suppose, that this was accomplished, in a way consistent with the rights of property,

what would follow? Equalize all the clergy, and you in effect degrade them all, for it is the grossest of all mistakes, that the *parochial* church of England is amply endowed. It is demonstrated by a very exact inquirer upon these subjects, Mr. Cove, that if even all the preferments of every species, belonging to the church of England, were moulded into one common mass; and thence distributed—if the venerable fabrick of the hierarchy was dissolved, (a matter not to be effected without a convulsion and laceration of the civil state of the country, of which no man can foretell the consequences) and its funds parcelled out amongst the parochial clergy, the maximum of an English benefice would be not more than *L.*167 a year—an income by no means adequate in the present state of the world, to the demands which society makes upon that profession in point of education, of attainments, of manners, of general appearance in life. As the revenues at present are distributed, the clergy, as a profession, find an easy and independent access to every gradation of society, and maintain a fair equality, as they ought to do, with the other liberal professions; and the elevation of the highest ranks give something of a dignity to the lowest: alter the mode of distribution, and you run the risk of producing a body of clergy, resembling only the lower orders of society, in their conversation, in their manners, and their habits; and it is well, if they are not infected by a popular fondness, for some or other species of a gross, a factious, and a fanatical religion.

An invidious parallel is sometimes stated, between the sister churches of England and Scotland, upon this matter, and particularly upon the opinion of Dr. Adam Smith, to the disadvantage of the former. With all respect to the talents of a very acute and accomplished person, I am disposed to stop a little short of an unlimited subscription to his opinions, on many subjects, and particularly upon the subject of the English church, and the English universities; both of which I have had means of knowing, in consequence of causes from which I can claim no merit, in a mode of personal observation and experience, which that eminent person never possessed. Sir, when I consider the extraordinary men which the church of Scotland has produced, *(quales vires Caledonia emiserit*, if I may use the words of Tacitus respecting their ancestors) I cannot help adverting to the circumstance, that their harvest of literature has been principally produced within the last thirty or forty years; within which time, I understand, a more liberal provision has, by the authority of the courts of justice, been made for their clergy. Sir, I presume that I state a fact that is generally admitted, that from the revolution downwards till that time, the clergy of Scotland had not taken a distinguished share in the literary occupations of Europe, even in those of a theological nature. They have amply paid up their arrears, and their country has, in part at least, paid up its arrears to them, of a due and honourable maintenance. The improvements of their incomes have been very considerable in late times. I know not whether Bishop Burnet, who certainly had the means of knowing, is correct in saying, that in Charles the Second's time, all benefices in Scotland were raised to £50 sterling; but I have been given to understand, that the church of Scotland, particularly taking into consideration the cheapness of education and cheapness of living, may be deemed a better endowed church than the parochial church of England. Which distribution of the church revenues is preferable, is a question (if it can possibly be made a question in the actual state of things) which must be examined not simply by a view of the distributions themselves, but with reference to many important circumstances, connected with the civil policy of the two parts of the island? This I may venture to say, as a general position, in spite of the bright exception of the church of Scotland, that the general effect of an equality and mediocrity of provision, is to produce an equality and mediocrity of talent; and I think I do not misrepresent in saying, that it has had some such effect upon the foreign protestant churches, when I refer what they have produced, to any comparison with the splendour of the literary fame of the church of England. One thing I am sorry to learn from the statistical accounts of the worthy Baronet, that the number of youths educating for the church, in many parts of Scotland, is considerably falling off. It rather looks as if the profession, notwithstanding the kinder treatment it has lately received, has not yet obtained its fair share in the growing prosperity of that country.

Sir, I have to apologize for digressing to these topics; in returning, I must observe, that, in the state of the church I have described, universal residence is out of the question. How can the public demand, under pains and penalties, that there shall be a resident incumbent in each parish, when so large a proportion of the benefices in the kingdom, do not pay more than what most of us in this house pay to our upper servants? There are, I suppose, three thousand livings not exceeding fifty pounds a year, and many below it. When I look at the real situation of the clergy, at the distresses and difficulties of a very large proportion of them, men must be made of sterner stuff than I happen to be composed of, who can say, that this matter is to be put upon the footing of a rigid, universal, unbending obligation, to be applied with a mathematical apathy to all cases, without the least consideration of men's families or their fortunes! Let us remember, that we are providing, not physical laws for the government of matter, but moral regulations for the conduct of a great number of men, placed in an infinite variety of situations, the effects of which must be taken into the account, and with a candid and humane consideration.

Gentlemen say, and I am sure with the very best intentions, "Give us clear general rules; we de-"sire to have nothing to do with any man's dis-"cretion." My answer is, "Give me a subject "that admits of clear general rules; this is not "one of them." If the benefices of the kingdom were all equal, and the men who held them were all single men, it would be easy to take the compasses out of one's pocket, and to mete out exactly the extent of indulgence, that might universally be granted to men, simply and uniformly situated; but you cannot apply a straight rule to a surface infinitely uneven and irregular. Here are above eleven thousand persons in conditions of great disparity, of different habits of life, of no small difference of education and attainments, of church incomes that bear no proportion to each other, and of family circumstances that are equally disproportionate. What is to be done? The rule, that would be no more than a just rule, applied to the opulent rector, would be a rule of severe oppression upon the poor man, with his benefice of thirty pounds a-year, who is driven to eke out his family subsistence by a more beneficial employ-

ment of himself elsewhere. Will you construct your rule upon the scale of the value of benefices? To say nothing of the different value of money, in different parts of the island, the different state of men's families will still create a monstrous inequality; for no man will deny, that a single man, and a married man with ten children, living each upon the same income of seventy pounds a year, are in a state of great inequality. All that can be done in such a subject is, to call in a discretion, to operate on this infinite variety of circumstances. God forbid, that I should mean an interested jobbing partiality; I mean a prudent and humane discretion, that is to distribute itself honestly and honourably, between the just rights of the publick service on the one side, and the necessity of private convenience on the other, as far as the infirmity of human judgment will allow. Another consideration calls with a loud voice for the existence and exercise of a discretion —I mean the consideration, that must be had of that meritorious body of men, the curates. Establish a rigid rule of residence to be carried into a hasty effect, under the letter of a statute, and you turn these persons adrift, from situations where they have spent their lives innocently and usefully, to seek their bread where, on a supposition of universal residence, it is not to be found—perhaps at an advanced time of life, and with families dependent upon them. These persons *must* be *tenderly* considered; if there is a curate who has long demeaned himself with propriety in a station, it would, in my opinion, be not more than a just exercise of discretion, to bear with the absence of the incumbent, till that curate is removed, in some way consistent with the attention due to his interests; otherwise the reformation of incumbents will be the persecution of curates. A discretion therefore must be called in, at least till the charity and piety of Parliament has put the lower parts of the church establishment on a more favourable footing: and the only question can be, Where shall that discretion be placed? And of *that* question, I say, that it must be determined by the result of *this* question, Where can it be most *constitutionally placed?* that is, with reference to the general frame of the church establishment, to the principles on which it is founded, and to the nature and character of the authorities that exist in it?

Upon all the different grounds I have stated, a necessity exists of revising the statute. What I have to offer, I desire to propose as merely a provisional or *interim* bill; for I can never repeat too frequently, that till the situation of the lower clergy is improved with respect to their incomes, their parsonage houses, and other circumstances, which I trust will soon become the subjects of parliamentary attention, nothing radical, nothing permanent, can be projected. But, so far as the present bill is concerned, I beg leave to state the principles, on which, I conceive with all deference, the legislature ought to proceed to the consideration of such a subject. In the first place, not to recede from ancient foundations, not to attempt reformations, particularly in the present disordered state of the church finances, upon high, *à priori*, notions of a theoretical perfection, but to use and apply the existing means in the constitution, in order to obtain such a quantity of good effect, as is really attainable; to keep to that, which, considering the familiarity of ancient usage, the attachment of habit, and the uniformity of general system, promises to be practically the most commodious—to give confidence, and to allow discretion where the constitution has vested discretion, has required confidence—and to guard, by reasonable caution, against the perils of a blind confidence and an abused discretion. Secondly, not to look to a petty harassing system of regulations, that is to be dogging and hunting men, in every hour of their lives, and at every turn of their steps, for no sufficient purpose of respectable utility, but to a substantial *bonâ fide* enforcement of substantial *bonâ fide* duties, that the public may not be told *that there is nobody responsible*—and, in truth, as the matter stands at present, there are but few, comparatively, who are responsible. I have no wish to deny, that there are many offensive cases of non-residence; though the majority of cases, I am persuaded, are such, as a man of even strict religious principles, tempered with a little human feeling (possibly not much the worse for that temperature), would find to contain circumstances of more extenuation than he had supposed. But, even in the offensive cases, it is difficult to say, who is responsible beyond the individuals themselves—certainly not the governors of the church in hardly any case—for I must, in justice, let out to the House a secret, a little dangerous perhaps to be communicated at large, that in truth there is hardly one act of discipline, which a bishop can execute upon his clergy (if it is at all resisted) but at the expense, and the vexation, and hazard of a law suit. Take this matter of residence—A bishop admonishes his clerk to reside, and the clerk turns a deaf ear; what is to be done? The bishop has only this election, whether he shall employ the compulsion of the ecclesiastical process, or the common law compulsion of this statute; for a suit of one kind or other he must have. For a bishop to be dragging his clergy, in the character of common informer, into every assize town of his diocese, subject to all the publick freedom of discussion (necessary, I admit, in that mode of inquiry), and to all the levity of remark (allowable, I likewise admit, in the advocate who has to carry his present point with his jury), is no very seemly sight; I cannot help thinking, that more harm is done to the modest dignity of religion, by such exhibitions, than balances the advantage of the success of the particular prosecution. On the other hand, if the bishop repairs to the ecclesiastical court, I certainly cannot venture to describe a penal suit travelling through the consistory, the arches, and finally the delegates, as any luxury to the man who has to pursue it; certainly very far from it, looking at the expense and the vexation that may travel along with it. No man can expect a bishop to venture upon the use of such remedies, but in very enormous cases indeed. The constitution, in theory, supposes the governors of the church to have all necessary powers; but they are powers which can hardly be deemed to exist to any practicable effect. Give the governors of the church, *not* new and unknown powers, but prompt and commodious means of applying those they have, an awful responsibility will immediately arise; they will feel, that the expectation of the publick is upon them; that the publick requires that the powers so given *shall be used*, and *used* for the purposes for which given. If they *are not used*, or not *so used*, it may give rise to a suspicion (which God avert), that the episcopal go-

vernment of the church, high and sacred as its origin may be, is, in the present state of manners, less favourably adapted to the care of its interests and duties, than the civil constitution of the country had hitherto supposed.

In the third place, that this enforcement of duties should be framed with as little vexation to its objects, as is consistent with its efficacy; without any unnecessary harshness or restraint, still less with disrespect and degradations; with all decent attention to the situation of the order in the state, and to the personal convenience of individuals. Their profession is in all countries of most important use to society, and its general utility depends upon its general estimation. In this country it is an eminent order of the state: it has always stood by the state with firmness, and in no times more meritoriously than in the present. The individuals are, in a large proportion of them, men of learned, and many of them of elegant education. Literature, both useful and ornamental, has been in no country so largely indebted to its clergy. Many of them are taken from among the best and most respected families of our country; and it is on all accounts, religious, moral, and political, anxiously to be wished, that the families of our gentry should continue to supply a large proportion of our clergy. Such men are not the subjects of an extreme and overstrained legislation. Something must be trusted to their own sense of duty; something allowed to their personal convenience. They are to be governed, it is true, but *lenibus imperiis*, by an authority efficacious in its results, but mild in its forms and just in its indulgences. May I add, that whilst we have seen, in other countries, Christianity suffering in the persons of the oppressed clergy, it imposes a peculiar obligation upon us, to treat our own with kindness and respect, and to beware of degrading religion, by an apparent degradation of its ministers. If there has been an undue laxity in this matter, let the legislature signify firmly that they should generally repair to their benefices; but not as men stigmatised and relegated—carrying their resentments to their solitudes—and from whom, after unkind treatment, a cheerful and ardent performance of duty can hardly be expected. Surely, Sir, it is upon such subjects, more than any others, that one ounce of sweet spontaneous duty, is worth whole pounds of compelled performance.

Whether these principles, on which I have endeavoured to construct this bill, are just, or the provisions well adapted to carry them into effect, is for the House to judge. I shall state briefly its general provisions, both on the part of the public, and on the part of the clergy, referring for further and more minute detail to the bill itself, which I shall move for leave to have printed, for the use of the members during the recess.

On the part of the public, I propose to guard against what the House appeared to consider as the abuses of the clergymen's farming, and to enforce the duty of residence, in a double manner more effectually, by enabling the Bishops to exert the authority, which the constitution has given them, and by giving the common prosecutor, where he is permitted to act, an increased reward of his diligence. On the part of the clergy, there is offered: 1st, An entire amnesty for past neglect, where no prosecution had been commenced; and, 2dly, Where *there had been*, An exemption from further prosecution, on payment of costs already incurred. 3dly, On the matter of farming, a liberty given in the cases, where they were injuriously prohibited by the ancient statute. 4thly, On the matter of residence, to give a fair and reasonable allowance of time, to the clergyman for the occasions of private life, free from the doggings of any informer, though still subject to the superintendance of his proper superior—to allow an *ipso facto* exemption from all penalties, for clergymen bearing certain offices, during the times required for the duties of those offices—to restore the power to Bishops to grant licences for absence, in certain enumerated and expressed cases, which licences shall protect from the common prosecutor—and in other cases, which cannot be specifically foreseen, or provided for, to allow the concurrence and consent of the metropolitan to have that effect.

Sir, these are the outlines of the proposed bill. I have only to add, that having felt the difficulties of the subject in undertaking this matter, I have not felt my sense of its difficulties diminished, by having contended with them. The subject has deep foundations in legal and ecclesiastical antiquity; it has wide and diffusive bearings in the present system of life and manners, and certainly a very serious influence upon the good order of society, as well as the comfort of individuals. I could have wished, that it had fallen into other hands, particularly those to which is confided the care of the great establishments of the Empire; for unquestionably in a country which, with a most fortunate wisdom, makes its religion an essential part of its civil polity, the establishments of religion are amongst the greatest. Far be from me the vanity of supposing that any bill which I can construct on a subject so loaded with practical difficulties, can find a ready acceptance amongst the various opinions which prevail upon it. For I must honestly confess, that since it has been devolved upon me, I have rarely conversed with any gentleman, who did not favour me with an opinion, that was not directly the reverse of the last opinion, I had been favoured with upon the subject. All I have to say is, that if with the improvements the bill shall receive from the wisdom of the House, it should finally succeed, I shall be glad to have been the instrument of introducing it to its notice. If it should fail, I shall write *satisfeci* upon my own mind and conscience, under the conviction, that I have with fair intentions pursued a most desirable object, and only failed under difficulties, to which humble talents are very unequal.

Sir, I move, that leave be given to bring in a bill—and *leave being given*—that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Attorney and Solicitor General, the Members for the two Universities of England, Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Gregor, Dr. Duigenan, and Dr. Laurence, do prepare and bring in the same.

A Bill [*as amended on re-commitment*] *to amend and render more effectual an Act, made in the Twenty-first Year of the Reign of King Henry the Eighth, intituled, "Spiritual Persons abridged from having Pluralities of Livings, and from taking of Farms, &c."*

Whereas many of the provisions of an act, made in the 21st year of the reign of his Majesty

King Henry the VIIIth, intituled, "Spiritual "Persons abridged from having Pluralities of "Livings, and from taking of Ferms, &c." have been found inconvenient; and it is therefore expedient that certain of the provisions of the said act should be repealed, and that other provisions should be made in lieu thereof, and that the said act should be amended;

May it therefore please your Majesty, That it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That from and after the passing of this act, every spiritual person who shall, before the passing of this act, have incurred any pecuniary penalty or penalties, or any forfeiture or forfeitures, under the said recited act, and against whom no action, suit, bill, plaint, or information shall have been brought in respect thereof under the said act, shall be and is hereby indemnified, freed, and discharged from the same, any thing in the said recited act to the contrary thereof notwithstanding; and all contracts, agreements, and leases, made by words or otherwise before the passing of this act, by any spiritual person, either by himself or any other to or for his use, which if made after this act would according to the provisions thereof be good and valid, shall, notwithstanding the said recited act, or any other act or law or laws to the contrary, be and be deemed to be as good and valid in the law, to all intents and purposes, as if the same had been made after the passing of this act.

And be it further enacted, That immediately from and after the passing of this act, it shall be lawful for any person or persons against whom any original writ, suit, action, bill, plaint, or information shall have been sued out, commenced, or prosecuted, before the passing of this act, for any pecuniary penalty or penalties, or any forfeiture or forfeitures incurred or alledged to be under the said recited act, to apply to the court in which such original writ, suit, action, bill, plaint, or information shall have been sued out, commenced, or prosecuted, if such court shall be sitting, or to any judge of any such court when not sitting, for an order that such writ, suit, action, bill, plaint, or information shall be discontinued, upon payment of the sum of ten pounds in every case where a verdict shall be obtained, together with the costs, and where no verdict shall have been obtained, upon the payment of the costs incurred up to the time of such application being made, all such costs to be taxed as between attorney and client, according to the practice of such court; and every such court or judge is hereby authorized and required, upon such application, to make such order as aforesaid; and upon the making such order and payment of such costs as aforesaid, such writ, suit, action, bill, plaint, or information, shall be forthwith discontinued; and in every case, until such application shall be made as aforesaid, it shall be lawful for the plaintiff or plaintiffs in any such original writ, suit, action, bill, plaint, or information, to proceed therein as if this act, or an act passed in the forty-first year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An "Act to stay, until the twenty-fifth Day of "March One thousand Eight hundred and "Two, Proceedings in Actions under the Sta-"tute of King Henry the Eighth, for abridg-"ing Spiritual Persons from having Pluralities "of Livings, and from taking of Ferms," had not been passed; any thing in this act or the said last recited act to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this act, it shall be lawful for any spiritual person to take to farm, to himself or to any person or persons to his use, by lease, grant, words, or otherwise, for term of life, for term of years, or at will, any messuage, mansion, or dwelling house, with or without orchards, gardens, and other appurtenances, although not in any city, borough, or town, any thing in the said recited act or any other act to the contrary thereof notwithstanding; and it shall also be lawful for any spiritual person having or holding any parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, not having any sufficient or convenient glebe or demesne lands annexed to or in right of or by reason of his benefice or cure, in like manner, and with the consent or approbation of the bishop of the diocese, signified in writing, to take to ferm to himself, or to any person or persons to his use, any farm or farms, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, that may under all the circumstances appear to such bishop proper to be taken, held, or occupied by any such spiritual person, for the better support and maintenance of himself or family without being subject or liable to any pains, penalties, or forfeitures under the said first-recited act, or any other act by reason thereof, any thing therein contained to the contrary thereof notwithstanding: Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to authorize any non-residence of any such spiritual person, as aforesaid.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this act, it shall be lawful for any spiritual person or persons, by himself or themselves, or any other to his or their use, to have, hold, use, or occupy, in ferm or otherwise, any manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, demised, leased, or granted, or in any way belonging to such spiritual person or persons, as the property or estate of such spiritual person or persons, or to take purchase, or receive, as the property and estate of such spiritual person, any lease or leases for life or lives, or for term or terms of years determinable on any life or lives, any manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, usually demised in such manner, or any lease for any term of years of any manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments usually demised in such manner, of any body politic, corporate, or collegiate, corporation aggregate or sole, guild, mystery, fraternity, or brotherhood, corporate or not corporate, or any trustees

for charities or other public purposes, or of any other person or persons, or any other lease or leases for life, or lease or leases for years, or to take any annual rent or other annual advantage or profit, by occasion of any lease or ferm of any manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, the property or estate of any such spiritual person or persons, belonging to him or them either in his or their own right, or in the right of any other person or persons, or in right or by reason of his or their having or holding any spiritual dignity or benefice, or so taken, purchased, or renewed as aforesaid, as the property or estate of such spiritual person, without being subject to any pains, penalties, or forfeitures whatever under the said first-recited act or any other act, any thing therein contained to the contrary thereof notwithstanding: Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to authorize any spiritual person to take any such manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, after the passing of this act, for the purpose of occupying or to occupy the same, for the cultivation thereof or procuring profit therefrom, by himself, or any bailiff or bailiffs, or servant or servants, for his use, unless by the consent or approbation of the bishop as aforesaid, for such purposes as aforesaid.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this act, it shall be lawful for any spiritual person having or holding any spiritual dignity or benefice, or any parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, or for any stipendiary curate, by himself, or by any other for him or to his use, to bargain and buy to sell again for any lucre, gain, or profit, any manner of cattle that may be necessary, proper, or convenient to be bought, sold, kept, or maintained by such spiritual person, or any other person for him or to his use, for the occupation, manuring, improving, pasturage, or profit of any farms, lands, tenements, or hereditaments that may, under and by virtue of any law or laws now in force, or under any of the provisions of this act, be lawfully held and occupied, possessed or enjoyed by such spiritual person, or any other for him or to his use, without being subject to any pains, penalties, or forfeitures by reason thereof, under the said first-recited act, or any other act, or any thing therein contained to the contrary thereof notwithstanding: Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to authorize any such spiritual person to buy or sell any cattle as aforesaid, in person, in any market, fair, or place of public sale.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this act, it shall be lawful for any spiritual person having or holding any vicarage or perpetual cure, or for the stipendiary curate thereof, to occupy, by himself or by any other to his use, in ferm of the lease or grant of any person or persons, the impropriate, parsonage, rectory, or vicarage, or any part thereof, of the parish of which such spiritual person shall be the vicar, or perpetual curate, or stipendiary curate, or any part or parts thereof, or to take any profit or rent out of any such farm, without being subject to any pains, penalties, or forfeitures by means thereof under the said first-recited act, any thing therein contained to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this act, no lease or leases of any glebe or demesne lands or of any tythes belonging to any spiritual person, of what degree soever he may be, as annexed to or in right of any spiritual dignity or benefice, or donative or perpetual curacy, and leased by such spiritual person, shall be vacated or made void, or be deemed or construed to be void, nor shall the incumbent for the same forfeit any profit of his said benefice, by reason of the non-residence of any such spiritual person, in any case where such spiritual person shall be exempt from any pecuniary penalties on account of such non-residence, under any of the provisions of the said first-recited act or this act, or any other act, by reason of any license or otherwise, any thing in an act passed in the thirteenth year of the reign of her late Majesty Queen Elizabeth, intituled, "An Act touching Leases of Benefices and "other Ecclesiastical Livings with Cure," or any other act or acts contained to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this act, so much of the said first-recited act as imposes the penalty of ten pounds, in the said act mentioned, on any spiritual person therein described, who shall not keep residence on one of his dignities, prebends, or benefices, but absent himself wilfully by the space of one month together, or by the space of two months to be accounted at several times in any one year, shall be and the same is hereby repealed; and that from and after the passing of this act, every spiritual person, being beneficed with any parsonage, vicarage, donative, or any perpetual curacy, who shall, without such sufficient cause, as in the said first-recited act or under an act passed in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, intituled, "An Act that every Judge of the High Courts "may have One Chaplain beneficed with Cure," or of another act passed in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, intituled, "The Bill for Non-residence of Spi-"ritual Men and their Benefices," or of another act, passed in the thirty-third year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, intituled, "An Act for the Chancellor of the Duchy of "Lancaster and others to have Chaplains," is specified, or such other sufficient cause as would exempt such spiritual person from any of the pains, penalties, and forfeitures under the said recited acts for any non-residence, and who shall not have any such license as is in this act mentioned for that purpose, wilfully absent himself for the space of three months together, or to be accounted at several times in any one year, and make his residence and abiding at any other place or places by such time, shall, when such absence shall exceed such period as aforesaid,

and not exceed six months, forfeit and pay one-fourth of the annual value (deducting therefrom all actual outgoings, except any stipend paid to any curate) of the parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, from which he shall so absent himself as aforesaid, and when such absence shall exceed six months and not exceed eight months, one-third of such annual value, and when such absence shall exceed eight months, a moiety of such annual value, and when such absence shall have been for the whole of the year, three-fourths of such annual value, to be recovered by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, in any of his Majesty's Courts of Record at Westminster, or the Courts of Great Sessions in Wales, wherein no essoign, privilege, protection, or wager of law, or more than one imparlance, shall be allowed; and the whole of every such penalty or forfeiture shall go and be paid to the person or persons who shall inform and sue for the same, together with such costs of suit as shall be allowed according to the practice of the court in which such action shall be brought.

Provided also, and be it further enacted, That no spiritual person being beneficed with any parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, who shall have made his residence and abiding at his said benefice for the space of one whole year, without wilful absence therefrom for any longer time than three months together, or in the whole at several times, shall be liable to any of the pains, penalties, or forfeitures in this act or the said recited act contained, for any previous non-residence.

And be it further enacted, That no spiritual person having or holding any office which, under any of the provisions of the said first-recited act, or of an act passed in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, intituled, "An Act that every Judge of the High Courts "may have one Chaplain beneficed with Cure;" or of another act, passed in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, intituled, "The Bill for Non-residence of Spi-"ritual Men and their Benefices;" or of another act, passed in the thirty-third year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, intituled, "An "Act for the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lan-"caster and others to have Chaplains;" would exempt such spiritual persons from residence, or from the penalties and forfeitures in the said Act contained for non-residence; or actually serving as a chaplain of the House of Commons, or as clerk of his Majesty's closet, or deputy clerks thereof, during the times of their attendance, or as chaplain general of his Majesty's forces, or brigade chaplain on foreign service, or chaplains on board any of his Majesty's ships, or in any of his Majesty's garrisons, or chaplains of his Majesty's corps of artillery, doing duty therewith, or in any British factory, or in the household of any British ambassador or public minister residing abroad; or as principal, surrogate, or official, in any ecclesiastical court of any diocese, or as prebendary or canon, minor canon or vicar choral, or priest, vicar, or other public officer, in any cathedral or collegiate church, during the times for which they may be required, by the canons or local statutes thereof, to reside at such cathedral or collegiate church, and actually reside and perform duty at the same; or as preachers or readers in any of the inns of court, or at the rolls, or as bursar, dean, vice-president, or public tutor, or other public officer, in any college or hall in either of the universities of Oxford or Cambridge, during the period for which they may respectively be required, by reason of any such office, to perform the duties of any such office, and actually perform the duties of the same; or as public librarian, or public registrar or proctor, or public orator, or other public officer, in either of the said universities, during the period for which they may respectively be required by reason thereof, to perform the duties of any such office, and actually perform the duties of the same; or as librarian at the British Museum; or of Sion College, or as fellows of colleges in either of the universities, during the time for which they may be required to reside by any charter or statute, or by any lawful authority in the same, and actually reside therein, or as warden or provost of Eton or Winchester College, or fellow or schoolmaster in the same, or as schoolmaster of Westminster school, or as professor of Gresham College during the terms in which he may be required to read lectures therein, and shall actually read lectures in the same; nor any person holding a dignity, donative, or perpetual cure, in conjunction with a benefice or donative, or perpetual cure, during the times that he is residing upon either the dignity, benifice, or donative, or the perpetual cure, or one of them, shall be liable to any of the pains, penalties, or forfeitures in the said first recited act or this act contained, for or on account of any non-residence on any parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy; any thing in the said act or this act contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted, that from and after the passing of this act, no person or persons mentioned in an act, passed in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, intituled, "The Bill for Non-residence "of Spiritual Men on their Benefices," and entitled, under the provisions of the said act, to the privilege and liberty of non-residence until after and above the age of forty years, shall be, by reason of any of the provisions of the said act, entitled to enjoy the privilege and liberty of non-residence after or above the age of twenty-six years; any thing in the said act contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted, that no penalty and costs incurred by reason of any non-residence shall be levied by execution against the body of any spiritual person who shall continue to hold any parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual cure, out of the profits of which the same can be levied by sequestration.

And be it further enacted, that from and after the passing of this act, it shall be lawful

for the several bishops respectively in that part of the united kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland called England, upon application made for that purpose by petition in writing or otherwise, by any spiritual person having or holding any parsonage or vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, locally situated within their respective dioceses, upon such proofs as to any facts stated in any such petition, by affidavit made before any surrogate or master extraordinary in chancery (which oath any surrogate or master extraordinary in chancery is hereby authorized and required to administer, of such spiritual persons, in case the same shall be required by the bishop to whom any such petition is presented, or application made under this Act) or by such other proof as any such bishop may think necessary, to grant, in every case where on due consideration of all the circumstances stated in any such application, such bishop shall in his discretion think it fit to grant the same, a licence in writing, in such cases and under such circumstances as are hereinafter enumerated, to such persons, under their hands, in relation to the residence or non-residence of such spiritual persons on their respective benefices, for the purpose of exempting such persons from the pecuniary penalties and forfeitures in this Act, or in the said recited Act contained, under and subject nevertheless to the regulations, provisions, and restrictions in this Act contained.

And be it further enacted, that it shall be lawful for any bishop to grant licences to any spiritual persons having any parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, within his diocese, for the purposes aforesaid, to reside out of the proper house of residence, or out of the parish, as the case may appear to such bishop to require, if upon the consideration of all the circumstances of any such case such bishop shall in his discretion think the same fit and proper, in the several cases hereinafter mentioned (that is to say); to any spiritual person who shall be prevented by actual illness or infirmity of body of himself, or wife or child making part of and residing with him as part of his family; and also to any spiritual person having or holding any parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, wherein there shall be no house of residence, or where the house of residence shall be unfit for the residence of such ecclesiatical person, such unfitness not being occasioned by any negligence, default, or misconduct of such ecclesiastical person; and also to any spiritual person having or holding any parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, and having or possessing, or occupying, in the parish of such parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual cure, any mansion or messuage belonging to himself or any relation, to reside in such mansion or messuage, such spiritual person keeping the house of residence in good, sufficient, and tenantable repair and condition, to the satisfaction of the bishop; and also for any spiritual person having or holding any parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy of small value, and serving as a stipendiary curate elsewhere, with the licence of the bishop of his diocese, and providing for the serving of such his parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, to the satisfaction of the bishop of his diocese; and also to any master or usher of any endowed school duly licensed by the bishop, and actually employed in teaching therein; and also to any masters or preachers of hospitals or incorporated charitable foundation, during the period for which they may be required to reside, by any charter or statute of any such hospital or incorporated charitable foundation, or by any other lawful authority in the same; or to any person holding any endowed lectureship or endowed chapelry; or to the trustees of Lord Crewe's charity, during the times of their personal attendance on the duties of their office: provided always, that for any such licence the party obtaining the same shall not pay more to the secretary or officer of the bishop, than the sum of ten shillings, exclusive of any such stamps as may be required by law: provided always, that if any spiritual person applying to any bishop for any such licence shall think himself aggrieved by the refusal thereof, it shall be lawful for such spiritual person to appeal to the archbishop of the province, who shall forthwith, either by himself, or some commissioner or commissioners appointed from among the bishops of his province under his hand, make or cause to be made inquiry into the same, and to confirm such refusal, or grant a licence under this Act, as shall seem just and proper: provided nevertheless, that the party appealing shall give security to the bishop for the payment of such reasonable expenses occasioned by the appeal, as the archbishop, or his commissioner or commissioners, shall award.

And be it further enacted, that from and after the passing of this Act, it shall be lawful for any such bishop, as aforesaid, in any cases not hereinbefore enumerated, in which under all the circumstances, of any such case such bishop shall think it expedient, to grant to any such spiritual person, upon any petition by and with the recommendation of the archdeacon of the archdeaconry within which the parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, in respect whereof such licence shall be applied for, is locally situate, previously signified by such archdeacon, or where any such archdeacon shall refuse such recommendation, then upon petition, stating the refusal of such archdeacon, and the grounds assigned by such archdeacon of any such refusal, a licence to reside out of the proper house of residence, or out of the parish, as the case may appear to such archdeacon and bishop respectively to require: provided always, that in every such case the nature and special circumstances thereof, and the reasons that have induced such bishop to grant such licence as aforesaid, shall be entered at length in a book to be kept for that purpose, and an exact copy of such entry shall be transmitted to the archbishop of the province to which such bishop shall belong, who shall forthwith, by himself or by some commissioner or commissioners appointed

for that purpose from among the bishops or archdeacons of such province, by writing under his hand, which commissioner or commissioners is and are thereupon authorized to take upon himself or themselves the execution of the said commission, examine into such case, and make such enquiries as to any particulars relating thereto, as such archbishop, or commissioner or commissioners so appointed as aforesaid, may think necessary, and shall thereupon allow or disallow such licence, in the whole or in part, or make any alteration therein, as to the period for which the same may have been granted, or otherwise, as to such archbishop or commissioner or commissioners shall seem fit; and no such licence shall be good, valid, or effectual under this act, for any purpose whatever, unless it shall have been so allowed and approved by such archbishop, or commissioner or commissioners on his behalf, such allowance thereof being signified by the signing thereof by such archbishop: provided always, that it shall not be necessary in such licence to specify the cause of granting thereof: provided also, that no licence granted by any bishop or archbishop under this act, shall be made void by the death or removal of the bishop or archbishop granting thereof, but the same not having been revoked, shall be and remain good and valid notwithstanding any such death or removal, unless the same shall be revoked by the next or any succeeding bishop or archbishop: provided always, that any spiritual person may appeal against any such revocation by the bishop, in like manner as is hereinbefore directed in case of any refusal of any licence: provided also, that the respective archbishops may in their respective dioceses of which they are bishops, grant licences under the provisions and regulations in this act contained, in all cases in which any licences may be granted by any bishop under this act, either by his own authority, or with the allowance and approval of the archbishop as aforesaid: provided also, that it shall be lawful for any such archbishop to order and direct such reasonable fees and charges to be paid by any such spiritual person appealing as aforesaid, in respect of any such proceedings as aforesaid, as he shall in his discretion think fit: provided always, that in every case when any costs and charges shall remain unpaid for the period of one month after demand thereof, left at the usual or last place of abode of the person liable to the payment, it shall be lawful for such bishop or archbishop respectively, to cause the same to be recovered by sequestration of the profits of the parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy of such spiritual person as aforesaid.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, that it shall be lawful for any bishop or archbishop, who shall have granted any such licence as aforesaid, or any successor of any such bishop or archbishop, to revoke any such licence in any case in which it may become proper and expedient: provided also, that no licence granted under this act shall continue in force for more than two years from the granting thereof.

And be it further enacted, that every such bishop to whom any such petition shall be presented, and who shall grant or revoke any licence founded thereon, shall and he is hereby required to cause a copy of such licence or revocation to be filed in the registry of the diocese within which such parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, in respect whereof any such licence shall be granted or revocation made, shall be locally situate, with the register of such diocese; and an alphabetical list of such licences and revocations shall be made out by such register, and entered in a book, and kept for the inspection of all persons upon payment of the sum of one shilling and no more; and a copy of every such licence and revocation shall be delivered to the churchwardens of the parish, within one month after the grant of such licence or revocation thereof: and a copy of the same shall likewise be publicly read at the visitation of the archdeacon of the archdeaconry within which the parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, in respect whereof the licence shall have been granted, or revocation made, shall be locally situate, immediately next succeeding the granting or revocation thereof.

And be it further enacted, that it shall be lawful for any spiritual person to whom any such licence shall be granted, and against whom any action shall hereafter, during the continuance of this act, be brought, for any penalty or forfeiture under the said recited act, by reason of any non-residence, or any matter or thing relating thereto, to plead such licence in bar of any such action; and if the plaintiff in such suit or action shall be non-suit, or shall discontinue any such suit or action after any plea of licence shall have been pleaded thereto under this act, then and in such case the defendant in such suit or action shall have full costs of suit; and if in any such suit or action a verdict shall be given for the defendant, the defendant shall have treble costs, and have the like remedy for the same, as any defendant hath in other cases to recover costs by law.

And be it further enacted, that nothing in this act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to repeal or annul any canonical or ecclesiastical censures, or to be pleadable in bar of any proceedings that shall hereafter be instituted in any ecclesiastical court, in order to cause the same to be inflicted, in relation to the non-residence of any spiritual person having or holding any parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy: provided always, that from and after the passing of this act, no such censures, by reason of any non-residence, not exceeding three months, shall be enforced, nor shall any proceeding be admitted in any ecclesiastical court, against any such spiritual person, for such non-residence, at the suit of any person or persons other than the bishop or archdeacon only of the diocese, within which such parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, in respect whereof such non-residence shall have taken place, shall be locally situated, any thing in any law or laws, or ecclesiastical canon or canons, to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted, that in every case

in which it shall appear to any such bishop as aforesaid, that any spiritual person, having or holding any parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, does not sufficiently reside on such parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, it shall be lawfull for such bishop to issue or cause to be issued a monition to such spiritual person forthwith to proceed to and reside thereon, and perform the duties thereof, and to make a return to such monition within a certain number of days after the issuing thereof; so as that in every such case there shall be thirty days between the time of delivering such monition to such spiritual person, or leaving the same at his then usual place of abode, or last place of abode, if not there to be found, and with the officiating minister, or one of the church-wardens, and the time specified in such monition for the return thereof; and every such monition shall, immediately on the issuing thereof, be filed in the registry, and open for inspection, on the payment of one shilling, and no more; and the spiritual person to whom any such monition shall be sent under this act, shall, within the time specified for that purpose, make a return thereto; and it shall be lawful for the bishop to whom any such return shall be made, to require such return, or any facts contained therein, to be verified by the oath of such spiritual person or others, to be taken before some surrogate or master extraordinary in chancery, which oath any such surrogate or master extraordinary in chancery is hereby authorized and required to administer, on application being made for that purpose; and in every case where no such return shall be made, or where such return shall not state such reasons as shall be deemed satisfactory by such bishop for the non-residence of the spiritual person to whom such monition shall have been sent as aforesaid, or where the same or any of the facts contained therein shall not be so verified upon oath as aforesaid when the same shall have been required, then and in such case it shall be lawfull for such bishop to sequester the profits of such parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy of such spiritual person as aforesaid, until such monition shall be complied with, or such sufficient reasons for non-residence stated and proved as aforesaid, and to direct any order to be made for that purpose under his hand, the application of such profits, after deducting the necessary expenses of serving the cure, either in the whole or in such proportion as he shall think fit, in the first place, to the payment of such reasonable expenses as shall have been incurred in relation to such monition and sequestration, and in the next place towards the augmentation or improvement of any such parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, or the house of residence thereof, or any of the buildings and appurtenances thereof, or towards the improvement of any of the glebe or demesne lands thereof; or may order and direct the same or any proportion thereof to be paid to the governors of the bounty of Queen Anne, for the augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy, to be applied for the purpose of such augmentation, as such bishop shall in his discretion under all the circumstances think fit and expedient; and it shall also be lawful for any such bishop to remit any such spiritual person any part or proportion of such sequestered profits, or cause the same or any part thereof, that shall have been paid or directed to be paid to such governors of Queen Anne's bounty, to be repaid to such spiritual person, which repayment the said governors are hereby authorized and required, upon an order under the hand of any such bishop, to make out of any money then in their hands, or if no money shall then be in their hands, out of the next money that shall come to their hands, in any case in which by reason of the subsequent obedience of any such spiritual person to any such monition, or the stating and proving such sufficient reasons as aforesaid, such bishop shall think the same proper: Provided always, that when any such spiritual person shall think himself aggrieved by reason of any such sequestration, it shall be lawful for any such spiritual person, within fourteen days after the making any order for any such sequestration as aforesaid, and upon notice thereof, the bishop to appeal to the archbishop of the province to which such bishop shall belong, who shall forthwith, either by himself, or some commissioner or commissioners appointed from among the bishops or archdeacons of his province for that purpose, under his hand and seal, make or cause to be made due enquiry into the same, and make such order therein or relating thereto, or to the profits that shall be so sequestered as aforesaid, for the return to such spiritual person of the same, or any part thereof, or otherwise, as shall, under all the circumstances of the case, appear to such archbishop or his commissioner or commissioners, to be just and proper: Provided always, that the party so appealing shall give security to the bishop for the payment of such reasonable expenses occasioned by the appeal as the archbishop, or his commissioner or commissioners, shall award: Provided also, that no such order for any sequestration shall be put in force during such appeal as aforesaid, and until the same is determined.

Provided also, and be it further enacted, That every spiritual person to whom any such monition shall be sent as aforesaid under this Act, who shall be at the time of the issuing thereof absent from residence in his parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, contrary to the provisions of the said first-recited act and this act, but who shall, in obedience to such monition, forthwith return to due residence, and the profits of whose parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, shall, by reason of such return, not be sequestered, shall nevertheless pay all costs, charges, and expenses, incurred by reason of the issuing and serving such monition, to be levied as any cost may be levied on any spiritual person by any archbishop or bishop under any of the provisions of this act.

And be it further enacted, That if any clerk shall continue under such sequestration for non-residence for the space of three years, the parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual cure, in relation whereto the said non-residence shall have been committed, shall become *ipso facto* void, and the patron shall present or nominate another clerk thereto, as if the same had been avoided by the natural death or resignation of the party.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That where any action, suit, bill, plaint, or information shall have been commenced or brought against any spiritual person, to whom any monition shall be sent as aforesaid, before the issuing thereof, for any penalty or forfeiture incurred by reason of the non-residence of any such spiritual person before the issuing of such monition, then and in such case the bishop sending such monition as aforesaid shall, upon notice of such action or suit, cause to be retained the profits, or so much of the profits of the parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, in respect whereof such action or suit shall be brought and monition issued as aforesaid, and which may under this act be sequestered as aforesaid, as will be sufficient to satisfy any penalty or penalties for which any such action or suit shall be brought, together with such costs as the plaintiff or plaintiffs therein may be entitled to, if any; and shall, if a verdict shall be given for the plaintiff or plaintiffs in such action, and final judgment obtained therein, after deducting all the charges which shall have been occasioned by the said sequestration to the bishop, or any person or persons who shall have acted therein under his authority, pay or cause to be paid to such plaintiff or plaintiffs the sum or sums of money that shall be recovered in any such action or suit to the plaintiff or plaintiffs therein: Provided always, that if at the time of filing any such monition as aforesaid, no action for any such penalty or forfeitures shall have been already commenced against such spiritual person, then and in such case no such action, suit, bill, plaint, or information, shall be afterwards brought, for any penalty or forfeiture incurred by reason of any non-residence of such spiritual person, before the issuing of such monition, or during any proceedings that may be had under such monition; and if any such action or suit shall be so commenced, the defendant therein may plead in bar thereof, that such a monition as aforesaid has issued in respect of the same parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this act, no oath shall be required of or taken by any vicar, in relation to residence on his vicarage; any law, custom, constitution, or usage to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this act, all and every the clauses, provisions, penalties, and forfeitures in the said first-recited act and this act contained, in relation to residence on benefices, or to any other matters and things relating thereto, shall extend and be deemed and construed to extend to all parsonages with cure, vicarages, donatives, perpetual curacies, and all parochial chapelries, exempt as well as not exempt, and all peculiars, as fully and amply, to all intents and purposes, as if the same had been and were in the said first-recited act or were in this act particularly mentioned and specified; any thing in any act or acts, law or laws, to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted, That every archbishop, bishop, and archdeacon, within the limits of whose province, diocese, or jurisdiction respectively, any such parsonage with cure, vicarage, donative, perpetual curacy, or parochial chapelry, exempt, as well as not exempt or peculiar, shall be locally situate, or where any such parsonage, vicarage, donative, perpetual curacy, or parochial chapelry, exempt as well as not exempt or peculiar, shall be within the limits of more than one province, diocese, or jurisdiction aforesaid, or shall be situate between any two or more provinces, diocese, or jurisdictions, then the archbishop, bishop, and archdeacon, to whose province, diocese, or jurisdiction such parsonage, vicarage, donative, perpetual curacy, or parochial chapelry, exempt as well as not exempt or peculiar, shall be nearest in local situation, shall have, use, and exercise all the powers, authorities, and jurisdictions necessary for the full execution of all the provisions of this act, and for enforcing the same as fully and amply in every respect as if such parsonages, vicarages, donatives, perpetual curacies, or parochial chapelries, exempt as well as not exempt or peculiar, were *bonâ fide* subject in every respect to such jurisdiction, and as if the same had been and were specified in all the clauses of this act, any thing in any act or acts, law or laws, usage or usages to the contrary thereof notwithstanding; provided, that the peculiar belonging to any archbishopric or bishopric, though locally situated in another diocese, shall continue subject to the archbishop or bishop to whom they belong, as well for the purposes of this act as for all other purposes of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the law whatsoever.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That nothing in this act contained shall extend, or to be construed to extend, to alter or affect His Majesty's Royal Prerogative, in the granting of dispensations for non-residence upon benefices, as the same now exists by law.

LIST OF PROMOTIONS,

From January 1, *to June* 30, 1802, *inclusive.*

Ordnance-Office, Jan. 1, 1802.

Royal Regiment of Artillery.—Brevet Col. Rob. Lawson to be Col. en second, vice Lemoine, deceased, dated Dec. 25, 1801. Brevet Lieut. Col. Geo. Glasgow to be Lieut. Col. vice Lawson, dated as above. Brevet Maj. John A.

Schalch to be Major, vice Glasgow, dated as above. Capt. Lieut. Chas. Godfrey to be Capt. vice Schalch, dated as above. First Lieut. Tho. Ellison to be Capt.-Lieut, vice Slesson, retired, dated Dec. 23, 1801. First Lieut. Fran. Smyth to be Capt. Lieut. vice Godfrey, dated Dec. 25, 1801. Second Lieut. Jas. Lloyd to be First Lieut. vice Ellison, dated Dec. 23, 1801. Second Lieut. Hen. C. Martin to be First Lieu. vice Smyth, dated Dec. 25, 1801. Second Lieut. Nich. H. Nicholas to be First Lieut. vice English, deceased, dated Dec. 27, 1801.

War-Office, Jan. 5, 1802.

1st Reg. Dragoons.—Lieut. Ralph Creyke to be Capt. by purchase, vice Gratrix, who retires.

7th Reg. Light Dragoons.—Cornet John Campbell to be Adj. vice Hunt, promoted.

14th Ditto,—Geo. Aug. Fenwick, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Sir John Cox, promoted.

19th Ditto,—Surgeon John Abercrombie, from the 85th Foot, to be Surgeon, vice Brown, who exchanges.

1st Battalion 1st Reg. Foot, Ens. Joseph Moore to be Lieut. vice Falconer deceased. Ens. Jos. Anderson to be Lieut. vice Eddie, deceased.

7th Reg. Foot,—Lieut. Jos. Taylor to be Adj. vice Parsonage, promoted in the 1st Battalion Royals.

11th Ditto,—John Robson, Gent. to be Ens. vice Macgregor, deceased.

41st Ditto,—Lieut. Rich. Steeman, from the 76th Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Gooch, who retires.

60th Ditto,—Lieut. Wm. Gab. Davy, from the 61st Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Claus, who retires.

68th Ditto.—To be Lieutenants: Ensign John O'Hara, vice Dexter, deceased. Ens. Henry Whitestone, vice M'Alister, deceased. Ens. J. Haggarty, vice Wm. Shiels, deceased. Ens. Wm. Farrell, vice O'Hara, deceased. Ens. Mich Murphy, vice Haggarty, deceased. Ens. Fran. Gualy, vice M'Donnell, deceased. Ens. Nich. Brown, vice Patrickson, deceased. To be Ensigns: Nath. Gledstanes, Gent vice Murphy, Adj. Jas. Allen Crowder, vice Gualy. Edw. Wright, Gent. vice Brown. Rob. Wren, Gent. vice Hobart, deceased. Wm. Dunlop, Gent. vice Irvine, deceased. To be Assistant-Surgeon: Hospital-Mate Rob. Hartle, vice Muston, deceased.

70th Ditto,—Ens. Jas. Cox, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Loch, promoted in the 83d Foot.

85th Ditto,—Surgeon Thos. Browne, from the 19th Light Dragoons, to be Surgeon, vice Abercromby, who exchanges.

3d West-India Reg.—Quart.-Master Alex. Jesseman to be Ens. without purchase, vice Robertson, appointed Quart-Master. Quart-Master Jas. Thornton, from the half-pay of the late Royal Hospital Corps, to be Ens. vice Cotterell, who exchanges. Ens. Jas. Robertson to be Quart-Master, vice Jesseman.

8th Ditto,—John Herdman, Gent. to be Ens. vice Maclean, deceased.

9th Ditto,—Jas. Maitalaz, Gent. to be Quart-Master, vice Cessy, deceased.

31th Ditto,—Lieut. John Burke to be Capt. with temporary Rank in the Army, vice Collins, deceased. Ens. Ned Ali Dey to be Lieut. vice Burke——Collins, Gent. to be Ens. vice Dey.

12th Ditto,—Wm. Crossling, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Nugent, promoted in the 60th Foot.

Invalids.—Ens. Fran. White, from the Invalids at Plymouth, to be Ens. in Capt. Rogers's Independent Company of Invalids in the Tower of London, vice M'Gregor, who exchanges Ens. John M'Gregor, from the Invalids in the Tower of London, to be Ens. in the (late Major Burkeley's) Independent Company of Invalids at Plymouth, vice White, who exchanges.

Brevet.—Capt. Alex. Bryce, of the Royal Engineers, to be Maj. in the Army.

Royal Clarence Volunteers.—Lieut. Rich. Dickens to be Capt. of a Company.

Hambledon and Wickham Volunteers.—Js Hoade, Gent. to be Ens. vice Palmer, who resigns.

Memorandum.—Veterinary Surgeon Sam. Ferguson, of the 9th Lt. Dragoons, superseded, being absent without leave. Capt. Edw. Bailey, of the 15th Foot, superseded, being absent without leave. Lieut. Grenville Bradford, of the 68th Foot, superseded.

Northumberland Militia, (Commissions signed by the Deputy Lieutenants.)—Sam. Barber, Gent. to be Lieut. dated Oct. 3, 1801. Wm. Pringle, Gent. to be ditto, dated Dec. 8, 1801.

War-Office, Jan. 9, 1802.

Royal Pembrokeshire Militia, (Commissions signed by the Lord Lieut.)—Capt. Owen Philips to be Maj. dated Aug. 24, 1801. Sam. Harries, Esq. to be second Lieut. vice John Lloyd, deceased, dated, Nov. 27, 1801. Sam. Harries, Esq. to be Adj. vice John Lloyd, deceased, dated as above.

County of Lancaster, (Commissions signed by the Lord Lieutenant.)—Rich. Cardwell, Esq. to be Deputy Lieut. dated Nov. 14, 1801. Hen. Fielden, Esq. to be ditto, dated as above.

War-Office, Jan. 16, 1802.

26th Reg. Lt. Dragoons,—Ens. Thos. Jarmy, from the 8th Foot, to be Cornet, vice Rogers, who exchanges.

York Hussars, W. C. H. de Goesnitz, Gent. to be Cornet without purchase, vice Strutterenheim, who resigns.

1st Reg. Foot Guards,—Ens. Hen. Shum to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Lord Vis. Tamworth, who retires.

8th Reg. Foot,—Cornet Thos. Rogers, from the 26th Lt. Dragoons, to be Ens. vice Jarmy, who exchanges.

9th Ditto,—Ens. Franc. Glasse, from the 26th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Ferrier, promoted.

20th Ditto,—Ens. Wm. Harding, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Hames, promoted.

24th Ditto,—Lieut. And. Forster, to be Capt. vice Francis, deceased. Ens. Thos. Minster, to be Lieut. vice Forster. Ens. John Galway to be Lieut. vice Bayfield, deceased. Arthur Blake, Gent. to be Ens. vice Minster. Volunteer,—Price, to be Ens. vice Galway.

52d Ditto,—Surgeon, Simon Rawling, from the 56th Foot, to be Surg. vice Jordan, who exchanges.

54th Ditto,—Ens. C. Vincent to be Lieut. vice Metcalf, deceased. Arch. Ross, Gent. to be Ens. vice Vincent.

56th Ditto,—Surg. Chas. Jordan, from the 52d

Foot, to be Surgeon vice Rawling, who exchanges.

58th Ditto,—John Macklain, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice Hart, promoted in the 90th Foot.

60th Ditto,—Lieut. John Jefferis, from the 87th Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Walker, who retires. Thos. Pierce Harte, Esq. to be Paymaster of the 3d Battalion, vice Leigh, deceased.

80th Ditto,—Clement John Cozens, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Campbell, promoted in the 76th Foot.

82d Ditto.—Lieut. John Woolsey to be Capt. by purchase, vice Kell, who retires.

90th Ditto,—Ens. John Hart from the 58th Foot, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Dickson, who resigns.

New South Wales Corps,—Ens. Nicholas Bayly to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Kemp, promoted.

Queen's German Reg. —— Ens. —— Blount to be Lieut. vice Grau, promoted in the Minorca Dragoons. —— Miller, Gent. to be Ens. vice Thorne, promoted. Albert Zehender, Gent. to be Ens. vice Boucheporne, promoted. J. Noel Dejean, Gent. to be Ens. vice Blount.

Barracks,—John Flynn, Esq. late Capt.-Lieut in the Royals, to be Barrack-Master of Shelbourne, in Nova Scotia, vice Ogden, who has retired from that Province.

Bury Volunteers,—Sir Rob. Peel, Bart. to be Lieut.-Col.-Commandant. Wm. Yates, Esq. to be Maj. To be Captains, Rob. Peel, Jun. Esq. John Alsop, Esq. John Gorton, Esq. John Johnson, Esq. To be Capt.-Lieut. John Scholes, Esq.

To be Lieutenants, Wm. Norris, Gent. Tho. Meadowcroft, Gent. John Brandwood, Gent. Tho. Norris, Gent. Rich. Hodgson, Gent. To be Ensigns, Jos. Harrison, Gent. Jas. Rostron, Gent. Henry Gorton, Gent. Rich Alsop, Gent. Jas. Hartley, Gent. To be Adjutant, Ens. Rich. Aslop.

Cardross Volunteers.—Iver Campbell, Esq. to be Capt. Alex. Campbell, Gent. to be Lieut. John Tod, jun. Gent. to be Ens.

Loyal Carrick Volunteers —Second-Lieut. Hugh Cunningham to be First Lieut. vice M'Jannett, who resigns. Dav. Gibson, Gent. to be Second-Lieut. vice Cunningham.

Loyal Exminster Hundred Reg. of Volunteers — Wm. Vis. Courtenay to be Lieut-Col. Commandant. Wm. Rainsforth, Esq. to be Major.

Royal Newton and Wallaceton Volunteers.—Hugh Ackers, Gent. to be Second-Lieut. vice Heron, who resigns.

Memorandum.—Lieut. John Moore and Ens. Pat. M'Dermott Roe, of the Loyal Tarbert Fencibles, are superseded, being absent without leave.

War-Office, Jan. 19, 1802.

5th Reg. of Dragoon Guards, Cornet Arthur Chichester to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Irwin, promoted.

4th Reg. Foot, Lieut. Alex. Bassett, from the 69th. Foot, to be Lieut. vice Leaky, who exchanges.

22d Ditto, Peter Cockburn, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Hamilton, promoted.

44th Ditto, Capt. Charles Phillips to be Maj. by purchase, vice Mall, who retires. Lieut. Fountain Elwin to be Capt. vice Phillips.

49th Ditto, Wm. Collins, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Gollack, promoted.

58th Ditto, Assist. Surg. —— Campbell, from the 89th Foot, to be surg. vice Grieves, promoted.

69th Ditto, Lieut. John Tho. Leaky, from the 4th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Basset, who exchanges. John Francis Byrne, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Best, removed to the 66th Foot.

89th Ditto, Hospital Mate —— Steel to be Assist. Surg. vice Campbell, promoted in the 58th Foot.

Argyllshire Volunteers.—Colin Campbell, Gent. to be Second Lieut. vice Alex. Campbell, appointed to the 3d Foot Guards.

Honiton Volunteers.—Ens. Edw. Smark to be Lieut. vice Lee. Tho. Roskilly, Gent. to be Ens. vice Smark.

2d Battalion Manchester and Salford Volunteers.—Capt. Wm. Leaf to be Maj. vice Marriott, who resigns. Capt. Lieut. Tho. Rothwell to be Capt. vice Leaf. Lieut. Wm. Tate to be Capt. Lieut. vice Rothwell. Ens. Tho. Hindley to be Lieut. vice Tate. Rob. Killer, Gent. to be Ens. vice Hindley.

Memorandum.—Capt. Edw. Bailey, of the 15th Foot, who was superseded in the Gazette of the 5th instant, is reinstated in his rank. Ens. Hen. Shee, of the 25th Reg. Foot is superseded.

Ordnance Office, Jan. 22, 1802.

Royal Regiment of Artillery.—First Lieut. Cha. Egan, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Holmes, deceased, dated Jan. 9th. 1802.—Second Lieut. Wm. Clibborne, to be First Lieut. vice Egan, dated as above.—Second Lieut. Benj. Leroy, to be first Lieut. vice Purcell, retired, dated Jan. 13, 1802.

War-Office, Jan. 26, 1802.

Royal Reg. of Horse Guards. Cornet Brotherton Brown, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Foster, who retires. George Berkley, Gent. to be Cornet, without purchase, vice Browne.

1st Reg. Dragoons. Cornet Peter Hawker, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Wright, promoted in the 60th Foot.

21st Reg. Lt. Dragoons. Lieut. Caleb Underwood. from the half-pay of the late 99th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Pearce, who exchanges.

1st Reg. Foot Guards. Jos. Lauteur, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Clifton, promoted.

37th Reg. Foot. Surg. George Heatherley, from the 3d West India Reg. to be Surg. vice Burke, promoted.

42d Ditto. Lieut. Jas. Walker, to be Adjt. vice Frazer, promoted.

1st West-India Reg. Ens. Hen. Holebrooke, to be Lieut. vice Byrne, deceased. Volunteer. Jas. Quin, from the 9th West-India Reg. to be Ens. vice Holebrooke.

3d Ditto. Assist. Surg. Wm. King, from the 60th Foot, to be Surg. vice Heatherley, removed to the 37th Foot.

7th Ditto. Ens. Sam. Watts, from the 11th West India Reg. to be Ens. vice Egan, who exchanges.

8th Ditto. Lieut. Cha. Carlton Kennett, from the 7th Lt. Dragoons, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Cooke, who retires.

11th Ditto. Ens. John Harriott, to be Lieut. vice Brice deceased. Sam. Watts, Gent. to be Ens. vice Harriott. Ens. Tho. Egan, from the 7th West-India Reg. to be Ens. vice Watts, who exchanges.

Hospital Staff.—Apothecary Wm. Warcop to be

Garrison Surg. in the island of Martinique, vice Thompson, promoted. Surg. W. A. Burke, from the 37th Foot, to be Apothecary to the Forces, vice Warcup, promoted.

York Reg. Fencible Infantry. Capt Lieut. Frederick Tomkins, on the half-pay of the late Royal Irish Artillery, to be Lieut. vice Lawson, whose appointment has not taken place.

3d (or Lanark) Reg. of North British Militia, (commissions signed by the Lord Lieutenant.) Ens. And. Bogle, to be Lieut. vice Boyes, resigned, dated October 24, 1801. Dugald John Campbell, Gent. to be Ens. vice Alex. Hamilton, resigned, dated November 24, 1801. Colm Hamilton, Gent. to be Ens. vice Bogle, promoted, dated December 24, 1801.

Ordnance-Office, February 4, 1802.

Royal Reg. Artillery.—Cap. Lieut. Gother Mann to be a Quart. Mast. vice Cha. Godfrey, promoted, dated Jan. 1, 1802.

War-Office, February 6, 1802.

1st Reg. Life Guards, Lieut. Wm. Stanton to be Cap. by purchase, vice Imhoff, promoted in the 4th Foot. Lieut. Geo. Herbert to be Cap. by purchase, vice Batson, who retires. Cornet and Sub-Lieut. Step. Lancaster to be Lieut. vice Stanton. Cornet and Sub-Lieut. Hen. Reynolds Hinde to be Lieut. vice Herbert. Fran. Scrimes Pilcher, Gent. to be Cornet and Sub-Lieut. vice Lancaster. Franc. Wm. Sandford, Gent. to be Cornet and Sub-Lieut. vice Hind.

4th Reg. Dragoon Guards, Cornet Sam. Weyment Harrison, from the 27th Lt. Dragoons, to be Cornet, by purchase, vice O'Reilly, promoted.

11th Reg. Lt. Dragoons, Capt. Tho. Browne to be Maj. by purchase, vice Anderson, who retires. Lieut. Wm. Onslow to be Capt. vice Browne. Cornet Pat. Craufurd to be Lieut. vice Onslow. Surg. John Bullock, from the 9th Foot, to be Surg vice Hunter, deceased.

14th Ditto. Cornet Aldborough Richardson to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Kemble, who retires.

26th Ditto. Hospital-Mate, Tho. Davis to be Assist. Surg. vice Meade, promoted to the 40th Foot.

2d Reg. Foot, Assist. Surg. Wm. Maxton, from the 18th Foot, to be Surg. vice Wells promoted.

8th Ditto. Hospital-Mate John Browne to be Assist. Surg. vice Morlen, promoted in the 54th Foot.

9th Ditto. Assist. Surg. —— Stewart, from the 11th Lt. Dragoons, to be Surg. vice Bullock, removed to the 11th Lt. Dragoons.

13th Ditto. Hospital-Mate Franc. Coull, to be Assist. Surg. vice Macklin, deceased.

15th Ditto. Franc. Jack Needham, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Wood, promoted.

18th Ditto. Hospital-Mate Walter Carver to be Assist. Surg. vice Maxton, promoted in the 2d Foot.

24th. Ditto. Ens. Hen. Colls to be Lieut. without purchase.

26th Ditto. Eman. Shaw, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice G'asse, promoted in the 9th Foot.

27th Ditto. Assist. Surg. —— Degan, from the Queen's German Reg. to be Surg. vice Halliday deceased.

42d Ditto, Hospital-Mate Donald Macleod to be Assist. Surg. vice Patton, promoted in the 13th Foot.

44th Ditto. Hospital-Mate Geo. Norman to be Assist Surg. vice Owen, deceased.

30th Ditto. Assist. Surg. Mat. Lamert, from the 90th Foot, to be Surg. vice Blackwell, promoted.

53d Ditto, T. C. Andrews, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice John Grant, jun. promoted.

54th Ditto. Assist. Surg. Wm. Morlen, from the 8th Foot, to be Surg. vice Ross, promoted.

58th Ditto. Hospital-Mate Hen. West to be Assist. Surg. vice Urie, deceased.

60th Ditto. G. Ramsay, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Bell, promoted. Hospital-Mate Da. Browne to be Assist. Surg. vice Cooper, deceased.

79th. Ditto. Assist. Surg. Geo. Cockell, from the 54th Foot, to be Surg. vice Egan, promoted.

82d Ditto, Ens. W. M. Greenhill to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Woolsey, promoted.

85th Ditto, Assist. Surg. Jas. M'Farlane to be Surg. vice Browne, who retires upon half-pay.

90th. Reg. Foot, Hospital Mate Sam. Gissing, to be Assist. Surg. vice Lamert, promoted in the 30th Foot.

4th West-India Reg. Ens. Jas. Douglas Johnstone, from the half-pay of the late Independent Companies, to be Ens. vice Bowers, who exchanges. Arch. Cunningham, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Browne, promoted in the 59th Foot.

Staff.—Col. Alex. Mackenzie, of the 36th Foot, to be Brig. Gen. of the Army serving in the Mediterranean only. Tho. Asten Coffin, Esq. to be Commissary of Accompts in British North America.

Hospital Staff.—Assist. Inspector Alex. Robertson to be Dep. Inspector of Hospitals to the Forces. Surg. Adair Blackwell, from the 30th Foot, to be Surg. to the Forces, vice Webb, promoted.

Apothecaries to the Forces.—Surg. Tho. Ross, from the 54th Foot, vice Findlay, deceased. Surg. Mich. Egan, from the 79th Foot.—Surg. Fletcher Wells, from the 2d Foot.

Barracks.—Rob. Collier, Esq. late Capt. in the Scotch Brigade, to be Barrack-Mast. in Great Britain, vice Marshal, who retires.

Manx Fencible Infantry.—Lieut. Wm. Kewley to be Adj. vice Horner, deceased.

Loyal Haverfordwest Fuzileers.—John Lewis, Gent. to be Adj. vice Johnstone.

Marazion Volunteers.—John James, Jun. Esq. to be Capt. vice Gluyas, who resigns.

North Shields and Tynemouth Volunteers.—Maj. Wm. Linskill to be Lieut.-Col. Comman. Capt. Wm. Clarke, jun. to be Maj. vice Linskill. First Lieut. Tho. Frank to be Capt. vice Clarke. Second Lieut. Tho. Walmsley to be First Lieut. vice Frank. To be Second Lieutenants—And. Trotter, Gent. vice Walmsley. Wm. Robson, Gent. vice Cram, promoted. John Hutchinson, Gent. Rob. Shield, Gent.

Swansea Artillery Volunteers.—Lieut. Henry Perrott, from the Swansea Volunteers, to be First Lieut. vice Prance, who resigns.

Memorandum.—Ens. Hen. Shee, of the 25th Reg. Foot, who was superseded in the Gazette of the 19th ult. is reinstated in his rank.

Cheshire Militia, (Commission signed by the Lord Lieutenant.) Morton John Eden, Esq. to be Capt. of a Company, vice Carr, deceased, dated Jan. 18, 1802.

War-Office, Feb. 6, 1802.

8th Reg. Foot.—To be Lieutenants without purchase.—Lieut. Wm. Robinson, from the 17th

Foot, vice Forsteen, promoted in the 12th Foot. Ens. Tho. Couche, vice Annesley, deceased. Ens. Franc. Campbell, from the 50th Foot, vice Church, deceased. To be Ens.—Adj. Peter Myles, vice Couche.

9th Ditto, Ens. Evan John M'Gregor Murray, from the 81st. Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Southcott, who retires.

15th Ditto, Capt. Lieut. Chas. Dalyrmple to be Capt. by purchase, vice D'Arcy. Lieut. Alex. Milne to be Capt. by purchase, vice Innes, who retires. Ens. R. N. Nickle to be Lieut. vice Milne.

17th Ditto, Ens. Oliver Long, from the 82d Foot, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Robinson, removed to the 8th Foot.

20th Ditto, Hospital-Mate Wm. Miller to be Assist. Surg. vice Rooke, who resigns.

25th Ditto, Hon. Chas. Stanhope to be Ens. without purchase.

31st Ditto, Ens. Wm. Murphy to be Lieut. vice Walker, deceased.

40th Ditto, Ens. J. S. Price to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Jarvey, promoted in the Cape Reg. Ens. —— Christian to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Warner, removed to the 10th Lt. Dragoons.

52d Reg. Foot, Ens. Wm. Shaw to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Dewes, who retires. Ens. Robert C. Harker, from the Argyll Fencibles, to be Ens. by purchase, vice Shaw.

61st Ditto, Ens. Jas. Charmichael to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Davy, promoted in the 60th Foot.

86th Ditto, Maj. Hen. Torrens, from the Surrey Rangers, to be Maj. vice Baillie, who exchanges.

A Corps of Infantry, Col. John Fraser to be Col. Command.

Brevet.—Capt. John Taylor, of the 25th Foot, to be Maj. in the Army, dated Sept. 2, 1801.

Surrey Rangers.—Brev. Lieut. Col. Hugh Baillie, from the 86th Foot, to be Maj. vice Torrens, who exchanges.

Devonshire Militia (Commissions signed by the Lord Lieutenant.)—To be Deputy Lieutenants —Geo. Barbor, Esq. dated Sept. 9, 1800. Peter Ilbert, Esq. Oct. 11, 1800. Rich. Lang, Esq. Aug. 22, 1801. Edm. Nath. Wm. Fortescue, Esq. and Wm. Strode, Esq. dated as above, Paul Treby Treby, Esq. Oct. 22, 1801. John Parker, Esq. Dec. 19, 1801. Edm. Lane, Esq. Dec. 20. 1801.

North Devon. Reg.—To be Capt.—John Boger, Esq. dated Oct. 2, 1801. To be Capt. Lieut.—Wm. Chave, Esq. Oct. 4, 1801. To be Lieuts.—Tho. Fisher, Esq. Aug. 18, 1800. Wm. White, Esq. Nov. 26, 1800. Nath. Thorn, Esq. Aug. 1, 1801. Step. Shute Rowe, Esq. Oct. 3, 1801. John Spencer Colepepper, Esq. and Val. Hewlett, Esq. Oct. 4, 1801. To be Ensigns.—John Spencer Colepepper, Esq. Aug. 24, 1800. John Val. Hewlett, Esq. Oct. 20, 1800. Weymond Cory, Esq. Jan. 12, 1801. Hen. Hanson, Esq. Jan. 19, 1801. Wm. Chave, Esq. Aug. 25, 1801. John Lavington Roope, Esq. Sept. 29, 1801.

South Devon. Reg.—To be Captains.—Wm. Strode, dated Sept. 5, 1801. Jas. Brown, Esq. (by Brev.) Jan. 8, 1802. To be Lieuts.—Tho. Wollacombe, Esq. Jan. 8, 1801. Rob. Palk, Esq. Nov. 9, 1801. Wm. Hen. Symonds, Esq. Nov. 10, 1801. To be Ensigns.—Rob. Palk, Esq. March 4, 1801. Wm. Hen. Symonds, Esq. March 5, 1801.

East Devon. Reg.—To be Captains.—Edm. Kenn, Esq. dated Sept. 4, 1801. Edm. Lane, Esq. Sept. 5, 1801. To be Capt. Lieutenants—Sir John De la Pole, Bart. May 4, 1801. Edm. Kenn, Esq. July 24, 1801. Geo. S. Fursdon, Esq. Sept. 8, 1801. Wm. Hawe, Esq. Oct. 10, 1801. To be Lieuts. —John Kelly, Esq. July 24, 1801. Chas. Saunderson, Esq. Sept. 7, 1801. Edw. Ellicott, Esq. Sept. 26, 1801. To be Ensigns—Edm. Lane, Esq July, 24, 1801. Tubal Lewis, Esq. Aug. 13, 1801. Wm. Collins, Esq. Sept. 7, 1801.

Cardigan Militia, (Commissions signed by the Lord Lieutenant) —Lieut. Col. John Brooks to be Lieut. Col. Command. vice Lieut. Col. Lewis, resigned, and Adj. and Lieut. Edw. Lawford Cole, late Lieut. in His Majesty's 75th Reg. Foot, to be Capt. by Brevet, dated Jan. 25, 1802.

War-Office, Feb. 16, 1802.

1st Reg. Dragoon Guards, John Carpenter, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Naylor, promoted.

2d Ditto, Capt. Geo. Pownal Adams to be Maj. by purchase, vice Taylor, promoted in the 9th West-India Reg.

12th Reg. Lt. Dragoons, Cornet Fran. Raynes to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Coutts, promoted.

29th Ditto, Bravill Cox Way, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Pedder, promoted.

11th Reg. Foot, Capt. Lieut. Wm. Gordon M'Gregor to be Capt. vice Evans, deceased. Lieut. Colquhoun Grant to be Capt. Lieut. vice M'Gregor, Ens. John Lynch to be Lieut. vice Grant. Ens. Tho. Egan, from the 11th West-India Reg. to be Ens. vice Lynch.

37th Ditto, Lieut. Tho. Moss Clayton to be Capt. by purchase, vice De Carteret, whose appointment does not take place.

44th Ditto, Ens. Jas. Clegg Kennedy, from the 3d Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Graham, promoted.

49th Ditto, Ens. John Doherty to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Gollock, who retires.

57th Ditto, Ens. Hen. Balguy to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Roberts, promoted.

60th. Ditto, Brev. Lieut. Col. Rob. Lethbridge to be Lieut. Col. vice Craufurd, removed to the 86th Foot. Hospital-Mate Edw. Jarvis to be Assist. Surg. vice Bromwich, deceased. Hospital Mate John Freeman to be Assist. Surg. vice King, promoted in the 3d West-India Reg.

68th Ditto, Capt. Lieut. Wm. Cox to be Capt. vice Edwards, deceased. Lieut. John Reid to be Capt. Lieut. vice Cox. To be Lieuts. without purchase—Ens. Chas. Tuton, vice Hewetson, deceased. Ens. J. A. Crowder, vice Bowker, who resigns. Ens. And. Creagh, from the 87th Foot, vice Reed. To be Ensigns.—George Pepyutt, Gent. vice Tuton. Wm. Gillan, Gent. vice Crowder.

78th Ditto, —— Kennedy, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice Turner, whose appointment does not take place.

86th Ditto, Lieut. Col. Rob. Craufurd from the 60th Foot, to be Lieut. Col. vice Bell, who retires.

87th Foot, Wm. L. Darling, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice Creagh, promoted in the 68th Foot.

New South Wales Corps. Ens. —— Laycock to be Lieut. vice Craufurd, deceased. Tho. Derenzy Turner, Gent. to be Ens. vice Laycock. Colonel Fraser's Corps of Infantry. Ens. John Kingsley to be Lieut. vice Laidlow, deceased.

3d West India Reg. Lieut. Sam. Rome, from the

4th West-India Reg. to be Capt. by purchase, vice Fraser, who retires. Serj. J. Hawksworth to be Adj. vice Thornton, who resigns.

4th Ditto, Ens. Anth. Cruice to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Rome, promoted in the 3d West-India Reg.

8th Ditto, Ens. Edw. A. Wastneys to be Lieut. vice Brockey, deceased. Lewis Gordon, Gent. to be Ens. vice Wastneys.

9th Ditto, Maj. Herbert Taylor, from the 2d Dragoon Guards, to be Lieut. Col. by purchase, vice Druault, who retires. John B. Du Mouchet, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice Saunderson, removed to the 3d Foot.

10th Ditto, Capt. Hen. C. Darling, from the 3d Foot, to be Maj. by purchase, vice Percin, who retires. Volunteer Jos. Lanbiere to be Ens. vice Pressus, deceased.

11th Ditto, —— Mackay, Gent. to be Ens. vice Egan, removed to the 11th Foot.

12th Ditto, Capt. Rich. Collins, from the 4th West India Reg. to be Maj. by purchase, vice Laurence, who retires.

Staff.—Burnet Bruce, Esq. Advocate, to be Deputy Judge Advocate, and Clerk of the Courts Martial in North Britain, vice Tytler, appointed to a Seat in the Court of Session.

Hospital Staff.—Garrison Surg. —— M'Dowall of the Island of St. Lucia, to be Garrison Surg. of Antigua, vice Muttlebury, removed to the Home Staff.

1st Batt. Dundee Volunteers.—First Lieut. James Mitchell to be Capt. vice Yeaman, deceased. Second Lieut. James Gray, to be First Lieut. vice Mitchell. Jas. Watt, Gent. to be Second Lieut. vice Gray.

Falmouth or Pendennis Artillery Volunteers.—Second Lieut. John Michell to be First Lieut. vice Corfield, who resigns. Sam. Corfield, Gent. to be second Lieut. vice Michell.

Huddersfield Volunteers.—Capt. Lieut. Jos. Scott to be Capt. of an additional Company. Lieut. Walter Wm. Stables to be Capt. Lieut. vice Scott. John Woolley, Gent. to be First Lieut. vice Stables. Jarvis Chas. Seaton, Gent. to be Second Lieut. Tho. Atkinson, Gent. to be Second Lieut. Joshua Crossland, Gent. to be Ditto.

East Sutherland Volunteers.—Capt. John Sutherland, of the late Sutherland Fencibles, to be Second Lieut. of the Brora Company, vice John Sutherland, who resigns.

Isle of Sky Volunteers.—Don. M'Leod, Gent. to be Adj. vice Macdonald, who resigns. D. Mac Cummin, Gent. to be Quart. Mast. vice Steele, who resigns.

Memorandum.—Ens. John Charlton, of the 15th Reg. Foot, superseded, having deserted.

Erratum in the Gazette of the 26th September last. —37th Reg. Foot—For Ens. And. Tilt to be Lieut. by purchase, vice De Carteret, promoted —Read Ens. And. Tilt to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Clayton promoted.

Royal South Lincoln Militia, (Commissions signed by the Lord Lieutenan.)—Wm. Disney, Gent. to be Lieut. dated May 4, 1801. Geo. Rogers, Gent. to be Ens. April 23, 1801. Peter Foster, Gent. to be Ens. May 4, 1801.

War-Office, February 23, 1802.

5th Reg. Dragoon Guards. John M'Alyward, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Chicester, promoted.

20th Reg. Lt. Dragoons. Lieut. Blake, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Cross, who retires. Cornet John Nixon, to be Lieut. vice Blake.

29th Ditto, Cornet Geo. King, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Montalembert, promoted in the 69th Foot.

3d Reg. Foot Guards. Lieut. Wm. Stothart, from the 27th Lt. Dragoons to be Ens. by purchase, vice Duff, promoted.

1st Batt. 1st Reg. Foot. Capt. Fred. Muller, from the 52d Foot, to be Capt. vice Sir Geo. Ogilvie, who exchanges.

2d Batt. of Ditto, Serjeant-Major —— Robinson, from the Royal Fusileers, to be Adj. vice Graham, promoted in the 18th Foot.

4th Reg. Foot, Lieut. Jos. Hammont, from the 11th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Britton, who exchanges.

11th Ditto, Lieut. John Britton, from the 4th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Hammont, who exchanges.

23d Ditto, Lieut. Wm. Keith, to be Capt. by purchase, vice M'Donald, promoted in the 55th Foot.

35th Ditto, Lieut. Alex. Mackenzie, from the 78th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Campbell, who exchanges.

40th Ditto, Lieut. Tim. Fitzpatrick, from the ancient Irish Fencibles, to be Ens. without purchase, vice Price, promoted. Lieut. Michael Lynch, from the Tarbart Fencibles, to be Ens. without purchase, vice Christian, promoted.

50th Ditto, Capt. Edw. Atkin, from the Ancient Irish Fencibles, to be Ens. without purchase, vice Campbell, promoted in the 8th Foot.

52d Ditto, Capt. Sir Geo. Mulgrave Ogilvy, Bart. from the 1st Bat. Royals, to be Capt. vice Muller, who exchanges. David Miller, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Smith, promoted.

65th Ditto, Murrough O'Bryen, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Fulla, promoted in the 61st Foot.

78th Ditto, Lieut. Colin Campbell, from the 35th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Mackenzie who exchanges.

82d Ditto, Ens. Chas. Huxley, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Woolsey, promoted. Town Adj. of Valetta, Rich. Williams, to be Ens. without purchase, vice Long, promoted in the 17th Foot.

8th West-India Reg. Lieut. Hugh B. M. Ghee, from the 1st Bat. Royals, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Wright, who retires.

Queen's German Reg. J. Introina, Gent to be Ens. without purchase, vice May, promoted.

Memorandum.—The appointment of Robert Anstruther Thompson, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, in the 58th Reg. Foot, vice Harvey, promoted in the 7th Foot, as stated in the Gazette of March 1801, has not taken place. The appointment of Ens. W. Greenhill, to be Lieut. without purchase, in the 82d Reg. Foot, vice Woolsey, promoted, as stated in the Gazette of the 8th inst. has not taken place.

Ordnance-Office, Feb. 23, 1802.

Royal Reg. Artillery.—Capt. Lieut. Franc. Rey to Capt. vice R. King, deceased; dated Feb. 3, 1802. First Lieut. Geo. Massey to be Capt. Lieut. vice Rey; Second Lieut. Jas. Grant to be First Lieut. vice Massey. Brev. Lieut. Col. Abram Du Vernett to be Lieut. Col. vice G. Wilson, invalided; Brev. Maj. Hen. Rogers to be Maj. vice Du Vernett; Capt. Lieut. Chas. Gold to be Capt. vice Rogers; First Lieut. Hen. Hickman to be Capt. Lieut. vice Gold; Second Lieut.

Wm. Power to be first Lieut. vice Hickman; dated Feb. 11; Brev. Lieut. Col. Jas. Butler to be Lieut. Col. vice S. Rimington, invalided; Brev. Maj. Jas. Miller, to be Maj. vice Butler; Capt. Lieut. Jos. Carncross to be Capt. vice Miller; First. Lieut. Philip Meadows to be Capt. Lieut. vice Carncross; Second Lieut. Guy C. Coffin to be First Lieut. vice Meadows; Brev. Maj. Hen. Hutton to be Maj. vice G. F. Lewis, invalided; Capt. Lieut. Alex. Watson to be Capt. vice Hutton; First Lieut. John Matthews to be Capt. Lieut. vice Watson; Second Lieut. Wm. Scott to be First Lieut. vice Matthews; Second Lieut. John Orlebar to be First Lieut. vice J. G. Burslem, invalided; and First Lieut. Step. J. Rawlinson to be a Quart-Mas. vice Gold, promoted; dated as above, Feb. 11, 1802.

War-Office, Feb. 27, 1802.

2d Reg. Dragoon Guards, Lieut. Sir John Leman Rogers, Bart. to be Capt. by purchase, vice Adams, promoted. Cornet John Grosser to be Lieut. vice Sir John Rogers.

7th Reg. Lt. Dragoons, Cornet —— Cavendish to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Kennet, promoted in the 8th West-India Reg.

10th Ditto, Ens. the Hon. Fred. Howard, from the 85th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Lord Jas. Murray, promoted.

4th Reg. Foot, Major Chas. Imhoff to be Lieut-Col. by purchase, vice Kane, who retires. Capt. Norman Macleod to be Major, vice Imhoff. Ens. W. O. Brigstoke, from the 8th West-India Reg. to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Swinton, promoted.

9th Ditto, Lieut. Rob. H. Hanslip to be Capt. by purchase, vice Craufurd, promoted.

17th Ditto, Lieut. the Hon. Rich. King, from the 11th Lt. Dragoons, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Sapte, who retires.

18th Ditto, Lieut. Edw. Walker to be Capt. by purchase, vice Stuart, who retires.

25th Ditto, Lieut. Geo. Tripp to be Capt. by purchase, vice Allen, who retires.

29th Ditto, Capt. Hen. Sullivan, from the 2d West-India Reg. to be Capt. vice Dalmer, who exchanges.

35th Ditto, Ens. Dan. Gardner, from the 43d Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Finnan, who retires.

53d Ditto, Wm. Thos. Pass, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Thompson, promoted.

67th Ditto, Lieut. John Williams Watson to be Capt. by purchase, vice Manwaring, promoted.

70th Ditto, Captain James Williamson to be Major, by purchase, vice Kennan, who retires. Lieut. Benj. Lawrence to be Capt. vice Williamson. Captain Hamer Gaskell, from the Cambrian Rangers, to be Ens. by purchase, vice Cox, promoted.

Royal Irish Invalids, Lieutenant John Adolphus Burton, from the Durham Fencibles, to be Lieut. vice Smyth, deceased.

2d West-India Reg. Capt. Geo. Dalmer, from the 29th Foot, to be Capt. vice Sullivan, who exchanges.

Auchtertool Volunteers, Wm. Lewis, Gent. to be Lieut. vice Balfour, who resigns. James Nicholl, Gent. to be Ens. vice Greig, superceded, having absented himself without leave.

Belville Volunteers, And. Macpherson, Gent. to be Ens. vice Macpherson, deceased.

Royal Clarence Volunteers, 2d Lieut. Wm. Jas. to be 1st Lieut. vice Edward Davies, who resigns; 2d Lieut. Thos. Noot, to be 1st Lieut. to be 2d Lieutenants — Hen. Peach, Gent. vice James Griffith Jenkins, Gent. vice Noot, John Edwards, Gent.

Eastern District Fifeshire Volunteers, Ens. Peter Curie to be Lieut. vice Todd, dismissed; Rob. Wilkie, Gent. to be Ens. vice Currie.

Lanivet Volunteers, Lieut. Nicholas Grose to be Capt. vice Cole, deceased; Ens. Nicholas Cole to be Lieut. vice Grose; Roger Henwood, Gent. to be Ens. vice Cole.

1st Bat. Manchester and Salford Volunteers, Wm. Simmons, Gent. to be Ensign.

Mearnshire Volunteers, Geo. Read, Gent. to be second Lieut. vice Thorne, superseded.

(Commissions signed by the Lord Lieutenant of the County of Kent, dated Jan. 20, 1802.) To be Deputy-Lieutenants: The Earl of Radnor, Charles Lord Whitworth, K. B. Geo. Harris, Esq. Cholmeley Dering, Esq. Philip Martin, Esq. Thos. Lane, Esq. Francis Hubble Douce, Esq. John Lade the younger, Esq. Edward Taylor, of Bifrons, Esq. Edward Hussey the younger, Esq. Baldwin Duppa Duppa, Esq. Francis Markett, Esq. Francis Lucius Austen, Esq. John George Children, Esq.

West Kent Militia, (Commissions signed by the Lord Lieutenant, dated Sept. 29, 1801.)—Hen. Hawley, Esq. to be Second Major.

First (or Argyllshire) Regiment of North British Militia, (Commissions signed by the Lord Lieutenant, dated June 24, 1801.)—Lieut. Alex. Campbell to be Capt. vice David Campbell, promoted.

War-Office, March 9, 1802.

1st Reg. Dragoons,—John Armstrong, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Hawker, promoted.

19th Reg. Lt. Dragoons,—Lieut. Rich. Miller, from the 17th Lt. Dragoons, to be Lieut. vice Vaughan, who retires.

27th Ditto,—Geo. Isaac Call, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Harrison removed to the 4th Dragoon Guards.

Hompesch's mounted Riflemen,—Caleb Blenman, Gent. to be Veterinary Surg. vice Cordeaux, removed to the York Hussars.

Coldstream Reg. Foot Guards,—Battalion Surg. John Gilham to be Surg. vice Knight, appointed Inspector-General of Army Hospitals. Assist. Surg. John Burnall to be Battalion Surg. vice Gilham.

4th Reg. Foot,—Captain-Lieut. Annesley Gore, from the 88th Foot, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Dunne, who exchanges.

21st Ditto,—Second Lieut. Robert Stephens to be First Lieut. by purchase, vice Cunningham, who retires. Second Lieut. Donald Mackay to be First Lieut. by purchase, vice Edwards, who retires.

35th Ditto,—Lieut. —— Dennis, from the 43d Foot, to be Lieut. vice Gardner, who exchanges.

42d Ditto,—Ens. Pat. Innes to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Hillas, who retires.

43d Ditto,—Lieut. Dan. Gardner, from the 35th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Dennis, who exchanges.

47th Ditto,—Rob. Gordon, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Bate, promoted in the 61st Foot.

56th Reg.—Nich. Wrixon, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Rob. Wrixon, who retires.

71st Ditto,—A. King, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Grant, promoted.

72d Ditto,—Ens. Neale M'Neale to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Simon Fraser, who retires.

88th Ditto,—Capt.-Lieut. John Dunne, from the 4th Foot, to be Capt.-Lieut. vice Gore, who exchanges.

Queen's German Reg.—Lieut. Nich. Toler Kingsley, from the 2d Life Guards, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Armstrong, who retires.

Staff,—Lieut.-Col. Kenneth Alexander Howard, of the Coldstream Foot Guards, to be Dep. Inspector-General of Foreign Corps in His Majesty's Service, vice Lieut.-Col. Couper.

Royal Military College,—Lieut. Col. Jas. Butler, of the Royal Artillery, to be Superintendant of the Junior Department.

North Lowland Reg. Fencible Infantry,—Lieut. Rob. Christie, to be Adj. vice Fraser, deceased.

West Kent Militia, (Commissions signed by the Lord Lieutenant,)—Ens. Edw. Chamberlayne to be Lieut. vice Douse, promoted, dated March 3, 1802. Ens. Wm. Gilder to be Lieut. vice Wilmott, resigned, March 4, 1802.

War-Office, March 16, 1802.

2d Reg. Life Guards,—Cornet and Sub-Lieut. Lawrence Neville, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Kingsley, promoted in the Queen's German Regiment, Lieut. Geo. Treacher, from the 15th Foot to be Cornet and Sub-Lieut. vice Neville.

Coldstream Reg. Foot Guards,—Surgeon John T. Simpson, from the Invalids at the Town of London, to be Surg. of the Reg. vice Gilham, who exchanges. John Gordon Mackenzie, Gent. to be Assist. Surg. vice Burnall, promoted.

3d Reg. Foot Guards,—Ens. Rob. Mercer, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Robinson, who retires.

1st Bat. 1st Reg. of Foot,—Ens. S. B. Torrens, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Vance, who retires.

4th Reg. of Foot,—Ens. John Franc. Byrne, from the 69th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Sutton, who retires.

15th Reg. of Foot,—Maj. Duncan Macdonald, to be Lieut.-Col. without purchase, vice Lord Sinclair, who retires. Capt. Thos. Sidney Beckwith, from the Rifle Corps, to be Maj. by purchase, vice Macdonald.

16th Ditto,—Lieut. Rob. Grant, from the 71st Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Nagle, who retires.

34th Ditto,—J. Lambert Heatly, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Brown, promoted.

44th Ditto,—Colin Mackissan, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Edgar, who retires.

59th Ditto,—Thos. Mac Gregor, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Walker, promoted in the 18th Foot.

61st Ditto,—Mathias Abel, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Williams, appointed to the 8th Lt. Dragoons, John Eley, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Macpherson, removed to the 9th Foot.

9th West-India Reg.—Capt. Hen. Edw. Bunbury, from the 16th Lt. Dragoons, to be Maj. by purchase, vice Laureal, who retires.

A Corps of Riflemen,—Lieut. John Stewart, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Belkwith, promoted to the 15th Foot. Ens. Rich. Green, from the 9th Foot, to be second Lieut. by purchase, vice Mitchell, promoted

Major Armstrong's Levy,—Thos. Borrow, Gent. to be Ens.; Edw. Ormancy Wrench, Gent. to Ens.

Invalids,—Surg. John Gilham, from the Coldstream Foot Guards, to be Surg. to the Independent Companies of Invalids at the Tower, vice Thompson, who exchanges.

1st Devonshire Reg. of Volunteer Cavalry,—Rob. Trewman, Gent. to be Cornet vice Sanders, deceased.

Kincaim Volunteer Infantry,—Second Lieut. John Stewart, to be First Lieut. John Stewart, Jun. Gent. to be Second Lieut. vice Stewart.

Plympton, St. Mary, Volunteers,—Geo. Strode, Esq. to be Captain.

Swansea Volunteers,—Capt. Lieut. Rees Jones, to be Captain; and Lieut. John Bowen, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Jones. Ens. Edw. Holbrooke, vice Bowen; Ens. Franc. Braine, vice Perrott, who resigns; and Ens. David Hopkins, to be Lieut.; Wm. Rob. Grove, Gent. vice Holbrooke, Jas. Holbrooke, Gent. vice Braine; and Jos. Jones, Gent. vice Hopkins; to be Ensigns.

War-Office, March 20, 1802.

Royal Reg. Horse Guards,—Cornet Rob. Christo-Packe, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Butcher, who retires, John Hurst, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Packe.

15th Reg. Lt. Dragoons,—Cornet John Every, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Montgomery, promoted in the 60th Regiment.

4th Reg. Foot,—Ens. Franc. J. Needham, from the 15th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Wilson, promoted.

9th Ditto,—Capt. Benj. Dodsworth, from the 11th Foot, to be Capt. vice Byrne, who exchanges.

11th Ditto,—Capt. Thos. Byrne, from the 9th Foot, to be Capt. vice Dodsworth, who exchanges. Ens. Downham Newton, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Clock, promoted in the 4th West-India Reg.

33d Ditto,—Martin Coote Brisco, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase.

52d Ditto,—Ens. Jonathan Haworth Peel, from the 20th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Muller, promoted.

68th Ditto,—Lieut. Jas. Prendergast, from the Rifle Corps, to be Lieut. vice Crompton, who exchanges.

73d Ditto,—Argyle Noble, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase.

3d West-India Reg.—Capt. Chas. Clark, from the 4th West-India Reg. to be Capt. vice Rome, who exchanges.

4th Ditto,—Lieut. Chas. Clark, from the 11th Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Collins, promoted in the 12th West-India Reg. Capt. Sam. Rome, from the 3d West-India Reg. to be Cap. vice Clark, who exchanges.

A Corps of Riflemen,—Lieut. J. Crampton, from the 68th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Prendergarst, who exchanges.

Brevet,—Col. Pierre Fred. Count de Meuson, to be Major General in the Army, Commission dated Jan. 1st, 1798.

Berwickshire Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry,—Lieut. Jos. Marshall, to be Capt. vice Hume, who resigns. Cornet,—Logan, to be Lieut. vice

Marshall. Alex. Thompson, Gent. to be Cornet, vice Logan.

Buckland Monackorum Volunteers,—Lieut. Hen. Woolcombe; Geo. Leech, Jun. Esq. Sam. Steven, Jun. Esq. to be Captains. Geo. Arthur, Gent.; John Topsill, Gent and Thos. Bate, Gent. to be Lieutenants.

Louder Volunteers,—John Thompson, Gent. to be Ens. vice Nicholls, deceased.

Rutland Volunteers.—Lieut. Wm. Draycott, to be Capt. vice Nicks, deceased. Ens. Anthony Jackson, to be Lieut. vice Draycott.

Memorandum,—The appointment of Don. Campbell, Gent. to be Ens. in the 8th West-India Reg. vice Mackay, promoted, as stated in the Gazette of the 17th March, 1801, has not taken place.

Cheshunt Volunteer Association, (Commission signed by His Majesty, dated Feb. 25, 1802.) —Sir Geo. Prescott, Bart. to be Capt. vice Newdick, resigned.

War-Office, March 24, 1802.

His Majesty has been pleased to appoint General, His Royal Highness Edward Duke of Kent, K. G. to be Governor of Gibraltar, vice General O'Hara, deceased.

War-Office, March 27, 1802.

3d Reg. Dragoon Guards,—Ens. Thynne Howe Gwynne, from the 76th Foot, to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Turner promoted.

1st Bat. 1st Reg. Foot,—Maj. Archibald Stewart, to be Lieut. Col. by purchase, vice Cowell, who retires. Capt. John Proby, from the 81st Foot, to be Maj. vice Stewart.

4th Reg. Foot,—Lieut. Jas. Ogylvie, from the Royal Fusileers, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Macleod, promoted. Ens. Hen. Hardinge, from the Queen's Rangers, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice O'Connell, who retires.

9th Ditto,—Lieut. Wm. Cross, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Hanslip, whose appointment does not take place.

22d Ditto,—Lieut. Hen. Thos. Horlestone, to be Cap. by purchase, vice Campbell, who retires.

35th Ditto,—Capt. Lieut. Lewis Watson, from the 7th Lt. Dragoons, to by Capt. by purchase, vice O'Byrne, who retires.

40th Ditto,—Maj. Gen. Hay M'Dowall, from the 78th Foot, to be Col. Command of a Battallion, vice Lord Hutchinson, appointed to the command of the 74th Foot.

49th Ditto,—P. B. P. Horton, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Morgan, who retires.

73d Ditto,—Ens. Argyle Noble, to be Lieut. without purchase.

74th Ditto,—Maj. Gen. John Kely Lord Hutchinson, K. B. from the 2d Bat. 40th Foot, to be Col. vice Gen. Chas. O'Hara, deceased.

77th Ditto,—Ens. Hen. Hornton Coote Briseo, from the 33d Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Macintosh, promoted.

81st Ditto,—Lieut. Wm. Dodsworth, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Proby, promoted in the 1st Bat. of Royals.

85th Ditto,—Maj. Mat. Lord Aylmere, to be Lieut. Col. by purchase, vice Douglass, who retires. Ens. John Graydon, to be Lieut. by purchase.

10th West-India Reg.—Capt. M. O. Shiell, to be Capt. with permanent rank in the Army.

A Corps of Riflemen,—Second Lieut. Thos. Brereton, to be First Lieut. by purchase, vice Stewart promoted.

Hospital Staff,—Wm. Moore, M. D. Inspector of Hospitals, to be principal Medical Officer of the Hospitals in the Isle of Weight, vice Jackson, who resigns.

Memorandum,—The appointment of Lieutenant Edw. Brown Moysten, from the Half-pay of the late 3d Reg. of the Irish Brigade, to be Lieut. in the 20th Reg. of Foot, as stated in the Gazette of the 12th Nov. 1799, has not taken place.

First Royal Reg. of Tower Hamlets Militia, (Commissions signed by the Deputy Lieutenants, dated March 18, 1802,) Ens. Thos. Hovell, to be Lieut vice Geary, resigned.

War-Office, April 10, 1802.

2d Reg. Life Guards, Capt. Nic. Toler Kingsley, from the Queen's German Reg. to be Capt. of a Troop, vice Sir Sam. Hannay, who exchanges. Lieut. Wm. Blair to be Capt. of a Troop, without purchase, vice Kingsley, who retires. Cornet and Sub-Lieut. Hen. Adolphus Proctor, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Blair.

Queen's German Reg. Capt. Sir Sam. Hannay, Bart. from the 2d Life Guards, to be Capt. vice Kingsley, who exchanges.

Essex Militia, (Commissions signed by the Lord Lieut.) Fred. Nassau, Esq. to be Dep. Lieut. dated Jan. 1, 1802. Ens. William Tyler of the East Essex Reg. to be Lieut. in the same, vice Fox, resigned, Jan. 28, 1802. Rob. Gilbert Livingston Macdonald, to be Ens. to a vacant Company in the West-India Reg. March 18, 1802.

War-Office, April 13, 1802.

Royal Reg. Horse Guards, Capt. Warden Sergison, to be Maj. by purchase, vice Ware, who retires. Capt. Lieut Thos. Athorpe, to be Capt. vice Sergison. Lieut. Chas. Slingsby to be Capt. Lieut. vice Athorpe. Cornet H. B. Thornhill, to be Lieut. vice Slingsby.

14th Reg. Lt. Dragoons, Cornet J. W. Head Brydges, from the 17th Lt. Dragoons, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Nugent, who retires.

16th Ditto, Lieut. John Thraston, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Bunbury, promoted in the 9th West-India Reg. Cornet Chas. Cole, to be Lieut. vice Thraston.

1st Bat. 1st Reg. Foot, Ens. John Rea, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice M'Ghie, promoted in the 8th West-India Reg.

3d Reg. Foot, Lieut. Wm. Hebson, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Darling, promoted in the 10th West-India Reg. Ens. Edw. Saunderson, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Hebson.

4th Ditto, Ens. Ar. Newport, from the 10th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Warburton, promoted in the 60th Foot.

11th Reg. Foot, Capt. Jas. Forster, from the 57th Foot, to be Maj. by purchase, vice Gibbs, promoted in the 10th West-India. Wm. Jas. Martindale, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Newton, promoted. John Franc. Byrne, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice Egan, promoted in the 68th Foot.

26th Ditto, Wm. Browne, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Eyre, promoted.

57th Ditto, Ens. Edw. Collins, from the 11th West-India Reg. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Balguy, promoted.

60th Ditto, Maj. John Campbell to be Lieut.

Col. by purchase, vice De Vos, who retires. Capt. Geo. Mackie, from the 7th West-India Reg. to be Maj. vice Campbell.

61st Ditto, Geo. Thos. Palmer, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Marshall, who retires.

64th Ditto, Ens. Const. Nugent to be Lieut. vice Tomlinson, deceased.

68th Ditto, Ens. Thos Egan, from the 11th Foot, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Bayley, who resigns. Hen. Perse Blakeney, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice Farrell, promoted.

78th Ditto, Maj. Alex. Adams to be Lieut. Col. without purchase, vice Maj. Gen. M'Dowall, appointed to the Command of a Bat. of the 40th Foot. Capt. Duncan Munro to be Maj. vice Adams.

81st Ditto, Lieut. Hamilton Ross, from the Scotch Brigade, to be Lieut. vice Hewet, who exchanges.

87th Ditto, Assist. Surg. Jas. Sharpe, from the 68th Foot, to be Assist. Surg. vice Ireland, removed to the 14th Lt. Dragoons.

Scotch Brigade, Maj. Jas. Campbell, from the Argyllshire Fencibles, to be Maj. vice Jackson, who exchanges. Lieut. Simon Goodman Hewett, from the 81st Foot, to be Lieut. vice Ross, who exchanges.

1st West-India Reg. John Laforey Morson, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice Winter, who resigns. Edw. Ellis Iles, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice Handford, who resigns.

3d Ditto, Ens. Jas. Thornton to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Fraser, promoted.

4th Ditto, Geo. Colclough, Gent. to be Ens. vice Higgins, deceased. Serj. Major———Forrest, from the 1st Bat. Royals, to be Adj. vice Rome, promoted in the 3d West-India Reg.

7th Ditto, Lieut. Edw. Waldron to be Capt. by purchase, vice Hewetson, who retires. Ens. John M'Dermott to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Sullivan, promoted in the 2d West-India Reg. Ens. Sam. Watts to be Lieut. vice Waldron. Wm. Middleton, Gent. to be Ens. vice M'Dermott.

8th Ditto, John Dundas, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice Herdman, who declines. John M'Lellan, Gent. to be Quart-Mast. vice Reynolds, deceased.

10th West-India Reg. Maj. Sam. Gibbs, from the 11th Foot, to be Lieut. Col. by purchase, vice Gaudin de Sotir, who retires. Ens. M. A. Luppé to be Lieut. vice du Vergé, deceased. Volunteer Franc. Lassichere, to be Ens. without purchase, vice Luppé.

Staff, John De Lancey, Esq. late Cap. in the 60th Foot, to be Paymaster of Invalids at Guernsey, vice Cullen, who is superseded, being absent without leave. To be Barrack-Masters—Wm. Bowater, Esq. (on half-pay as Capt. of Marines) vice De Lancey, appointed paymaster of Invalids. Ralph Gledstanes, Esq. (late Barrack-Master at Newfoundland) vice Brooke.

Hospital Staff, Apothecary John Lindsey to be Garrison-Surgeon in the Island of St. Lucia, vice M'Dowall, removed to Antigua.

1st Argyllshire Reg. Fencible Inf. Brevet Lieut. Col. Geo. Jackson, from the Scotch Brigade, to be Major, vice Campbell, who exchanges.

Ordnance-Office, April 13, 1802.

Royal Reg. Artillery, Gent. Cadet William A. Dingley, to be second Lieut. vice J. Taylor, promoted; Gent. Cadet John Parker to be second Lieutenant, vice E. W. Cowley promoted; Gent. Cadet Charles Maitland, to be second Lieut. vice J. Winder, promoted; Gent. Cadet Dan. J. Skelton to be second Lieut. vice A. Marcartney, promoted; Gent. Cadet Henry C. Russel, to be second Lieut. vice M. Traharne, promoted; Gent. Cadet Thomas Read to be second Lieut. vice J. Adye, promoted; Gent. Cadet Rob. B. Delafons, to be second Lieut. vice H. Meggs, promoted: Gent. Cadet James Mackonochie, to be second Lieutenant, vice H. Light, promoted; and Gent. Cadet Charles P. Deacon, to be second Lieut. vice R. Drury, deceased; dated April 1, 1802. Capt. Lieut. Rob. Lawson, to be Capt. vice A. Robertson, deceased; First Lieut. Robert Macdonald, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Lawson; and second Lieut. Edw. M. Pakenham, to be first Lieut. vice Macdonald, dated April 6, 1802.

Loyal Edenside Rangers, Capt. Hen. Howard to be Lieut.-Col. Rt. Hon. Thos. Wallace to be Maj. Lieut. Robt. Warwick to be Capt. of a Troop. Lieut. John Losh to be Captain of a Company. Hen. Pottinger, Gent. to be Lieut. of Cavalry. Thos. Benson, Gent. vice Warwick; Wm. Hen. Milbourne, Gent. vice Losh; John Lowrey, Gent. To be first Lieutenants. Rich. Lowrey, Gent. to be Cornet; Warren Maude Lamb, Gent; Rich. Graham, Gent; Warren Maud Stamp, Gent. to be 2d Lientenants; Geo. Moss, Gent. to be Adj.

Royal Manchester and Salford Volunteers, Capt. Lieut. Geo. Webster to be Capt. vice Edge, deceased. Lieut. Jas. Ollivant to be Capt-Lieut. vice Webster. Wm. Leech, Gent. to be Lieut. vice Ollivant. Robinson Foxley, Gent. to be Surgeon, vice Hall deceased.

Loyal Pembrokeshire Legion, Hen. Rees, Gent. to be second Lieut. vice Edwards, who resigns.

Loyal Ringwood Volunteers, Lieut. Wm. Baldwin to be Capt. vice Veal, deceased; Ens. John Ridout to be Lieut. vice Baldwin.

South Shields Volunteers, Ralph Robson, Gent. to be Ens. vice John Robson, who resigns.

Ordnance-Office, April 26, 1802.

Royal Reg. Artillery, Brevet Lieut-Col. James Boag to be Lieut-Col. vice Butler, retired to the Invalids; Brevet Maj. John Harding to be Maj. vice Boag; Capt-Lieut. Hen. Geary to be Capt. vice Harding; First Lieut. Geo. Gayton to be Capt-Lieutenant, vice Geary; Second Lieut. Ernest C. Wilford to be first Lieut. vice Gayton; and second Lieut. Thos. Greatly to be first Lieut. vice L. Gillespie, retired, dated April 12; second Lieut. Walter Ashe to be first Lieut. vice C. Douglas, resigned, dated April 17, 1802.

War-Office, April 27, 1802.

8th Reg. Lt. Dragoons, Ens. John M'Mahon, from the 67th Foot, to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Colman, promoted in the 50th Foot.

9th Ditto, Cornet Thomas Cosby to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Pencfather, who retires.

11th Ditto, Wm. Fred. Schreiber, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Jenkins, promoted.

17th Ditto, Cornet Robert Younghusband to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Weir, promoted in the 8th West-India Reg.

21st Ditto, James Chalder, Esq. to be Paymaster, vice Sharpe, who resigns.

23d Reg. Lt. Dragoons, Cornet Rob. Salmon to be Adj. vice Graham, who resigns.

28th Ditto, Lieut. Peter Honyman, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Graham, who retires.

4th Reg. of Foot, Brevet Lieut-Colonel Sir Wm. Cockburn, Bt. from the 73d Foot, to be Maj. vice Keith, who exchanges. Ja. King, Gent to be Ens by purchase, vice M'Intosh, promoted.

15th Ditto, Ens. Peter Cha. Westlake, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Cromley, who retires. Lieut. R. J. Wingfield, from Col. Fraser's Corps, to be Lieut. vice Gilbee, who exchanges.

16th Ditto, Capt Ja. Nich. Maillard, from the 56th Foot, to be Capt. vice Grant, who exchanges.

17th Ditto, Ens. the Hon. Franc. W. Arbuthnot, from the 91st Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Money, promoted.

23d Ditto, Second Lieut. Edw. Beeves, to be First Lieut. vice Keith, promoted. Wm. Geo. Stainforth, Gent. to be Second Lieut. by purchase, vice Dalmer, promoted.

24th Ditto, Volunteer John Clarke, to be Ens. vice Ball, deceased.

33d Ditto, Capt. Corn. Cuyler, from the Rifle Corps, to be Capt. vice Norcott, who exchanges.

34th Ditto, Capt.-Lieut. Sam. Barwell Adams, to be Capt. vice Bromhead, deceased. Lieut. Wm. Dawson to be Capt.-Lieut. vice Adams. Ens. Rich. Sandys to be Lieut, by purchase, vice Hornby, who retires.

40th Ditto, Lieut. Mat. L. Bell, from the 14th Light Dragoons, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Sutton, who retires.

47th Ditto, Edw. Ellwood, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Randle, promoted.

49th Ditto, Arth. Rowley Heyland, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Fitzgerald, promoted.

56th Ditto, Capt. Rob. Grant, from the 16th Foot, to be Capt. vice Maillard, who exchanges.

65th Ditto, Geo. Tattersall, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Clutterbuck, promoted.

68th Ditto, Maj. Robert Smyth, from the 52d Foot, to be Lieut. Col. by purchase, vice Manooch, who retires

70th Ditto, Quart.-Mast.-Serj. Cha. Martin to be Adj. vice Lawrence, promoted.

71st Ditto, Ens. Coulson Skottowe to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Grant, promoted in the 16th Foot. Ja. Nangle, Gent. to be Ens. vice Skottowe.

73d Ditto, Brev. Lieut.-Col. Alex. Keith, from the 4th Foot, to be Maj. vice Sir W. Cockburne, who exchanges.

81st Ditto, Ens. Rob. Moody to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Sullivan, promoted. John M'Cabe, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Waterhouse, promoted.

85th Ditto, Capt. Lionel Smith to be Maj. by purchase, vice Lord Aylmer, promoted.

3d West-India Reg. Lieut. Cha. Macleod, from the 62d Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Walker, who retires.

A Corps of Riflemen, Capt. Amos Godsill Norcott, from the 33d foot, to be Capt. vice Cuyler, who exchanges.

Staff Corps, Lieut. John Pine Coffin, from the 4th Dragoons, to be Capt. vice Duthie, deceased.

Col. Fraser's corps, Lieut. Joseph C. Gilbee, from the 15th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Wingfield, who exchanges.

Royal Irish Invalids, John Nestor, Esq. to be paymaster, vice Abercrombie, deceased.

Garrisons.—Rev. John Wetherall, Chaplain to the Garrison of Halifax, to be Chaplain to the garrison of Gibraltar, vice Chalmers, who resigns. Rev. Josiah John Pike to be Chaplain to the Garrison of Halifax, in Nova Scotia, vice Wetherall.

Barracks.—Cha. Andrews, Esq. late Capt. in the 24th Foot, to be Barrack-Mast. at Newfoundland, vice Gledstanes, appointed Barrack-Mast. in Great Britain. James Stuart, Esq. late Lieut. in the 42d Foot, to be a Barrack-Mast. in Great Britain, vice Scott, deceased.

Memorandum.—The undermentioned officers are superseded, *viz.* 2d Foot, Paymaster Walter Largent, being absent without leave. 17th Foot, Lieut. Wm. W. Scott. 7th West-India Reg. Lieut. Wm. Holland, having never joined since appointed.

Ordnance-Office, April 27, 1802.

Corps of Royal Engineers.—Capt.-Lieut. Geo. Hayter to be Capt. vice Lewis, deceased; First Lieut. Gust. Nicolls to be Capt.-Lieut. vice Hayter; and Second Lieut. Tho. Cunningham to be First. Lieut. vice Nicolls; dated March 30, 1802.

Admiralty-Office, April 29, 1802.

Ja. Pigot, Esq. and Rt. Hon. Lord Radstock, vice Adm. of the Red, to be Adm. of the Blue.

Alex. Græme, Esq. and Geo. Keppel, Esq. Vice Adm. of the White, to be Vice Adm. of the Red.

Cha. Chamberlayne, Esq. and Peter Ranier, Esq. Vice Adm. of Blue, to be Vice Adm. of the White.

Sir Geo. Home, Bt. and Sir Cha. Cotton, Bt. Rear Adm. of the Red, to be Vice Adm. of the Blue.

John Willett Payne, Esq. and Sir Robert Calder, Bt. Rear Adm. of the White, to be Rear Adm. of the Red.

War-Office, May 11, 1802.

His Majesty has been pleased to appoint,

Lieutenant Generals John Leland, Ja. Hamilton, John Stratton, Ja. Rooke, Cha. Crosbie, John Earl of Suffolk, Hon. Chapple Norton, Geo. Hotham, Dav. Dundas, Sir Rob. Abercromby, K. B. Gerard Lake, Sir Tho. Musgrave, Bt. Ja. Coates, Ralph Dundas, Rich. Whyte, Sir Alured Clarke, K. B. to be Generals in the Army.

Major Generals Anth. Farrington, Ja. Stuart, Cha. Horneck, John Whyte, And. John Drummond, Hen. Bowyer, John Wm. Egerton, Peter Hunter, Jos. Walton, Ellis Walker, Wm. Johnstone, Wm. Maxwell, Geo. Earl of Pembroke, John Earl of Chatham, Alex. Campbell, Wm. Morshead, Franc. Dundas, Alex. Ross, Ab. D'Aubant, Hon. Franc. Needham, Hen. Pigot, to be Lieutenant Generals in the Army.

Colonels Fran. Lord Seaforth, Bryd Trewthick Heniker, of the 9th Dragoons, Dav. Douglass Wemyss, 18th Foot, Hon. John Leslie, 1st Foot Guards, Hen. Wynyard, 1st Foot Guards, Wm. Thornton, 1st Foot Guards, John Stuart, Queen's German Reg. Duncan Campbell, 91st Foot, Tho. Grosvenor, 3d Foot Guards, John Calcraft, Coldstream Guard, Hon. John Hope, North Lowland Fencible Infantry, Hon. Vere Poulet, on Half-pay, Cha. Barton, 2d Life Guards, Geo.

Cunninghame, late of the Scotch Brigade, Fred. Halket, late of Ditto, Hay Ferrier, Scotch Brigade, Alex. Mackenzie, 78th Foot, Wm. Congreve, Royal Artillery, Hon. Ja. Forbes, Coldstream Gds. Hen. Lord Paget, 7th Lt. Dragoons, John Doyle, 81th Foot, Rob. Brownrigg, 60th Foot, Wm. Caulfield Archer, 1st Foot Guards, Wm. Earl of Banbury, 3d Foot Guards, Hon. Arth. Wellesley, 33d Foot, Hon. Edm. Phipps, 1st Foot Guards, Wm. Cartwright, 10th Light Dragoons, to be Major-Generals in the Army.

Lieutenant-Colonels, Franc. Tho. Hammond, of the late 120th Foot, Crofton Vandeleur, 46th Foot, John Hamilton, 81st Foot, R. Dudley Blake, Northumberland Fencible Infantry, John Barnes, Royal Artillery, Rob. Douglas, Royal Artillery, Tho. Brownrigg, 3d Foot, Hon. Rob. Meade, 31st Foot, Alex. Malcolm, late 2d Battalion, 78th Foot, Wm. Houstoun, 58th Foot, Hon. Geo. St. John, 73d Foot, John Prince, 6th Dragoons, G. Michell, on Half-pay of the 31st Lt. Dragoons, Dan. Hen. Shaw, 7th West-India Reg. Tho. Hislop, 11th West-India Reg. John M'Leod, Royal Artillery, Geo. Le Hunte, on Half-pay of the late Independants, Pierre de Meuron Bullot, of Meuron's Reg. Cha. M'Murdo, 31st Foot, Walter Cliffe, 7th Foot, Wm. Wynyard, Coldstream Guards, John Walbanke Childers, 11th Lt. Dragoons, Alex. Wood, late 120th Foot, Alex. Dirom, 52d Foot, Anth. Lewis Layard, 7th Foot, Tho. Earl of Elgin, David Hunter, Angusshire Fencible Infantry, John, Earl of Breadalbane, John Slade, 1st Dragoons, R. Tayler, late 2d Bat. 82d Foot, Fred. A. F. Beckwith, 37th Foot, Wm. Spencer, 23d Lt. Dragoons, Sir R. Basset, Knt. 5th West-India Reg. Sam. Graham, 27th Foot, Ja. Montgomery, 45th Foot, Fred. Aug. Wetherall, 82d Foot, Wm. Wright, Artillery, in Ireland, John Dan. Arabin, Ditto, Wm. Buchannan, Ditto, Wm. Murray, 24th Lt. Dragoons, Hon. Wm. Lumley, 22d Lt. Dragoons, Rob. Brereton, 63d Foot, Tho. Gibson, 83d Foot, J. Timms Hervey Elwes, late 2d Bat. 84th Foot, Moore Disney, 1st Foot Guards, John Montresor, 80th Foot, John Mackenzie, late 2d Bat. 78th Foot, Wm. Carylon Hughes, 87th Foot, Edw. Corry, on Half-pay of the late 101st Foot, S. P. de L'Hoste, on Half-pay of the late 104th Foot, Alex. Graham Stirling, on Half-pay of the late 122d Foot, Hon. Arch. Montgomery, on Half-pay of the late Royal Glasgow Reg. H. Mordaunt Clavering, Argyllshire Fencible Infantry, Wm. Thomas, 41st Foot, John Michel, 14th Lt. Dragoons, Step. Trotter, late 112th Foot, to be Colonels in the Army.

Majors Wm. Osb. Hamilton, of the ancient Irish Fencible Infantry, Ja. Wheeler Unwin, 60th Foot, Thomas Norton Powlett, on Half-pay of the late 95th Foot, Ja. Willock, on Half-pay of the late 95th Foot, Franc. Slater Rebow, 2d Life Guards, Robert Pigot, on Half-pay of the late 130th Foot, Sir Edw. Gerald Butler, Knt. 87th Foot, Gust. R. Mathews, on Half-pay of the late Independants, Sam. Need, 27th Lt. Dragoons. Edward Webber, late 2d Bat. 90th Foot, Mich. Edw. Jacobs, 76th Foot, Tho. Visc. Ranelagh, 66th Foot, Tho. L'Estrange, 7th Foot, Sir T. Pechell, Bt. late 2d Horse Grenadier Guards, Wm. Latham, 7th Dragoon Guards, John Castleman, 51st Foot, Charles Gray, 75th Foot, Laughlan M'Quarrie, 86th Foot, Dav. Dewar, on Half-pay of the late Independants, Jos. Foveaux, New South Wales Corps, Mich. M'Creagh, 11th West-India Reg. Rich. O'Dogherty, 69th Foot, Geo. Kinnaird Dana, 13th Foot, Cha. Cerjat, 1st Dragoons, Walter Elliott, 33d Foot, Wm. Clarke, 46th Foot, Wm. Jephson, 17th Lt. Dragoons, Wm. Sinclair Wemyss, 48th Foot, John Grant, on Half-pay of the late Independants, John Smith, 31st Foot, Ja. Moore, 26th Lt. Dragoons, Edw. Baynes, 76th Foot, Geo. Dodsworth, 34th Foot, Cha. Miller, 1st. West-India Reg. Nath. Levett Peacocke, 48th Foot, Ja. Stirling, 42d Foot, Tho. Steele, of a late Recruiting Corps, Edw. Witherington, 9th Dragoons, Pat. Maxwell, 7th Dragoon Guards, Ja. Leatham, 4th Dragoon Guards, Rob. Young, 8th Foot, Cha. Browne, on Half-pay of the late 96th Foot, Edw. Stehelin, Royal Artil. John Aug. Schalch, Royal Artil. Burgh. Leighton, 4th Dragoons, H. M. Mervin Vavasour, late 1st Horse Gren. Guards, Dav. Ross, 62d Foot, Hen. Rogers, Royal Artil. Edw. Vicars, 2d Dragoon Guards, Ja. Miller, Royal Artillery, Harry Hutton, Royal Artil. John Harding, Royal Artillery, William Johnstone, Royal Engineers, Flower M. Sproule, Royal Artillery, Edmund Lemoine, Royal Artil. Wm. Dacres, 26th Foot, David Mellifont, 10th Foot, Tho. Inglis, on Half-pay of the late 126th Foot, Hen. Wm. Espinasse, 4th Foot, Hen. Raleigh Knight, 2d Foot, Rob. Douglas, 56th Foot, Peter Hayes Petit, 35th Foot, Tho. Powell, 14th Foot, Ja. Blackwell, 29th Lt. Dragoons, Sam. Venables Hinde, 32d Foot, Tho. Norton Wyndham, 1st Dragoons, Berkenhead Glegg, 91st Foot, John Tuffnell, late York Rangers, Ja Stuart, on Half-pay of the late Independants, John Lindall Borland, 38th Foot, Hon. Ja. Ramsay, 2d Foot, F. Stretcher, 60th Foot, L. Mosheim, 60th Foot, to be Lieutenant-Colonels in the Army.

Captains John Miller, of the Royal Marines, John Humphrey, Royal Eng. John F. S. Smith, Royal Artil. Benj. Stehelin, Royal Artil. Sandiford Lamb, 15th Lt. Dragoons, Bohun Shore, 4th Dragoons, Ja. Rich. Cotes, 69th Foot, Alex. Sharpe, 49th Foot, M. C. Cole, Royal Marines, Hugh Trevor. 77th Foot, Rich. H. Foley, Royal Marines, Geo. Ball, Ditto, William Patten, Ditto, Wm. Johnson, 47th foot, John Creswell, Royal Marines, Wm. Binks, Ditto, Arth. Ball, Ditto, Rich. Bidlake, Ditto, Ja. Home, Ditto, Ja. Campbell, Ditto, Rob. Moncrief, Ditto, Wm. Douglas, 6th Foot, Oliver Naylor, Royal Marines, Thomas Colby, Ditto, Ja. Cassell, Ditto, Ja. Muter, 42d Foot, Cha. Tomkins, 7th Dragoon Guards, Phil. Vaumorel, 30th Foot, Ja. Douglas, Scotch Brigade, Cavendish Sturt, 39th Foot, Ralph Hamilton, 2d Life Guards, John Nugent, 38th Foot, Hen. Shrapnell, Ditto, Rich. Hockings, Royal Eng. Rob. D'Arcy, Ditto, Franc. Dunne, 7th Dragoon Guards, Gilbert King, Ditto, Cholmeley Overend, 50th Foot, Ja. Magrath, 87th Foot, Rob. Hope, Royal Artil. Geo. Wulffe, Ditto, Geo. W. Dixon, Ditto, Geo. Bridges, Royal Eng. Mark Watts, 67th Foot, Maurice Cane, 83d Foot, Brice Maxwell, 8th Foot, Geo. Cuyler, 86th Foot, Sam. Blake Deverell, 3d West-India Reg. Wiltshire Wilson, Royal Artil. Dan. Graham, Ditto, Rich. Hamilton, Ditto, Edw. Trevelyan, 1st Foot Guards, Tho. Marlay, Ditto, Tho. Croker, 38th Foot, Montague Burrowes, 14th Foot, John Lawrenson, 18th Lt. Dragoons, John Macin-

rosh, Royal Marines, Wm. Macleod, 76th Foot, John Hope, 18th Foot, Lawrence H. Newton, Royal Artil. Cha. Darnah, 21st Foot, Wm. Hooper, 4th Dragoons, Alex. Franc. Taylor, 21st Foot, Ralph Smith, 30th Foot, John Beevor, 9th Dragoons, Tho. Huxley, 2d West-India Reg. Rich. Pigot, 14th Lt. Dragoons, Joseph Thomson, 40th Foot, to be Majors in the Army.

War-Office, May 11, 1802.

11th Reg. Lt. Dragoons, Cornet Wm. John Sampson, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Mellish, who retires. Cornet Wm. Mingay, from the 7th Dragoon Guards, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice King, promoted in the 17th Foot.

1st Reg. Foot Guards, Ens. Cha. D. Bland, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Virgan, who retires.

2d Reg. Foot, Serj. Major ——— Jones to be Quart. Mast. vice Eagor, deceased.

4th Ditto, Dav. Plunderleath, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Green, promoted.

9th Reg. Foot, Cap. Alan Maclean, from the 36th Foot, to be Capt. vice Cross, who exchanges. Capt.-Lieut. Rob. Machloclan, from the 65th Foot, to be Capt. vice Cross, who exchanges. Lieut. E. H. Lambert, from the 81st foot, to be Lieut. vice Boulger, who exchanges.

15th Ditto, Capt. W. J. Myers, from the Coldstream Reg. of Foot Guards, to be Major by purchase, vice Beckwith, removed to the Rifle Corps.

23d Ditto, Hospital-Mate Geo. Power, to be Assist-Surg.

32d Ditto, John Powell, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Dunscombe, who retires.

36th Ditto, Capt. Wm. Cross, from the 9th Foot, to be Capt. vice Maclean, who exchanges.

60th Ditto, Capt. John Pringle Dalrymple, to be Maj. by purchase, vice Lethbridge, promoted. Capt. Wm. Forster, from the 59th Foot, to be Maj. by purchase, vice Gordon, promoted. Lieut. Guy G. Carlton L'Estrange, from the 6th Foot, to be Capt. vice Dalrymple.

65th Ditto, Capt. Wm. Ferrier, from the 9th Foot, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Machlachlon, who exchanges.

81st Ditto, Lieut. Perse O'Keefe Boulger, from the 9th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Lambert, who exchanges.

86th Ditto, Capt. John Long Wier, from the 8th West-India Reg. to be Capt. vice Dillon, who exchanges.

8th West-India Regt. Capt. Charles Dillon, from the 86th Foot, to be Capt. vice Wier, who exchanges.

Staff Corps, Lieut. Col. John Browne, of the late Corps of Royal Irish Engineers, to be Lieut. Col. Commandant, vice Rutherford, who resigns.

Staff, Col. the Hon. Alex. Hope, Adj.-Gen. in Ireland, to be Dep. Quar. Mast. Gen. to the Forces, vice Anstruther. Lieut. Col. Rob. Anstruther to be Adj.-Gen. to the Forces in Ireland, vice Hope.

Commissions in the 7th Reg. North British Militia, signed by the Lord Lieutenant, John Allen, Gent. to be Ens. vice Sir John Murray, resigned. Dated Aug. 25, 1801.

War-Office, May 15, 1802.

4th Reg. Dragoon Guards, Capt. Christ. Farwell, to be Major, by purchase, vice Warrington, who retires.

2d Reg. Dragoons, Lieut. Martin Tho. Cocksedge, from the Royals, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Hamilton, promoted in Homspech's Mounted Riflemen.

A Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, Maj. Sir Rob. Wilson, to be Lieut. Col. by purchase, vice Comte Byland, who retires. Capt. John Potter Hamilton, from the 2d Dragoons, to be Maj. vice Sir Rob. Wilson.

4th Reg. Foot, Capt. Lieut. Ja. Powell, from the 8th Foot, to be Capt. vice Ogilvie, who exchanges.

8th Ditto, Capt. Ja. Ogilvie, from the 4th Foot, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Powell, who exchanges.

9th Ditto, Lieut. Rob. H. Hanslip, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Dodsworth, who retires.

24th Ditto, Ens. Rob. Oldham, to be Lieut, by purchase, vice Wemyss.

31st Ditto, Tho. T. Blisset, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Trotter, promoted.

39th Ditto, John Thellusson, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Twaddell, promoted.

40th Ditto, Ens. Cha. Richardson, from the 69th Foot, to be Ens. by purchase, vice Le Breton, promoted.

42d Ditto, Dav. Ogilvy, Gent. to be Ens. vice Walker, promoted.

57th Ditto, Lieut Tho. Shadforth, from the 47th Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Kennan, promoted in the 70th Foot.

60th Ditto, Lieut. Edw. Broughton, from the 23d foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Maclean, who retires.

67th Ditto, Maj. Alex. M'Gregor Murray, from the Clanalpine Fencibles, to be Maj. vice O'Hara, who retires upon Half-pay of the Clanalpine Fencibles.

78th Ditto, Tho. Robinson, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice M'Dougal, promoted.

81st Ditto, Ens. John M'Cabe to be Lieut, by purchase, vice Dodsworth, promoted.

Queen's German Regt, Maj. Ja. Lyon, to be Lieut. Col. by purchase, vice Trant, who retires.

Royal Irish Invalids, Serj. Maj. Dennis Colman, from the North Mayo Militia, to be Lieut. vice Abercrombie deceased.

Brevet, Maj. Gen. Cha. Dan. Count de Meuron to be Lieut. Gen. in the Army. Col. Ferd. Baron Hompesch, to be Maj. Gen. in the Army.

To be Lieut. Cols. in the Army, Major Sir Ja. Bontein, Bart. on Half-pay of the late Kelso Reg. Major Wm. Bray, of the 4th West-India Reg. Major Cha. Auriol, of the 14th Lt. Dragoons.

To be Major in the Army, Capt. John Ross of the Coldstream Guards.

Staff, Lieut. Col. Franc. Wm. Farquhar, of the 17th Foot, to be Dep. Inspect. Gen. of the Recruiting Service. Lieut. Col. Ja. Taylor, of the 12th Foot, to be Dep. Inspect. Gen. of the Recruiting Service in Ireland.

Memorandum.—The Appointment of Ens. Alex. Young, from the 30th Foot, to be Lieut. without purchase, in the 2d Bat. 1st Foot, vice Graham, promoted in the 18th Foot, as stated in the Gazette of the 7th Nov. last, has not taken place. Cornet Norton Hutchinson, of the 28th Lt. Dragoons, is superseded.

Errata in the Gazette of the 7th November last:—30th Foot, for Hugh Hutton, from the Marines, to be Ens. without purchase, *vice Young, promoted in the 2d Bat. Royals*, read, Hugh Hutton, from the Marines, to be Ens. without purchase.

In the Gazette of the 27th ultimo.—For Lieut. Wm. W. Scott, of the 17th Foot, superseded, read Lieut. Wm. W. Scott, of the 16th Foot, superseded.

In the Gazette of the 11th instant.—For Capt. Hen. Shrapnell, of the 38th Foot to be Maj. in the Army, read Capt. Hen Shrapnell, of the Royal Artill. to be Maj. in the Army.

War-Office, May 29, 1802.

1st Reg. Life Guards, Lieut. Tho. Ansley, from the 7th Lt. Dragoons, to be Lieut. vice Cooper, who exchanges.

7th Reg. Lt. Dragoons, Lieut. John Allen Cooper, from the 1st Reg. Life Guards, to be Lieut. vice Ansley, who exchanges.

10th Ditto, Humphrey Bowles, Gent. to be Cornet by purchase, vice Chambers, promoted.

14th Ditto, Chas. Silvertop, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Mahoney, promoted.

15th Reg. Foot, Ens. Wm. Coxe to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Preacher, removed to the 2d Life Guards.

18th Ditto, Ens. John Dewar, from the 20th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Walker, promoted.

20th Ditto, Capt. John Maister to be Maj. by purchase, vice Power, promoted. Lieut. Ralph Errington to be Capt. vice Maister.

34th Ditto, Ens. Geo. Carnegie to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Dawson, promoted.

49th Ditto, Ens. A. R. Heyland to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Cooke, who retires.

55th Ditto, Maj. John Corn. Halkett to be Lieut. Col. by purchase, vice Lumsden, who retires. Capt. Lieut. Chas. Morgan to be Maj. vice Halkett. Lieut. Geo. Evatt to be Capt. Lieut. vice Morgan.

72d Ditto, Chas. Innis, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Munro, promoted.

78th Ditto, Lieut. Donald Macleod, from the Cape Reg. to be Lieut. vice Angus Cameron, who retires on Half-pay of the Cape Reg.

8th West-India Reg. Lieut. Rob. Twaddell, from the 39th Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Dillon, who retires.

Royal Irish Invalids, John Law, Gent. late a Cornet in the 5th Dragoon Guards, to be Quart. Mast. vice Abercrombie, deceased.

Royal Military College.—Capt. Chas. Stone, of the 16th Lt. Dragoons, to be Paymaster.

Brevet.—Maj. Gen Geo. Nugent to be Lieut. Gen. in the Island of Jamaica and its Dependencies only. Maj. Rob. Honyman, on Half-pay of the late York Fuzileers, to be Lieut. Col. in the Army.

Kirkaldy Troop of the Fifeshire Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry.—Col. Donald Fergusson, on the Half-pay of the late 93d Foot, to be Lieut. vice Oswald, deceased.

Plympton Maurice Volunteer Infantry.—Thomas Holberton, Esq. to be Capt. Lieut. Jos. Weeks to be Capt.

Memorandum.—The Appointment of Capt. Alex. Jekyll Chalmers to be Maj. by purchase, in the 20th. Reg. of Foot, vice Power, promoted, as stated in the Gazette of the 26th of Sep. last, has not taken place. The Appointment of Lieut. John Hames to be Capt. by purchase, in the 20th Reg. of Foot, vice Chalmers, promoted, as stated in the Gazette of the 29th of Dec. last, has not taken place.

Ordnance-Office, May 21, 1802.

Royal Regiment of Artillery.—Capt. Lieut. Edw. Worsley to be Capt. vice B. D. Hooke, retired. First Lieut. Chas. C. Clifton to be Capt. Lieut. vice Worsley. Second Lieut. Jas. Bastard to be First Lieut. vice Clifton. Capt. Lieut. Alex. Duncan to be Capt. vice L. O'Brien, retired. First Lieut. Rich. M. Burleigh to be Capt. Lieut. vice Duncan. Second Lieut. Thos. V. Strauhenzee, to be First Lieut. vice Burleigh. Second Lieut. Wm. Latham to be First Lieut. vice John Armstrong, retired, dated May 12, 1802.

Naval Promotions.

The following Commanders are promoted to the rank of Post-Captains in the Royal Navy:—Rich. Bridges, Hen. Wray, Rich. Poulden, Rob. Sauce, Dan. Woodriff, Chas. Rider, D. Dobree, Phil. Somerville, Rich. Pellowe, John Dick, Peter Ribouleau, Hen. Probyn, John Nash, Step. Rains, Thos. Hand, Wm. Skipsey, F. P. Epworth, M. Buckle, John Allen, E. H. Columbine, Christ. Neville, Geo. Bowen, Jas. Noble, A. J. Griffiths, Geo. Burdett, Jas. Nash, Peter Spicer, Jas. Steward, J. Taylor Mitchell, And. Sproule, Henry Duncan, T. P. Durell, Alex. Becher, William Day, Patrick Tonyn, George Reynolds, John Hatley, F. Holmes Coffin, Jeff. Raigersfield, S. G. Saville, Chas. Bullen, Jos. Brodie, Corn. Quinton, Jas. Dunbar, Wm. Butterfield, C. P. Price, John Newhouse, Rich. Byron, Geo. Tobin, John Wainright, Jas. Sanders, Wm. Richardson, W. H. Webley, Rich. Jones, Rich Hawkins, Tho. Cowan, Wm. Hen. Daniel, Geo. C. Pulling, Jacob Walton, David Colby, Wm. Hoste, Geo. Davies, James Coutts Crawford, John Hayes, S. C. Rowley, John Wiune, T. G. Shortland, M. B. Praed, John Wight, Sam. Mottley, Edw. W. Browne, John S. Rouett, G. R. Collier, Wm. Ricketts, Jas. Dalrymple, Alex. Skene, Geo. Miller, Hon. Wm. Trench, Geo. Blake, Edw. Sneyd Clay, Thomas Richbell, Tho. Brigs, Benj. Carter, S. T. Digby, Hon. F. P. Irby, Chas. Inglis, Cha. Carter, Tho. Browne, John Conn, Edw. Kendall, Fs. Godolphin Bond, Step. Folvill, John B. Edwards, W. Henyrson, Clotw. Upton, W. H. Tremlett, Coryndon Boger, Rich. Hatherhill, Lord Vis. Falkland, Sam. Pynn, Geo. Argles, Rt. Howe Bromley, Thos. Chas. Brodie, Hon. D. P. Bouverie, Fred. Thesiger, Chas. Worsley Boys, Ernest Brawn, Rob. Fanshawe, Walter Grossett, Sam Jackson, Rob. Barrie.

The following Lieutenants are promoted to the rank of Commanders in the Royal Navy:—Anth. Abdy, Jas. Agassiz, Geo. Andrews, John Baker (2d), C. P. B. Bateman, Tho. F. Baugh, Matt. Bar. Bradby, Edw. Pelham, Brenton, W. Crosbie Brownrigg, John Bushby, Wm. Cashman, John Chilcott, Edw. Church, Edw. Cleather, Geo. Cocks, Sam. Colquitt, Chas. Coote, Rob. Corbet, George Digby, Mich. Dod, John Douglas, (2d) Arch. Duff, John Edgcumbe, Robert Evans, C. Montague Fabian, Arth. Farquhar, W. Humph. Faulknor, Isaac Ferriers, Rob. Forbes, (2d) Hen. Gordon, Ed. Lloyd Graham, Edw. Grey, Arthur Grumley, George N. Hardinge, Gilb. Heathcote, M. Jacob Henniker, Edmund Heywood, Caleb Hill, S. Pryce Humphries, Geo. Clark Hurdis, Jos. James, S. Hood Inglefield, Alex. Innes, John Joyce, (1st) Rob. Hayley Judd, Alex. Rob. Kerr, Hon. Edw. King, Phil. Lamb, John Lamborn, Fred. Langford, Tho. Lyne, Philip Lyne, Don. H. Mackay, K. M'Kenzie, (2d) Daniel M'Leod, John Manley,

John W. Marshall, Franc. Mason, Jas. Master, Edw. J. Mitchell, W. Mounsey, R. J. Neve, Martin Nevill, J. Arthur Norway, H. M. Ommaney, Tho. Orde, Rob. Paul, Hugh Pigot, Phil. Pipon, Wm. B. Proctor, Rob. Raynsford, Wm. Richan, J. Richardson, (1st.) Fasham Roby, P. L. J. Rosenhagen, Geo. Sanders, R. H. Savage, C. M. Schomberg, Rob. Scott, F. J. Snell, Jas. Stewart, (2d) Christ. Strachey, Gust. Stupart, H. E. P. Sturt, Spelman Swaine, J. H. Tait, Tho. Thrush, Jas. Tippett, John Tower, Wm. Venour, R. B. Vincent, John Waller, (2d) Hen. Waring, Jas. Welsh.

War-Office, June 1, 1802.

6th Reg. Dragoons. Cornet Sampson Towgood French, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Astley who retires.

12th Reg. Lt. Dragoons. Capt. Jas. Kearnay, from the 29th Lt. Dragoons, to be Maj. by purchase, vice Madden, who retires.

22d Ditto, Wm. Rowan, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Owen, promoted.

3d Reg. Foot Guards. John Jas. Earl Waldegrave, to be Ens. without purchase, vice Hamilton, promoted.

9th Reg. Foot. Capt. John Dunkin, from the 28th Lt. Dragoons, to be Maj. by purchase, vice Sirie, who retires.

20th Ditto, Montague Jas. Jackson, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Harding, promoted.

35th Ditto, Ens. Lewis Gordon, from the 8th West India Reg. to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Robertson, who retires.

60th Ditto, Lieut. Col. C. Lewis Theodore Shoedde, from Lowenstein's Levy, to be Lieut. Col. Capt. John Keane, from the 44th Foot, to be Maj. by purchase, vice Ciezielsky, who retires. Capt. H. C. Appelius, from Lowenstein's Levy to be Capt. To be Lieutenants. Lieut. Gab. Beurer, from Lowenstein's Levy. Lieut. Wm. Walker, from Ditto. Lieut. I. H. Shoedde, from Ditto. To be Enigns. Ens. J. P. Philipson, from Lowenstein's Levy. Ens. J. Trumback, from Ditto. Ens. J. Hanmer from Ditto. Ens. J. Reiner from Ditto. Ens. J. Echard, from Ditto.

70th Ditto, Ens. Samuel Colkett, from the 66th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Hamill, promoted in the 1st West-India Reg.

73d Ditto, Lieut. Raymond Hicks, from the Half-pay of the 79th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Downing, placed on Half pay.

93d Ditto, Ens. Douald Macleod, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Sutherland, placed on Half-pay.

2d West-India Reg. Robert Colquhoun, Gent. to be Ens. vice Rolle, deceased.

Queen's German Reg. Capt. John Wilson, to be Major, by purchase, vice Lyon, promoted, Lieut. Pont L'Abbé, to be Capt. vice Wilson.

Brevet, Capt. Duncan J. Cameron, of the late Sheffield Reg. to be Major in the Army; Capt. Edw. Letherland, of the late 123d Foot, to be Major in the Army.

Staff, Col. Wm. Dyott, of the 25th Foot, to be Aid-de-Camp to His Majesty, vice Major Gen. Cartwright, promoted.

Commissions signed by the Lord Lieutenant of the County of Kent, dated May 25, 1802. To be Deputy Lieutenants, Sir John Boyd, Bart. Samuel Egerton Brydges. Esq. Thomas Law Hodges, Esq.

Commissions in the West Kent Militia, signed by the Lord Lieutenant. John Keward Shaw, Esq. to be Captain, dated May 15, and John Claringbold, Gent. to be Ensign, dated May 21, 1802.

Ordnance-Office, June 5, 1802.

Corps of Royal Engineers, Lieut-Gen. William Sprey to be Col-Commandant, dated May 1, 1802, Lieut. Gen. Rob. Morse, to be Col-Command. dated as above, Capt. John Rowley, to be Major of Brigade, dated as above.

War-Office, June 12, 1802.

7th Reg. Lt. Dragoons, Cornet Wm. Webb to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Pyrke, who retires.

16th Ditto, Cornet —— Dudley to be Adj. vice Stone, who resigns.

17th Ditto, Lieut. Geo. Darley, from the 90th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Miller, removed to the 19th Lt. Dragoons.

28th Ditto, Lieut. the Hon. Charles Murray, from the 2d Dragoons, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Dunkin, promoted in the 9th Foot.

1st Reg. Foot Guards,—John Courtenay Honeywood, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice Cooke, promoted.

3d Reg. Foot, Ens. Thos. Tuckett to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Rigby, who retires.

8th Ditto, Ens. John Graham Douglas, from the 90th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Cooke, who retires.

9th Ditto, Lieut. D. Vandepant, to be Captain, by purchase, vice Maclean, who retires.

20th Ditto, Ens. Fred. Corbin to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Stapleton, who retires.

24th Ditto, Capt. Edw. Jas. O'Brien to be Maj. by purchase, vice Earle, who retires; Lieut. Thos. H. J. Williams to be Capt. vice O'Brien.

30th Ditto, Ens. Thos. Best, from the 38th Foot, to be Ens. vice Hutton, who exchanges.

33d Ditto, Capt. Thos. Hoggins, from the 64th Foot, to be Capt. vice Cuyler, who exchanges.

34th Ditto, Capt. Hen. Roberts, from the 54th Foot, to be Capt. vice Adams, who exchanges.

37th Ditto, Lieut. James Maxwell to be Capt. by purchase, vice Browne, who retires; Ens. John Roberts to be Lieut. vice Maxwell.

38th Reg. Foot, Ens. Hugh Hutton, from the 30th Foot, to be Ens. vice Best, who exchanges.

54th Ditto, Capt. Samuel Barwell Adams, from the 34th Foot, to be Capt. vice Roberts, who exchanges.

60th Ditto, Capt. James Hall, from the Cape Reg. to be Capt. vice Wright, who retires upon the Half-pay of the Cape Reg. Lieut. Lewis Rumann, from Lowenstein's late Levy, to be Lieut.

61st Ditto, Daniel Geale, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Favel, promoted.

64th Ditto, Capt. Cornelius Cuyler, from the 33d Foot, to be Capt. vice Hoggins, who exchanges.

68th Ditto, Lieut. John Hanbury, from the 1st Foot Guards, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Polson, who retires; J. D. Hopwood, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Drought, appointed to the 4th Dragoon Guards.

75th Ditto, Henry Swalfield, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Grant, promoted in the 74th Foot.

85th Ditto, John Harvey Ollney, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Maclachlan, who retires.

91st Foot, Rt. Hon. Alex. Lord Saltoun to be Ens. by purchase, vice Campbell, promoted.
9th West-India Reg. Lieut. George Monkland, from the 15th Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Craskell, who retires.
Queen's German Reg. Ens. Henry Otto Bayer, from the the 49th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice L'Abbé, promoted.
The Cape Reg. A. G. Davidson, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Calder, who retires.
Royal Garrison Bat. Brevet Lieut-Col. George Vigoreux, from the 90th Foot, to be Lieut-Col. vice Fraser, appointed to the command of a Corps.
Garrisons. Major the Hon. Wm. Grey, of the 17th Foot, to be Lieut-Gov. of Chester, vice Lieut-Col. Gunn, deceased.
Memorandum, Cornet Richard Roberts, of the 22d Lt. Dragoons, is superseded.

His Majesty has been pleased to appoint the under mentioned officers of the East-India Company's Forces, to take rank by Brevet in His Majesty's Army in the East-Indies only, as follows: the Commissions dated, April 29, 1802.
To be Major-Generals. — Cols. Wm. Gent. and Thos. Nicholls; To be Col. — Lieut-Col. John Orr; To be Lieut-Cols. — Majors Robert Bell. Tredway Clarke, Richard Howley, and Andrew Glass; To be Majors — Captains John Norris, Thomas Hayes, Walter C. Lennon, Colin Mackenzie, George Hernyng, and Arthur Forest.

Ordnance-Office, June 14, 1802.

Royal Reg. of Artillery,—Capt.-Lieut. Alex. Y. Spearman to be Capt. vice E. Wood, retired to the Invalids; first Lieut. Jas. F. Ogilvie to be Captain-Lieut. vice Spearman; second Lieut. John Bettesworth to be first Lieut. vice Ogilvie, dated June 3, 1802.

War-Office, June 22, 1802.

5th Reg. Dragoon Guards, Wm. Pegg, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Irwin, promoted.
10th Reg. Lt. Dragoons, Lieut. Fred. G. Charmichael to be Capt. by purchase, vice Macdonald, who retires.
6th Reg. Foot, Ens. J. H. S. Maw to be Lieut. by purchase, vice L'Estrange, promoted in the 60th Foot.
9th Ditto, Lieut. And. Wallace, from the 34th Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Alex. Campbell, who retires. Marmaduke Robert Langdale, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Shepherd, who retires.
42d Ditto, Wm. Hedderwick, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Innes, promoted.
44th Ditto, Jonathan Fountain Wrench, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Fraser, who retires.
46th Ditto, Atholl Moon, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Fitzgerald promoted.
53d Ditto, Lieut. John Carmichael to be Capt. by purchsse, vice Dover, who retires.
55th Ditto, Capt. Alex. Jekyll Chalmers, from the 20th Foot, to be Maj. by purchase, vice Macdonald, promoted in the 24th Foot.
62d Ditto, Lieut. Jos. Bradley to be Capt. by purchase, vice Maingy, who retires.
67th Ditto, Phil. Jenkins, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Ethrington, promoted in the 25th Foot.
72d Ditto, Maj Colquhoun Grant, from the 28th Lt. Dragoons, to be Lieut.-Col. by purchase, vice M'Innes, who retires.
77th Reg. Foot, Brev. Maj. Wm. Grant to be Maj. without purchase, vice Forbes, removed to the 80th Foot.
80th Ditto, Brev. Lieut.-Col. Benj. Forbes, from the 77th Foot, to be Maj. without purchase, vice Harness, promoted.
81st Ditto, ——— Tytler, Gent. to be Assist.-Surg. vice Jones, promoted in the Cape Reg.
89th Ditto, Lieut. Sam. Courtney to be Capt. by purchase, vice Benson, who retires. Ens. Edw. Coltherd Smith to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Percival, promoted. Jas. Boyd, Gent. to be Ens. vice Smith.
The Cape Reg Assist.-Surg. J. Jones, from the 81st Foot, to be Surgeon.
Brevet, Col. Marc. Beresford, on the Half-pay of the late 135th Foot, to be Brigadier-Gen. in the Windward and Leeward Cartibbee Islands only.
To be Majors in the Army, — Capt. Dav. Douglas, late of the Scotch Brigade. Capt. Colin Dundas Graham, late of ditto. Capt. Alex. Scott, late of ditto. Capt. John Cameron, late of ditto. Capt.-Lieut. Jas. Urquhart, late of ditto.
Staff, Lieut. Col. Geo. Murray, of the 3d Foot Guards, to be Adj.-Gen. to the Forces serving in the Leeward Islands and Trinidad, vice Gledstanes, who resigns.

War-Office, June 29, 1802.

2d Reg. Dragoon Guards, Wm. Rogers, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Grosser, promoted.
15th Reg. Lt. Dragoons, Lieut. Rich. W. Howard Vyse to be Capt. by purchase, vice Lord Lisle, who retires. Cornet Dav. Skene to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Hinde, who retires.
Coldstream Reg. Foot Guards, Ensign Edward Acheson to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Myers, promoted in the 15th Foot.
16th Reg. Foot, Maj. Lionel Smith, from the 85th Foot, to be Maj. without purchase, vice Gordon, who retires on Half-pay.
20th Ditto, Lieut. J. Hames, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Chalmers, promoted in the 55th Foot.
21st Reg. Foot, Lieut.-Col. Lyde Browne, from the 85th Foot, to be Lieut.-Col. vice Lord Evelyn Stuart, removed to the 22d Foot.
22d Ditto, Lieut.-Col. Lord Evelyn Stuart, from the 21st Foot, to be Lieut.-Col. vice Crosbie, who retires upon the Half-pay of the 85th Foot.
26th Ditto, Ens. Robt. Child to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Dabzac, who retires.
40th Ditto, Hos.-Mate Boat Flower to be Assis.-Surg. vice Hennon, removed to the 3d Dragoons.
52d Ditto, Capt. Jas. Orde, from the 91st Foot, to be Maj. by purchase, vice Smyth, promoted in the 68th Foot.
54th Ditto, Capt. Wm. Williams to be Maj. by purchase, vice Delmé, who retires.
60th Ditto, Capt. Thos. Clarke to be Maj. without purchase, vice Lennox, deceased.
88th Ditto, Lieut. Rob. Barclay Macpherson to be Capt. by purchase, vice Lord Geo. Beresford, promoted in the 6th Dragoon Guards.

Lieut. Jas. Chisolme to be Capt. by purchase, vice Stuart, promoted in the 52d Foot.

90th Foot, Cornet Thos. North Lord Graves, from the 4th Dragoons, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Napier, promoted.

93d Ditto, Lieut. Thos. Walsh, from the 27th Foot, to be Capt. without purchase, vice Clunes, placed upon Half-pay. Lieut. Joseph Carruthers, from the 60th Foot, to be Capt. without purchase, vice Sutherland, placed upon half-pay. Neil M'Kinnon, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice Jas. Fraser, whose appointment does not take place.

3d West-India Reg. Donald Macintosh, Gent. to be Ens. vice Paterson, deceased.

6th Ditto, Capt. Jul. Stirke to be Maj. vice Visscher, deceased. Capt. Francis Geraghty, from the half-pay of the late 5th Reg. Irish Brigade, to be Capt. vice Paterson, who exchanges. Lieut. Chas. Jackson, from the 40th Foot, to be Capt. vice Stirke.

Staff Corps, Lieut. —— Lancaster to be Quart.-Mast. vice Lachlan, who retires upon Half-pay.

Royal Military College, Rev. ——— Owen to be Chaplain, Librarian and Instructor of Classics.

Hospital Staff, Dr. Wm. Franklin to be Assist.-Inspect.-Gen. of Hospitals.

Ordnance Office, June 30, 1802.

Royal Regiment of Artillery, First Lieut. Hen. Crawford to be Capt.-Lieut. vice T. Tisdall, retired. dated June 11, 1802. Second Lieut. Thos. Cubitt to be First Lieut. vice Crawford, dated as above. Capt.-Lieut. Howard Douglas to be Adj. vice A. Y. Spearman, promoted, dated June 3, 1802.

ECCLESIASTICAL PREFERMENTS.

Rev. John Smyth, D. D. Rudford R. co. Gloucester, vice Gyllett, resigned.

Rev. Chas. Baillie, M. A. Stainton in Cleveland V. co. York, vice Cleator, dec.

Rev. Wm. Tolbutt Staines, to be a minor canon of Rochester cathedral.

Rev. Dr. Birch, Battle deanry, Sussex.

Rev. Morgan Lewis, Great Sampford with Hempsted V. Essex, vice Hale.

Rev. Hen. Plimley, M. A. St. Leonard V. Shoreditch.

Rev. Rob. Savage, M. A. Hartford V. co. Devon.

Rev. Geo. Wallett, Berrow perpetual curacy, co. Worc. vice Wheeler, resigned.

Rev. Edw. Burton Barker, B. A. Bacton R. Suffolk.

Rev. Timothy Napleton, M. A. North Bovey R. Devon, vice Lock, dec.

Rev. John David Perkins, M. A. St. Lawrence R. in Exeter.

Rev. W. Waters, curate of Stebbington, co. Northampton, Dunsby R. co. Lincoln.

Rev. Thos. Cole, of Daventry, Long Buckby V. co. Northampton.

Rev. Hen. Edm. Hill, B. D. Fenny-Compton R. co. Warwick.

Rev. Thos. Boucher, Wythiol-Florey R. co. Cornw.

Rev. Geo. Barrington, M. A. to the eleventh, or golden prebend of Durham, vice Weston, dec.

Rev. T. A. Atwood, elected lecturer of St. Margaret's, Westminster.

Rev. Hen. Jackson Close, M. A. Bognor R. Sussex, vice Greenwood, resigned.

Rev. Chas. Moss, M. A. canon of Wells, Whitchurch Canonicorum V. Dorset.

Rev. W. Hunt, M. A. Castle-Cary living, and Rev. Mr. Phillott, Wookey V. both co. Somerset, and both vice Moss.

Rev. Sam. James, Alerton living, co. Somerset, vice Hunt.

Rev. C. Ashfield, M. A. Stewkley V. co Bucks.

Rev. Launcelot Sharpe, M. A. licensed to the perpetual curacy of Allhallows Stayning, Mark-lane, London.

Rev. Abra. Jobson, M. A vicar of Wymeswould, co. Leicester, Wisbech St. Peter's living, with St. Mary annexed, in the Isle of Ely vice Rev. Cæsar Morgan, D. D. promoted to Stretham R. co. Cambridge, vice Swaine, dec.

Rev. John Sheepshanks, M. A. Trinity living, Leeds, vice Cripps, dec.; and Wymeswould V. co. Leicester, vice Jobson, resigned.

Rev. Chas. Stead Hope, B. A. St. Alkmund V. Derby, vice Manlove, dec.

Rev. Sherard Becher, M. A. elected a vicar-choral of the collegiate church of Southwell, vice Cane, deceased.

Rev. Chas. Sturges, M. A. appointed clerk in orders of the parish of Chelsea, Middlesex, vice Gardiner, dec.

Rev. Thos. Chambers Wilkinson, All Saints R. and St. Peter's V. consolidated, Stamford, co. Lincoln.

Rev. Thos. Thomas, M. A. curate of St. Mary Redcliff, Bristol, Tidenham V. co. Gloucester, vice Davis, dec.

Rev. Thos. Aubery Howard, Yattendon R. Berks, vice Bellas, dec.

Rev. John Higgins, Bacton V. co. Hereford.

Rev. J. C. Leake, Barningham Parva R. co. Suffolk.

Rev. Geo. Wasey, M. A. Whittington R. co. Gloucester, vice Thomas, dec.

Rev. John Turner, Shersten Magna V. with Aldrington curacy annexed Wilts.

Rev. Dr. Harding, of Salthill, to a prebend of Salisbury cathedral, vice Hand, dec.

Rev. Dr. Knox, master of Tunbridge school, Ramsden Crays R. Essex, vice Chamberlayne, resigned.

Rev. J. F. Mucklestone, prebendary of Lichfield, Wybunbury V. co. Chester, vice Swinnerton, dec.

Rev. Hen. Bond Fowler, M. A. Trodington perpetual curacy, co. Gloucester, vice Robinson, dec.; and Elmstone-Hardwick V. in the same county.

Rev Rich. Thos. Gough, M. A. Blakency with Cokethorpe and Langham Parva R. and Cley next the Sea R Norfolk, vice Thomlinson, dec.

Rev. Martin Nogg, Little Shelford R. co. Cambridge.

Rev. Geo. Moore, M. A. to a prebendal-stall in Canterbury cathedral.

Rev. John Williams, M. A. Plaxtol perpetual curacy, Kent.

Rev. Wm. Hicks, rector of Little Braxted, Essex, Great Marlow V. Bucks.

Rev Thos. Place, LL. B. Kirklington R. co. York.

Rev. Sam. Wix, M. A. Inworth R. Essex, vice Bull, deceased.

Rev. T. Bourdillon, M. A. Fenstanton cum Hilton V. co. Huntingdon, vice Cook, dec.

Rev. John Fearon, Painswick V. co. Gloucester.

Rev. Mr. Griffith, West Grinstead and Plaitford RR. Wilts

Rev. Moses Dodd, M. A. appointed master of Chichester school, with Emsworth chapelry and a prebend annexed.

Rev. Rob. Farington, M. A. St. George in the East R. Middlesex, vice Mayo, dec.
Rev. John Owen, M. A St. Benedict and St. Peter R. Paul's wharf, London.
Rev. E. Northey, Nether Stowey V. co. Somerset.
Rev. Rob. Davers, B. A. Bradfield St. George R. with Rushbrooke annexed, co. Suffolk, vice Wright, dec.
Rev. W M. Whalley, M. A Waltham Abbey donative, Essex.
Rev. J. Brown, M. A. Ilkeston V. co. Derby.
Rev. John Holt, M. A. vicar of Wrowby, co. Lincoln, Gringley on the Hill living, co. Nottingham.
Rev. Edw. Vaughan, St. Martin and All Saints V.V. Leicester, vice Gregory, dec.
Rev. John Ramsden, of Doncaster, Ackworth R.; and the Rev. Geo. Desmeth Kelly, M. A. Ampleforth prebend, in York cathedral; both vice Newman, dec.
Rev. Joseph Dixie Churchill, M. A. Blickling R. Norfolk.
Rev Marmaduke Wilkinson, B. A. Nowton R. Suffolk.
Rev. Rob. A. Ingram, B. D. Segrave R. co. Leicester, vice Thwaites, dec.
Rev. J. Newling, Ditchingham R. Norfolk, vice Massey, dec.
Rev. J. T. B. Bohun, St. Michael South Elmham perpetual curacy.
Rev J. L. Warren, M. A. Werdmore V. co. Somerset.
Rev. Jas. Phelps, M. A. Alderley R. co. Gloucester.
Rev. Mat. Surtees, M. A. rector of North Cerney, to a prebendal stall in Gloucester cathedral, vice Dr. White, resigned.
Rev. Thos. Todd, B. D. Brompton-Regis V. co. Somerset.
Rev. Wm. Cooper, M. A. West Raisin R. co. Linc.
Rev. M. D dd. M. A Highley prebend, in Chichester cathedral, to which is annexed the prependal school of Chichester.
Rev. Joseph Ruddock, M. A. Aisgarth V. co. York, vice Ellis, dec.
Rev. Mr Graves, aged 87, rector of Claverton, near Bath. Croscombe living, co. Somerset.
Rev. Thos. Kidd, M. A. second master of Merchant Tailors' School, St. James R. Garlickhithe, London.
Rev. Thos. Mills, elected lecturer of St. Olave, Hartstreet, London.
Rev. John Ion, Ruston and Lowthorpe perpetual curacies, co. York.
Rev. Chas. Rob. Marshall, B. D. Hanworth V. co. Lincoln.
Rev. D. Everard, M. A. Burnham-Thorpe R. co. Norfolk, vice Nelson, dec.
Rev. Edw. Rodd, Dittisham liv. Devon.
Rev. George Glover, B. A. Waterford-Stratford R. Bucks.
Rev. Chas. Turner, M. A. Wendover V. co. Bucks.
Hon. and Rev. Edw. Rice, M. A. Driffield precentorship and prebend, in York cathedral, vice Rev. Hen. Forster Mills, appointed chancellor of the said cathedral, on the resignation of the Rev Geo Markham, promoted to York deanry.
Rev. Samuel Henshall, M. A. Stratford Bow R. co. Middlesex.
Rev. Wm. Carey, M. A. and Rev. Lamplugh Wickham Hird, M. A. to prebendal stalls in York cathedral.
Rev. Thomas Pearson, curate of Upwell, Norfolk. Brampton V. co. Westmoreland, vice Walker, resigned.
Rev. Wm. Hurdman Jane, D. D. Tredington R. co. Worcester.
Rev. Rob. Affleck, M. A. installed prebend of Tockerington, in York cathedral, vice Fourd, dec.
Rev David Hughes, B D fellow of Jesus college, Oxford, elected principal of that society, vice Hoare, dec.

Dispensations.

Rev C. Beresford, M. A rector of Saxulby, co Leicester, to hold Bedworth R. co. Warwick.
Rev. Edward Willis, M A to hold Huish V. with the chapelry of Langport annexed, together with West Camel R. Somerset.
Rev Charles Fowler, M A to hold Rolleston V. with Easton V. both co Notts.
Rev George Croft, D D lecturer of St. Martin's, Birmingham, to hold Thwing R. with Arncliffe V. both co. York.

THE SOCIETY OF SHIP OWNERS OF GREAT-BRITAIN.

In order more effectually, at this alarming crisis, to promote and protect the *Shipping Interest* of *Great-Britain*, and to prevent any further infringements of the Navigation Laws; and also for the purpose of taking, not only such measures for the preservation of the rights which the Legislature has in its wisdom conferred on the Owners of British Ships, but likewise to relieve them from various extortions and inconveniences to which they were then or may hereafter be liable, It was resolved, at a General Meeting of Ship Owners convened for that purpose, on the 22d June, in London, to form and establish a Society of Ship Owners, under the denomination of

"*The Society of Ship Owners of Great-Britain,*"

with Committees to be annually chosen from amongst them in London and at the Out Ports, and the following persons were appointed the Committee for the port of London for the year ensuing:—Messrs. Moses Agar, Joseph and Peter Ainsley, John Akenhead, Thomas and Robert Brown, John Blacket, Ralph Clarke, Wm. Clark, Jun. North Shields, Norrison Coverdale, Robert Curling, Wm. Curling, A. Collins, Joseph and W Dowson, Thomas Davidson, James Dunning, Sunderland, George French, Wm. Fairles, Henry Fletcher, John Faulder, Thomas Gillespy, Sir Cuthbert Heron, Bart South Shields, Mr. John Hill, Chairman, Messrs Heathfield, Pycroft, and Heathfield, William Havelock, Thomas Hayman, Ives Hurry, Hough and Jackson, A Heurtley, Sunderland, John Jackson, Thomas Keddey, Peter Kennion, John Lyall, William Marshall, Richard Mordey, Sunderland, William Moorsom, Thomas Metcalfe, William Masterman, South Shields, D. Macarthy, Robert Pedder, Thos. Rowcroft, Joshua Reeve, Isaac Robinson, John Shuttleworth, Henry Smithers, Daniel Stephens, I. R. Sherman, William Thompson, John Tulloch, Thos. and Geo. Wilkinson, Richard Wilson, Jun. Scarborough, Thomas S. Williams, John Woodcock; and Nathaniel Atcheson, Esq. F. A. S. F. R. I. was appointed Secretary to the General Meetings and to the Committee for the Port of London.

LIST OF BANKRUPTS,

From January 1, 1802, *to June* 30, 1802, *inclusive.*

Abbott, James, and Palmer, Mark, Monk Wearmouth Shore, Durham, sail-makers, Jan. 2.
Addison, Thomas, of Chute Forest, and Addison, William, Milton Wilts, corn-dealers, Jan. 2.
Amber, William Richard, Old Brentford, timber-merchant, Jan. 30. Superseded May 1.
Anderson, John Robert, Throgmorton-street, merchant, Feb. 2.
Ashworth, James, Wadsworth, Halifax, shopkeeper, Feb. 13.
Alderson, John, Beccles, Suffolk, shopkeeper, Feb. 16.
Arbuthnott, Alexander, and Bracken, Richard, Philpot-lane, merchants, Feb. 20.
Allen, Peter, Nantwich, Chester, innholder, Feb. 23.
Anderson, John, Church-street, Borough, twine-spinner, March 6.
Andrew, George, Sheffield, cornfactor, March 27.
Alger, John, Walcott, Somersetshire, soap-maker, April 6.
Anderson, Christopher, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, cheesemonger, April 11.
Anderson, Joseph, Clare-street, Clare-market, butcher, April 11.
Aris, Thomas, Upper Rathbone-place, shopkeeper, May 4,
Antill, John, Highgate, Middlesex, dealer in coals, May 22.
Avery, Aaron, New Brentford, linen-draper. June 8.
Aldis, James, and Atkinson, Charles, Littleport, Cambridge, shopkeepers, June 15.
Aitkenhead, William, St. James's-market, Middlesex, ale-merchant, June 22.
Atwill, Tho. Totness, Devon, shopkeeper, June 22.
Bulmer, Tho. Harmby, Yorkshire, dealer, Jan. 5.
Bonnin, Henry Gousse, New Bond-street, furniture-printer, Jan. 5.
Ballman, Margaret, Corfe Mullen, Dorsetshire, miller, Jan. 5.
Bendall, William, Whitcombe, Somersetshire, mealman, Jan. 9.
Blackmore, Richard, Colonade, near the Foundling-hospital, painter, Jan. 9.
Bellamy, James, and de Valingin, Albert, Holborn, wine-merchants, Jan. 12.
Bishop, John, Leighton Hall, Lancashire, merchant, Jan. 16.
Bishop, William, Leighton Hall, Lancashire, merchant, Jan. 16.
Benedicts, Martin, Liverpool, shopkeeper, Jan. 23.
Booth, Samuel, Romiley, Chester, muslin-manufacturer, Jan. 26.
Barnesley, John, and Smith, Joseph, Bedwardine, Worcestershire, morocco shoe-manufacturers, Feb. 2.
Benjamin, Matthew, Lime-street-square, London, merchant, Feb. 6.
Bent, Thomas, Davyhulme, Eccles, Lancashire, cotton-manufacturer, Feb. 9.
Biley, Richard Salisbury, Old-street, rope and twine-manufacturer, Feb. 13.
Bell, Ralph, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, butcher, Feb. 13.
Bakewell, Robert, Bridges-street, near Covent-garden, coffee-house keeper, Feb. 20.
Blease, Ralph, Liverpool, grocer, Feb. 23.
Butler, William, Weldon, Northamptonshire, linen-draper, Feb. 27.
Bower, Edward, New Mills, Derbyshire, cotton-spinner, Feb. 27.
Bottle, Robert, Great Warren-street, Fitzroy-square, distiller and brandy merchant, March 2.
Bickerton, Sarah, Great Yarmouth, hosier, March 6.
Bates, Thomas, Welbeck-street, Cavendish-square, auctioneer, March 13.
Beesley, James, James-street, Manchester-square, dealer, March 27.
Bluett, Gylbert, West Smithfield, coffee-house-keeper, March 27.
Brown, Alex. Sevenoaks, Kent, butcher, March 27.
Beauchamp, Robert, and Lloyd, Edward, Kirby-street, Hatton-garden, lacemen, April 3.
Blinkhorn, William, and Musgrave, John, Foster-lane, Cheapside, merchants and silk-weavers, April 3.
Burrough, James, Chiswell-street, hosier, April 3.
Baggs, Charles, Liverpool, merchant, April 6.
Bodenham, William, Shrewsbury, mercer, April 11.
Bowle, William, and Hannah, William, Blackfriars-oilmen, April 11.
Brooke, Francis, Farrar, William, and Rose, Robert, Basinghall-street, warehousemen, April 13.
Brittan, George, Bristol, grocer, April 17.
Bodicher, Augustus William, Old Jewry, merchant, April 20.
Bishop, Samuel, Great Newport-street, Soho, stationer, May 1.
Beesley, Tho. Burton, Yorkshire, potter, May 15.
Bloomfield, Joseph Moss, Mansell-street, Goodman's-fields, money-scrivener, May 22.
Batman, Wm. the younger, Copmanthorpe, Yorkshire, cornfactor, May 25.
Bushell, Joseph M'Cormack, East-street, Red Lion-square, tea-dealer, May 25.
Besly, William, Barnstaple, Devonshire, clothier, May 25.
Benson, John, Lancaster, merchant, May 25. Another commission the same day.
Butler, Joseph, Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire, cornfactor, May 29.
Beaton, Sarah, Yeovil, Somersetshire, haberdasher, May 29.
Benson, John, and Benson, James, Lancaster, linen-drapers, June 1.
Brentnall, Francis, Derby, grocer, June 5.
Bishop, Thomas, Birmingham, stationer and bookseller, June 5.
Blackburn, Thomas, Hopton in Mirfield, Yorkshire, clothier, June 5.
Brennand, Thomas, Hayes's-court, Soho-square, linen-draper, June 5.
Becks, Andr. Berkley, Green-street, Grosvenor-square, upholder, June 8.
Bolton, George, Witney, brandy-merchant, June 19.
Bashagen, Michael, and Bermann, Jeremiah, Watling-street, merchants, June 22.
Cooper, William, Derby, iron-founder, Jan. 5.
Chamberlain, John, Bramford, Suffolk, innkeeper, Jan. 12.
Clarke, Rob. Fore-street, Cripplegate, grocer, Jan. 23.
Coles, John, Smithfield, banker, Jan. 23.
Clarke, Robert, and Clarke, Geo. Grub-street, horse-dealers, Jan. 23.
Collier, Joshua, Little Bush-lane, Cannon-street, oil broker, Jan. 26.
Cobb, Christopher, Ringwood, Southampton, linen and woollen draper, Jan. 30.
Clarke, Robert, King-street, Covent Garden, linen-draper, Feb. 2.
Cook, Thomas, Much Cowran, Herefordshire, farmer, Feb. 2.

Cox, John, Church-street, Hackney, oilman and tallow-chandler, Feb. 2.
Cunningham, John, Yoxford, Suffolk, grocer, Feb. 9.
Comber, Richard, Lewes, watchmaker and silversmith, Feb. 20.
Collier, William, Leigh within Pennington, Lancashire, corn-dealer, Feb. 23.
Clegg, Samuel Joseph, and Whitby, John, Liverpool, merchants, Feb. 20.
Cobb, John, Wisbeach St. Peter's, Cambridge, millwright, March 6.
Coombs, Ebenezer, St. James's-street, stationer, March 9.
Clegg, John, and Prince, John, Watling-street, warehousemen, March 20.
Collings, Henry, and Gifford, Richard Ireland, St. Philip and Jacob, Gloucestershire, skinners, March 20.
Cumming, Peter, Union-court, Broad-street, merchant, March, 27.
Carter, Rob. Witham, Essex, linen-draper, March 30.
Curtis, Thomas, Frith-street, Soho, painter and glazier, April 3.
Cowlishaw, Charles, Ashborne, Derbyshire, grocer, April 6.
Carruthers, John, Liverpool, joiner, April 6.
Coxon, Joseph, Queen-street, Cheapside, merchant, April 11.
Chatterton, Edward, Dover, sail-maker and shipowner, April 24.
Collyer, John Dyer, Abridge, Essex, farmer, May 1.
Carr, Ralph Wood, and Carr, Robert, Leeds, drysalters, May 1.
Cartwright, Tho. Manchester, upholsterer, May 11.
Chaddock, James, and Keay, Randle, Wigan, potters, May 11.
Castle, Robert, Abingdon, Berks, coal-dealer, May 25.
Candlish, Matthew, Whiteheaven, mercer and woollen-draper, May 29.
Crichton, Peter, Woolwich, victualler, May 29.
Colley, Peter, Hanley, Stoke-upon-Trent, Staffordshire, ironmonger, June 5.
Copland, Robert, Liverpool, merchant, June 5.
Cowlishaw, Tho. Ashborn, Derby, currier, June 12.
Cory, George, Great Yarmouth, upholder, June 19.
Coleby, Joshua, Hempstead, Norfolk, merchant, June 22.
Coulthard, John, Shaws, Cumberland, dealer, June 22.
Collingdon, John, Plough-court, Lombard-street, merchant, June 22.
Cox, Robett, of Worcester-place and Kennett-wharf, Upper Thames-street, paper and rag merchant, June 29.
Cottingham, John, of Liverpool, merchant, July 27.
Duff, James, Finsbury-square, merchant, Jan. 2.
Dennett, Thomas, New-street, Covent Garden, goldsmith and jeweller, Jan. 2.
Donne, Wm. John, Liverpool, linen draper, Jan. 9.
Douglas, Abraham, Mount-row, Lambeth, dealer, Jan. 16.
Dane, John, Williamson, William, and Clay, Robert, Arnold, Northamptonshire, hosiers, Jan. 16.
Dyer, Rich. Witney, Oxford, blanket-weaver, Jan. 30.
Dyke, James, Manley, Chester, corn-dealer, Jan. 30.
Dancer, George, and Cuvelie, Zimon Doncker, Lancaster, brokers, Feb. 2.
Dyke, James, Manley, Chester, corn-dealer, Feb. 6.
Dale, Isaac Rose, Exeter, earthenwareman, Feb. 9.
Dulau, Arnaud, Soho-square, bookseller, Feb. 13.
Dike, George, Abingdon-street, Westminster, boot and shoe-maker, Feb. 20.
Donaldson, Robert, Liverpool, haberdasher, March 6.
Dyer, Jonah, Wootton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, spinning-machine-maker, March 6.
Du Bois, John Frederick, and Du Bois, James, Alderman's-walk, London, merchants, March 20.
Deacon, Thomas, Queen's-elms, Chelsea, carpenter, March 30.
Da Costa, Jacob Mendez, Thavies-inn, Holborn, merchant, April 3.
Drake, Robert, and Goddard, Ebenezer, Newgate-street, wine and brandy-merchants, April 11.
De Mendes, Solomon, Wilson-street, Finsbury-square, merchant, April 13.
Davies, Richard, Park-lane, sadler, April 17.
Douse, Eleanor, Coade's-row, Lambeth, milliner and haberdasher, April 27.
Dale, William, Petworth, Sussex, miller, May 11.
Dolier, William, Winchester, innholder, May 15.
Douglas, James, Cuper's-bridge, Lambeth, clothier, May 15.
Dennington, Samuel, the younger, Loddon, Norfolk, merchant, June 1.
Donlevy, Christopher, Charles-street, Hatton Garden, jeweller, June 1.
Dallaway, Richard, Little Eastcheap, London, merchant, June 5.
Dagg, Thomas, South Shields, Durham, ship-owner, June 8.
Dyson, Daniel, Tottenham, grazier June 12.
Elvy, John, the younger, Maidstone, Kent, taylor, Feb. 6.
Earl, William, and Hemet, John, Albemarle-street, booksellers, Feb. 13.
Every, Samuel, Liverpool, ship-chandler, Feb. 20.
Emett, John, Stoneyhurst, Lancashire, cotton-spinner, Feb. 23.
Edwards, William, Short's-buildings, Clerkenwell, bow-string-manufacturer, March 27.
Entwisle, William, Lancaster, cotton-manufacturer, April 11.
Elderton, John, Great Carter-lane, oil and colourman, May 8.
Fogg, Robert, the younger, New Bond-street, chinaman, Jan. 23.
Field, Wm. Streatham, Surry, victualler, Jan. 30.
Fisher, William, the younger, Briestwhistle, Yorkshire, clothier, Feb. 16.
Foggan, Robert, Salford, near Manchester, cotton-manufacturer, Feb. 27.
Fraser, Henry, Nightingale-lane, grocer, March 13.
Fenwick, Edward, Kingston upon-Hull, innkeeper, March 27.
Farrow, Thomas, Durham, grocer and cheesemonger, April 13.
Farmer, Elisha, Gloucester, mercer, May 4.
Faulkner, John, Macclesfield, Cheshire, druggist and grocer, May 8.
Freebairn, Robert, Coleman-street, insurance-broker, May 29.
Finegan, John, Hatton-court Threadneedle-street, merchant, June 8.
Faulker, Thomas, of Manchester, Faulker, William, and Gibson, Thomas, late of Queen-street, Cheapside, warehousemen, July 8.
Graham, William, Ruskington, Lincolnshire, miller, Jan. 2.
Gates, Richard, Great Saffron-hill, near Holborn, baker, Jan. 9.
Guthrie, Robert, and Cook, Colin, Liverpool, merchants, Jan. 9.
Green, William, Swansea, cheesemonger, Jan. 16.
George, Benjamin, Pope's-head-alley, needle, fish-hook, and fish-tackle-maker, Jan. 23.

Gillham, Richard, of the Dog Tavern, Holywell-street, Strand, tavern-keeper, Jan. 30.
Gray, John, Birmingham, horse-dealer, Feb. 2.
Gilpin, John, Wrexham, Denbighshire, linen-draper Feb. 6.
Graham, John, Berwick-upon-Tweed, baker, Feb. 9.
Gamble, Thomas, the younger, Leicester, woolcomber, Feb. 16
Guyer, Richard, Gracechurch-street, London, hatter, Feb. 23.
Gill, Geo. Warrington, merchant, Feb. 23.
Graham, Lancelot, Graham, William, and Graham, Thomas, Liverpool, merchants, March 2.
Green, John, Cumberland-street, Curtain-road, butcher, March 2
Gardner, Frederick, Great St. Helen's, underwriter, April 11.
Grainge, Joseph, Uxbridge, broker and appraiser, April 17.
Gogerly, Jacob, Aldersgate-street, money scrivener, May 1.
Golding, James, the elder, and Golding, James, the younger, Pudhill, Gloucestershire, clothiers, May 8.
Gardner, Edward, Jew's-row, Chelsea, cheesemonger, May 15.
Gilbert, William, Chiswell-street, Middlesex, grocer, May 15.
Graydon, Edward, Sunderland near the Sea, spirit-merchant, May 22.
Greatwood, Robert, Gloucester, grocer, June 19.
Heawood, John, Manchester, manufacturer, Jan. 12.
Harris, Abraham, Whitechapel-road, hatter, Jan. 16.
Hughes, David, Liverpool, draper, Jan. 26.
Howard, Cosmo Gordon, Conduit-street, Hanover-square, milliner, Jan. 30.
Holmes, John Edward, and Hall, William, Crosby-square, merchants, Feb. 9.
Hancock, Isaac, Bristol, cheesefactor, Feb. 9.
Hawkins, George, Fish-street-hill, druggist, Feb. 16.
Hiams, Henry, Waller-row, Lambeth, umbrella-maker, Feb. 20.
Horsley, Matthew Coates, Bread-street, merchants, Feb. 27.
Hope, Henry, Liverpool, woollen-draper, Feb. 27.
Hatfield, John Westby, Falmouth, warehouseman, March 9.
Hobart, John, Warwick-street, Golden-square, harp and musical-instrument-maker, March 9.
Hunter, Peter, Durham, money-scrivener, March 16.
Harris, Joseph, Holywell-street, Strand, salesman, March 16.
Howett, John, St. Martin's-lane, carpenter and builder, March 20.
Hodgson, Christopher, and Hodgson, Allatson, Sunderland, linen-drapers April 3.
Hornby, Nathaniel, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, woollen-draper, April 3.
Hall, John Henstridge, Cheapside, merchant, April 6.
Hansord, John, Alford, Lincolnshire, innkeeper, April 6.
Hirst, David, Linley, Huddersfield, Yorkshire, cloth-dresser, April 11.
Hollyoch, William Giles, Camberwell, butcher, April 13.
Hooper, Richard, Burbage, Wiltshire, corn-chandler, April 24.
Harper, James, Bordesley, Warwickshire, malt-mill and bayonet-maker, April 27.
Hooper, Richard, Burbage, Wiltshire, corn-chandler, May 1.
Heal, Edward, Trowbridge, innkeeper, May 1.
Hostage, John, Oxford-street, haberdasher, May 9.
Harrison, John, Stoke-upon-Trent, Staffordshire, manufacturer of earthen-ware, May 11.
Hamaway, Daniel, Braddon, Norfolk, merchant, May 11.
Harrison, Thomas, the younger, Sanford-hall, Gloucestershire, timber-merchant, May 18.
Harrison, John, Workington, Cumberland, sail-maker, May 22.
Houlding, John, and Sowerby, James William, Liverpool, merchants, June 8.
Hartley, Stephen, Heckmondwicke, Yorkshire, carpet-manufacturer, June 8.
Hardy William, Gloucester, linen-draper, June 8.
Hardy, William, Gloucester, linen-draper, June 12.
Horton, John, Cock hill, Shadwell, cheesemonger, June 15.
Hatfield, John, Tiverton, Devon, merchant, June 19.
Hewitt, James, Wilson-street, Moorfields, weaver, June 22.
Hoslam, Arthur, Westhoughton, Lancaster, shop-keeper, July 6.
Ingold, George Patrick, Braintree, Essex, money-scrivener, Dec. 29.
Juxon, John, Birmingham, grocer, Jan. 2.
Jones, Lewis, Colonade, Greville-street, builder, Jan. 2.
Johns, Samuel, Plymouth Dock, shopkeeper, Jan 23.
Jeffes, William, Strand, haberdasher Jan. 30.
Jameson, Richard Bayley, Droitwich, Worcester, miller, Feb. 6.
Jacks, Walter, Bristol, merchant, Feb. 9.
Jones, Jeremiah, Chester, shoemaker, Feb. 13.
Jones, James, Kingston-upon-Hull, grocer, Feb. 13.
Johnson, Anthony, Chesterfield, Derbyshire, grocer, Feb. 13.
Jackson, Benjamin, Wentworth, Yorkshire, corn-dealer, Feb. 16.
Johnson, Thomas, Ouze Fleet, near Howden, Yorkshire, dealer, Feb 23.
Johnson, Joseph, Manchester, merchant, March 20.
James, Nathaniel, Liverpool, factor, March 23.
Johnson, Dudley, St. Paul's Church-yard, London, trunk-maker, March 27.
James, Nathaniel, and Black, Robert, Liverpool, merchants, March 27.
Jewitt, William, Snaeth Lodge, Yorkshire, brandy-merchant, April 20.
Johnson, Thomas, Kidderminster, grocer, May 11.
Jones, Philip, Little Queen-street, St. Giles's, taylor, May 25.
Jefferson, Thomas, Hudswell, Yorkshire, dealer, June 22.
Kendray, Geo. Hammer, Yorkshire, dealer, Jan. 5. Superseded May 11.
Keeves, John, Chandois-street, Covent-garden, dealer, Feb. 20.
Kingston, James, Duke-street, Manchester-square, surgeon and apothecary, March 2.
Kindon, John, bristol, cabinet-maker, March 6.
King, John Coventry, inn holder, March 27.
Kirwan, Bryan, Royal-row, Lambeth, vintner, March 30.
Kemp, William, Colchester, merchant, May 25.
Kilpatrick, James, Pope's Head-alley, merchant, May 29.
Keir, Law. Throgmorton-street, merchant, June 15.
Lickley, John, Newcastle-street, Strand hosier, Jan. 2.
Lindsay, William, Manchester, manufacturer, Jan. 5. Superseded April 10.
Lonsdale, Nathaniel, and Thompson, Thomas, Bedford-street, Covent-garden, woollen-drapers, Jan. 9.
Lockey, John, Oxford, grocer, Jan. 23.

Lupton, John, Middleham, Yorkshire, dealer, Jan. 26.
Lasarque, John, Walbrook, merchant, Jan. 30.
Lees, Joseph, and Slater, Samuel, Manchester, dealers in weft and twist, Feb. 2.
Lambe, Robert Joseph, of London, merchant, Feb. 6.
Lodge, Fran. Pontefract, Yorkshire, vintner, Feb. 9.
Lyon, James, Savage-gardens, London, merchant, Feb. 20.
Like, Thomas, Old Brompton, builder, March 2.
Lewis, John, Lower Burgh, Lancashire, cotton-spinner, March 9.
Lee, Jos. Church-street, Lambeth, dealer, March 27.
Lomas, Robert, Stockport, Chester, cotton-spinner, March 30.
Lovell, William Henry, Fetter-lane, leather-seller, April 11.
Lashbrooke, William, Southampton-buildings, Chancery-lane, April 27.
Lansdale, Thomas, Lower Brook-street, Grosvenor-square, linen-draper, May 15.
Lewis, John, Old Jewry, warehouseman, May 18.
Leigh, Phillip, Charles-square, Hoxton, merchant, May 25.
Lathropp, Robert William Felton, otherwise called Sir Robert Murray Brown Clarke, Portland-place, banker, June 19.
Leyburn, James, Hackney, merchant, June 19.
Langford, Thomas Stringer, now or late of the City of Chester, upholsterer, July 13.
Mac George, Wm. Old Bond-street, banker, Jan. 5.
M'Knight, Samuel, the younger, Liverpool, merchant, Jan. 16.
Mattingly, Thomas, Stanford in the Vale, Berkshire, corn-dealer, Jan. 26.
Morton, Samon, Witney, Oxford, blanket-weaver, Jan. 30.
Mathison, John, Liverpool, merchant, Jan. 30.
M'Garry, Michael, Bell-wharf, Shadwell, victualler, Feb. 20.
Milne, Robert, Rochdale, scrivener, March 2.
Maskery, William, Lane End, Staffordshire, mercer, March 6.
Morris, William, Liverpool, grocer, March 9. Superseded June 8.
M'Kennan, Gilbert, Liverpool, ironmonger, Mar. 9.
Maunder, Robert, Exeter, wine merchant, March 16.
Mills, Jos. Macclesfield, hat-manufacturer, Mar. 16.
Marsh, John, Aylsham, Norfolk, merchant, Mar. 20.
Maitland, David, New Bridge-street, London, merchant, March 27.
Mickleson, Thomas, Lynn, Norfolk, taylor and woollen-draper, March 27.
Mourilyan, Samuel, Deal, taylor, March 27.
Moke, Charles, Bucklersbury, London, merchant, March 27.
Moody, Matthew, West Stockwith, Nottinghamshire, ship-builder, April 6.
Mosely, John, and Rose, James, Birmingham, factors, April 11.
Marriott, John, Uxbridge, shopkeeper, April 17.
M'Henry, Bernard, Stratford-upon-Avon, mercer, April 17.
Marshall, Francis, Northumberland-street, jeweller, May 11.
Mosley, Lewis, Liverpool, watchmaker, May 15.
Moore, Niven, Lancaster, merchant, May 25.
Mozley, Morris Lewin, Liverpool, merchant, June 5.
Mac Gowran, Frances, Parsons-street, Ratcliffe-highway, grocer, June 12.
Mills, Phillip, Hereford, butcher, June 15.
Mundell, Edward, Scarborough, Yorkshire, corn-dealer and spirit merchant, June 15.
Moore Thomas, Liverpool, merchant, June 22.

Milner, Joseph, of Yarmouth, druggist, July 3.
Nash, Mark, Wootten-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, currier, Jan. 2.
Nobes, John, and Nobes, Wm. Southsea Common, Portsea, green-grocers, Jan. 9.
Needham, Thos. Ashby-de-la-Zouch, hosier, Jan. 16.
Nanfan, Thos. Manchester, warehouseman, Jan. 16.
Needham, Thos. Ashby-de-la-Zouch, hosier, Jan. 19.
Nock, Samuel, and Nock, James, Dudley, Worcestershire, nail-ironmongers, Jan. 30.
Newton, Samuel, Manchester, corn factor, Feb. 20.
Nowlan, James, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, soap-boiler, Feb. 27.
Norton, John, Drury-lane, victualler, April 3.
Nesbitt, John, Stewart, Edward, and Nesbitt, John, the younger, Aldermanbury, merchants, April 17.
Newton, Wm. Hood, Golden-lane, Barbican, liquor merchant, May 18.
Oddy, Joshua Jepson, and Oddy, John, St. Mary-Axe, London, merchants, March 27.
Osbaldiston, John, Southampton, baker, April 27.
Phillips, John, Swan Inn, Ross, Herefordshire, innholder, Jan. 9.
Powell, Wm. Brompton, butcher, Jan. 12. Superseded March 13.
Porter, John, otherwise Thomas, Deal, Kent, grocer, Jan. 23.
Parker, John, Garlby, Lincolnshire, miller, Jan. 30.
Paddey, Chas. Purcell, Wm. and Hargreaves, James, Congleton, Chester, cotton-manufacturers, Jan. 30.
Parquet, Emanuel, Somer's Town, distiller, Feb. 20.
Pedlar, Henry, Bath, woollen-draper, March 2.
Platt, George, Weaky, Saddleworth, Yorkshire, clothier, March 2.
Palmer, Werral, Holbeach, Lincolnshire, draper, March 6.
Pierson, George, Cockermouth, Cumberland, woollen-manufacturer, March 6.
Pownall, Philemon, Piccadilly, banker, March 23.
Poole, Samuel, Hewish Mills, Crewkerne, Somersetshire, miller, April 13.
Partridge, Thomas, Dover, sail-maker, April 24.
Pemberton, Edward, and Houlding, John, Liverpool, merchants, May 4.
Pride, James, Rome, Monmouth, timber-merchant, May 4.
Platt, Thomas, Diglee, Saddleworth, Yorkshire, merchant and cloth manufacturer, May 8.
Powell, Thomas, Warwick-street, Golden-square, taylor, May 15.
Pullen, Henry, and Roberts, Thomas, Exeter, coal-merchants, May 29.
Phelps, Robert, Plymouth-dock, hosier, June 5.
Passmore, George, Kensington, stationer, June 8.
Preston, Robert, Liverpool, merchant, June 12.
Powell, William, Shepton Mallet, Somerset, innholder, June 22.
Parker, William Wood, of Church-street, Southwark, lighterman, July 6.
Quinton, Michael, Bristol, taylor, April 3.
Reece, William, Liverpool, merchant, Jan. 2.
Roberts, John, Shrewsbury, linen-draper, Jan. 9.
Rozas, Sabato Coen, Brown's-buildings, Leadenhall-street, merchant, Jan. 19.
Rothwell, Wm. Manchester, manufacturer, Jan. 26.
Ring, Henry, Tunbridge, Kent, carpenter, Feb. 6.
Rudderforth, Thomas, Bishopsgate, stay-maker and draper, Feb. 6. Superseded March 27.
Rogerson, Charles, Warrington, merchant, Feb. 6.
Rothwell, John, Nottingham, hosier, Feb. 20
Rippon, Robert, Liverpool, merchant, March 9.
Russell, Edw. Maidstone, hop-merchant, Mar. 20.

Rose, Josiah, Olton, Warwickshire, tanner, March 27. Superseded June 8.
Russell, John, Moorfields, broker, April 13.
Robinson, William, Parris, Richard Freestone, and Squires, Dinah, King-street, Seven Dials, bakers, April 27.
Reader, Henry, Leeds, mercer, May 1.
Russell, John, Worcester, grocer, May 4.
Russell, John, Russell, Edward, Hartland, William, and Williams, Thomas, Worcester, merchants, May 4.
Rideing, John, Liverpool, merchant, May 8.
Rideing, John, Liverpool, and Lever, William, Manchester, merchants, May 15.
Rapson, John, Plymouth-dock, Devonshire, shopkeeper, May 15.
Rutherford, Robert, Sunderland, mast and blockmaker, May 22.
Ridgway, Thomas, Dodson, Andrew, and Ridgway, Samuel, Liverpool, merchants, May 29.
Roberts, Richard, Liverpool, brick-maker, May 29.
Ringrose, George, Welton, Northamptonshire, stuff-manufacturer and slopseller, June 1.
Rowson, James Shepherd, Tower-hill, London, linen-draper, June 1.
Rylay, Edward, St. Helen's, Lancashire, linen-draper, June 5.
Robinson, John, Prescott-street, Goodman's-fields, money-scrivener, June 5.
Reed, William, Barking Church-yard, merchant, June 8.
Robinson, John, Old Gravel-lane, Southwark, cheesemonger, June 12.
Ross, John, the elder, Ross, George, Thompson, Thomas, and Altham, James, late of Piccadilly, dealers in wine, June 29.
Rochester, Thomas, late of Canterbury Row, Newington, coal-merchant, July 9.
Shaw, Christopher, Graham, Joseph, and Burn, John, Southampton, wine-merchants, Jan. 5.
Streater, William, Billinghurst, Sussex, miller, Jan. 5.
Sissons, Ja. Kingston-upon-Hull, merchant, Jan. 16.
Stewart, John, Canterbury square, Southwark, mariner, Jan. 16.
Skinner, George, Liverpool, master and mariner, Jan. 23.
Sharpe, Joseph, Luton, Bedfordshire, shopkeeper, Jan. 26.
Scott, John, Knottingley, Yorkshire, scrivener, Jan. 26.
Simcock, George, Bolt and Tun-yard, Fleet-street, coachmaster, Jan. 26.
Smalley, William, Blackburn, cotton-manufacturer, Jan. 26.
Savage, William, Liverpool, merchant, Jan. 30.
Stubbs, Ralph, the elder, Stubbs, Ralph, the younger, Stubbs, George, and Stubbs, James, of Stockton-upon-Tees, upholsterers, Feb. 2.
Smith, Tho. of Derby, worsted-spinner, Feb. 2.
Spencer, John, Circus-street, St. Mary-le-bone, builder, Feb. 6.
Snowden, John, Liverpool, merchant, Feb. 16,
Starey, Thomas, Newgate-street, wholesale linen-draper, Feb. 20.
Simpson, Joseph, Colchester, brazier, Feb. 23.
Stuart, Adam, Liverpool, merchant, March 9.
Stockwell, Charles, Shelf, Halifax, scribbling-miller, Hemingway, Charles, of Leeds, presser, Stockwell, Samuel, Halifax, yeoman, Baker, John, and Rogerson, John, Leeds, dyers, Mar. 9.
Swainson, Richard, and Gardner, John, Liverpool, grocers, March 13.
Strictland, Thomas, and Holland, Swinton Coulthurst, Liverpool, merchants, March 13.
Scott, Charles Elliott, Upper Berkley-street, Portman-street, bookseller, March 20.
Staveley, Luke, Halifax, merchant, March 23.
Sing, Thomas Horden, Stockport, Chester, grocer, April 6.
Seward, Philip, and Pipon, Thomas, Southampton, merchants, April 6.
Scott, Adam, Workington, mercer and draper, April 27.
Sarjant, Ja. Sunderland, spirit-merchant, May 1.
Sutherland, James, Bath, haberdasher, May 4.
Sutton, William, Sadlers-hall, London, merchant, May 4.
Shevill, William, Great Prescott-street, Goodman's-fields, merchant, May 4.
Sharland, John, Cockspur-street, Charing-cross, linen-draper, May 4.
Sutton, William, Salters-hall-court, London, merchant, May 8.
Smith, Thomas, Drury-lane, baker, May 15.
Seefelt, David, Greek-street, Soho, taylor, May 22.
Simpson, Thomas, Taylerson, William, Sanderson, John, and Granger, Joseph, Stokesley, Yorkshire, bankers, June 5.
Speight, Matthew, Streetside, Dewsbury, Yorkshire, clothier, June 5.
Smith, Samuel, Liverpool, merchant, June 5.
Sewell, William, Falcon-square, London, merchant, June 5.
Smith, John, Woolwich, Kent, hawker and pedlar, June 5.
Sweetland, David, late of Topsham, Devonshire, coal-merchant, June 8.
Sharp, Tho. Walthamstow, ironmonger, June 12.
Smith, Tho. Liverpool, woollen-draper, June 12.
Scott, John, and Scott, George, South-street, Finsbury-square, merchants, June 19.
Smart, Jos. Wolverhampton, bookseller, June 19.
Stephens, William, Abchurch-lane, London, oyster-dealer, June 22.
Smith, William, of Cirencester, Gloucestershire, linen-draper, July 3.
Syers, Thomas, of Manchester, stationer, July 9.
Tobin, Daniel, and O'Meara, Thady, Nicholas-lane, Lombard-street, merchants, Jan. 2.
Timmis, Joseph, Bowling-street, Westminster, shopkeeper, Jan. 9.
Thorn, Wm. Drury-lane, woollen-draper, Jan. 12.
Taylor, Rob. Newton Moor, Chester, cotton-spinner, Jan. 23.
Tremlett, William, Totness, Devonshire, shopkeeper, Feb. 9.
Turner, Henry, St. Martin's-le-grand, silk manufacturer, Feb. 13.
Twamley, Edward, Swansea, baker, Feb. 23.
Taylor, John, and Hudson, John, Bordesley, Birmingham, factors, March 20.
Tunnicliff, John, and Tunnicliff, Moses, Macclesfield, button and twist manufacturers, March 30.
Thompson, Samuel, Liverpool, linen-merchant, April 13.
Taylor, William, Eltham, Kent, dealer in corn, April 13.
Tidswell, William, Stockport, Chester, cotton-spinner, May 4.
Timmings, John Burton, Portsea, Southampton, grocer, May 18.
Twentyman, John Middleton, Liverpool, cooper, May 25.
Towle, Thomas, and Jackson, Joshua, Newgate-street, warehousemen, May 25.

Tapley, Mary, Newton Abbot, Devon, shopkeeper, June 22.
Tatlock James, of Finch-lane, broker, July 6.
Von Wertheim, Emanuel, Arundel-street, Strand, Feb. 13.
Underwood, John, Great Marlborough-street, apothecary, Feb. 20.
Varley, John, the younger, Shardlow, Derbyshire, corn-factor, May 11.
Wallace, John, Upper Mary-le-bone-street, carpenter, Jan. 2.
Wakeman, Robert, Birmingham, plater, Jan. 2.
Webb, William, Cloth-fair, smith, Jan. 19.
Walker, William, Lancaster, merchant, Jan. 19.
Wright, Gilbert, Worcester, glove-seller, Jan. 19.
Wall, John, Tetbury, Gloucestershire, baker, Jan. 23.
Wiggin, Richard, Bilston, Staffordshire, druggist and grocer, Jan. 23.
Wilson, Joseph, Strand, umbrella-maker, Jan. 26.
Wilkes, James, St. James's-street, Westminster, gunsmith, Jan. 30.
Watson, John, Brocksfield, Northumberland, corn-merchant, Feb. 6.
Wells, Samuel, Leonard-square, Shoreditch, corn-chandler, Feb. 16.
Wallis, John Eglonton, Colchester, merchant; Feb. 20.
Winton, Philip, Jamaica-house, Bermondsey, victualler, Feb. 20.
Wainwright, John, Liverpool, gun-maker, Feb. 23.
Williams, William, Cowbridge, Glamorganshire, shopkeeper, Feb. 23.
Wallis, James, the younger, Bristol, biscuit-baker, Feb. 23.
Williams, Henry, Crickhowell, Brecon, money-scrivener, Feb. 27.
Wrig, Wm. Manchester, liquor-merchant, Feb. 27.
Webb, Charles, Bromsgrove, Worcester, money-scrivener, March 2.
Williamson, Thomas, Holbeach, Lincolnshire, grocer, March 6.
Webster, Arth. Belpor, Derbyshire, baker, Mar. 6.
Woodall, Isaac, Picket How, near Egremont, hatter, March 9.
Woodbridge, Stephen, New Brentford, stationer, March 13.
Williams, Griffith, Tooley-street, Southwark, cheesemonger, March 16.
Wordon, Robert, Pincock-mill, Lancashire, miller, March 20.
Ward, Thomas, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, merchant, March 27.
Wright, John, Piccadilly, bookseller, March 27.
Wells, John, and Wells, William, Noble-street, London, mercers, March 30.
Wilkinson, Samuel, and Burrough, Joseph, High Wycombe, bankers, March 30.
Webb, Samuel, Melksham, Wiltshire, carpenter, April 3.
Wood, Richard, Liverpool, merchant, April 6.
Woolstencroft, Robert, Timperley, Chester, innkeeper, April 13.
Wellings, Larrat, Strand, butcher, April 13.
Wade, Thomas, Great St. Helen's, drug-merchant, April 17.
Williams, William, Dean-street, Holborn, carpenter, April 27.
Wilkinson, Henry, Billiter-lane, London, merchant, May 1.
Wilkinson, Thomas, Grimescarfoot, Halifax, merchant, May 8.
Wrigley, George, Matley, Chester, hatter, May 15.
White, Henry, Islington, stock-broker, May 15.
Wolstonholme, Dean, the younger, Waltham Cross, Hertford, inn-holder, May 15.
Watson, William, Fenchurch-street, merchant, May 15.
Wagner, Benedict Paul, Great Winchester-street, London, merchant, May 18. Superseded the same day.
Wilkinson, Joseph, Lancaster, merchant, May 25.
Wagner, Benedict Paul, Great Manchester-street, merchant, May 29.
Whitley, Abraham Brown, North Shields, merchant, May 29.
Wilson, William, the younger, Hay Park, Yorkshire, corn-factor, May 29.
Wilmott, Devonshire Holman, Bristol, druggist, June 5.
Whitaker, Tho. Kighly, York, innkeeper, June 12.
White, William, Southampton-buildings, brandy-merchant, June 12.
Whitaker, Thomas, Kighly, Yorkshire, innkeeper, June 19.
Wheatly, John, of Mark-lane, corn-factor, July 6.
Yendole, John, West Munckton, Somersetshire, mealman, Feb. 27.
Young, Tho. Ripon, Yorkshire, grocer, Feb. 27.
Young, William Weston, Dillis Mill, Glamorganshire, miller, May 18.
Yeomans, James, Tamworth, Staffordshire, clothier, May 18.

JURIDICAL PROCEEDINGS.

Under this head we have selected the accounts given of all such cases, in the several courts, as appear to us to contain any thing novel or peculiarly interesting, or important, whether from its nature, its consequences, or the rank, &c. of the parties. That the student in law will derive much advantage from this species of report we cannot flatter ourselves; but, if it be continued on, year after year, with a tolerable degree of correctness, we are persuaded it will be found very useful to the generality of our readers.

KING'S BENCH.

Haycraft, v. *Creasy*.

This action was brought for giving a false character of the responsibility of the famous Miss Robertson. The defendant Creasy was a tanner at Greenwich, at whose house she lodged, and who she most completely duped, by a series of artful tricks, beyond example, and almost beyond credibility. She amused him with plans of her estate at *Fascally* in Scotland; she gave powers of attorney to receive the rents; she received splendid presents in plate, from her pretended noble relations; she rode in a fine carriage, with splendid armorial bearings; which she pretended to have received from her sister *Lady Paget*. Creasy, by these arts, was so far persuaded that she had really the fortune she pretended to have, that without any hesitation he told the plaintiff he might safely trust her. The goods, for which the action was brought, were stoves, grates, &c. for her house in the Polygon, at Blackheath; and when Haycroft applied to Creasy to know if he might safely trust her, he replied, "You may. "I know her," added he, "of my own know-"ledge, to be a woman of fortune."

The cause was tried before Lord Kenyon, at Guildhall, and a verdict found for the plaintiff—damages 343*l.*

In Michaelmas term the attorney-general moved for a new trial, which came on afterwards to be argued.

Mr. Erskine contended, that the only question was, whether the defendant gave this character knowing it at the time not to be true. Mr. Erskine laid it down as a moral principle, which also held good in law, "that a man was responsible for asserting that which he knew to be false, or did "not know to be true," if the person to whom he made that representation, acted in consequence of it, and was thereby damnified. It appeared from his own notes, and those of Lord Kenyon, that the defendant said, "he knew of his *own* "*knowledge* Miss Robertson was a woman of for-"tune, and that he might safely trust her to any "amount." Upon faith of this assertion of the defendant, the plaintiff trusted her to the amount of upwards of 400*l.* The jury by giving a verdict to the plaintiff for that sum, confirmed the principle he laid down; and he contended, that there ought to be no new trial.

The attorney-general argued on the other side. No fraud had been imputed by any person to the defendant Creasy, nor could it appear that his assertion had been deceitfully and collusively made. He saw a woman whom he had known in an humble situation, and who had borne hitherto an unblemished character, in the apparent possession of great wealth. He saw all that usually attended an affluent fortune; he was amused with designs of her country estate, and admired, in picture, woods, lawns, and rivers. What was then to undeceive him from this error; or was it a genuine error or not? The best proof that it was so, was, that he advanced his own money to the amount of 2000*l.* But the deception did not stop here: he saw this lady make out a power of attorney to collect her rents, with a bond of 10,000*l.* to secure its due performance. All this was transacted before the eyes of the poor leatherseller, which so far deluded him, that he ventured to assert *he knew* her to be a woman of fortune. Was he to suppose that the lady was acting beyond the limits of all known fraud? He saw her ride in a fine coach, having a coronet emblazoned in the arms, the present, as she said, of Lady Paget, her sister; he might indeed have inquired into the arms, but to poor Creasy all coronets were alike. He saw her receiving great presents of fine plate; in short, he was most completely duped, and the best proof was his acceptance of bills for her. When the defendant asserted he *knew* the fact, all that could fairly be meant was, that he had a conviction in his own mind, resulting from apparently conclusive proofs. On these grounds he submitted, that this was no such fraud or deceit as ought to serve as the foundation of the action.

Mr. Dallas contended, that there must be evidence of fraud to support the action. Mr. Marriott and Mr. Comyns argued on the same side.

Lord Kenyon observed, that the plaintiff depending on the representations given by the defendant of the lady, had trusted her to the amount of 434*l.* The question was, whether was this representation true or false? To this there was but one answer, that it was false. He thought that the distinctions which had been attempted to be made between this case, and that of wilful misrepresentations, were trifling in the extreme, and he confessed that those who could make such distinctions had powers of intellect beyond himself. If the present action could not be supported, he had now for twelve years been deceiving the people of this country. At the time the cause came on to be tried, this was the ground he went upon. "Did the defendant affirm that which he did not "know to be true?" This he considered sufficient evidence to support the declaration of fraud. It might not, perhaps, amount to moral turpitude, but it was, in his opinion, sufficient to constitute *legal fraud*. He thought the present action was supported, not merely in morality and social right, but in law and justice.

Mr. Justice Grose said, he could not see any fraud in the present case: when the defendant said, "I know," it could mean no more than he had that opinion. Then what was the evidence? Did the man mean to tell a lie? He had seen those things which deceived him, and the whole scene acted before his eyes was such, that he confessed he thought he might have been duped himself. The man, under these circumstances, having said *he knew* she might be trusted, ought to be construed, in his opinion, to mean no more than that he thought her deserving of credit. And as he understood that the case now came before the Court not on the ground of fraud, but upon admission that the man was a dupe, he held, till another case should be found to support a contrary opinion, that there ought to be evidence of fraud, and that therefore it ought to go to a new trial.

Mr. Justice Lawrence and Mr. Justice Le Blanc were of the same opinion.—Rule absolute.

No new trial has since taken place between the parties in the above cause. It is most probable that the plaintiff, finding the majority of the judges against him, did not chuse to incur the expense of a writ of error, with the probability of ultimate defeat. The form of action itself is a novelty in Westminster-Hall. It was introduced soon after the late Lord Kenyon took his seat as chief justice, and he held it would lie, though many of the profession thought it violated the statute of frauds. As the present chief-justice (late attorney-general) seemed to be fully of opinion that it was a violation of statute of frauds, it is clear that the present bench would be unanimous against it. It is not therefore likely, that any person will, at present, bring a similar action, at least not without positive proof of intended fraud.

Huegenin v. *Thornton, Esq.*

(February 13th).—Mr. Mingay stated, that in this case the plaintiff was a tradesman, being the younger partner in a large perfumers, which must be well known to many, as the house served part of the royal family. The defendant, Col. Thornton, was a gentleman of very large property. The action was brought to recover damages for an assault, which the colonel had committed upon the plaintiff, and he trusted the jury would be of opinion that his client merited something more than was usually given. He did not ask this because the defendant was a gentleman, and a man of large fortune; he was sure the jury would weigh out equal justice, without regard to this consideration, but the circumstances of the case were attended with much aggravation. The facts were as follow:—The colonel being at his seat in Yorkshire, which was most finely named, and he supposed,

from its elegance, it deserved its fine name. But in fact being at Thornville Royal, he wrote to the defendant to send him powder, pomatum, and a Parmesan cheese. He presumed they were to be packed together, for the benefit of scenting each other. The things were sent, and in the August following the plaintiff, as junior partner, was sent upon the dangerous service of asking for payment. When he got to the colonel's lodgings, in Leicester-Fields, and asked for his bill, the colonel replied he would pay for those things he had ordered, but he would be d—d if he would pay the other part of the bill. The plaintiff replied, Sir, you must pay my whole bill. He (the colonel) then got up and collared him, thrusting him out of the room, giving him a violent blow between the eyes. This the noble colonel must excuse him for calling a very cowardly action; for he considered it as very cowardly for any man to strike his inferior, who could not retort upon equal terms, and he hoped the jury would give him a gentle hint, in damages, to be more guarded in his conduct for the time to come.

Mr. Baker said, he kept a house in Leicester-fields. The colonel, in August last, lodged with him. He remembered the plaintiff coming for his bill; after he had been with the colonel a short time, he came down stairs, his face being covered with blood; he sat down in his parlour till he was a little recovered, when the colonel again sent for him up stairs; he accompanied him. The colonel then said he was sorry he had struck him, but it was only a black eye; the colonel then got into a passion and swore he had no right to pay; but if Mr. Sinclair, who was with him, said he ought to pay it, he would. Mr. S. advised him to do it, and he did.

He was cross-examined by Mr. Parke, but nothing material occurred in favour of the defendant.

Mr. Lacy, a surgeon, proved the violence of the blow, and that it disfigured the plaintiff for several days. — Verdict for the plaintiff, damages 30*l.*

Before Mr. Justice Lawrence and a Special Jury.

Connor v. *Smalls and others.*

(February 20.)—This was an action for an assault brought against the defendants as captain and mates of the Walsingham East-Indiaman, for flogging the plaintiff, who was a charter-party passenger on board.

Mr. Erskine, for the plaintiff, stated him to be a most meritorious old soldier, who had long served his country, and for his good conduct had been promoted to be a serjeant of artillery. He once had the good fortune to save the life of that gallant officer, General Abercrombie, and was, after a life of long hardships, returning home from India to rest and quiet, as a charrered passenger in the ship Walsingham, of which the defendant, Smalls, was captain. Mr. E. stated, that the cause of his being flogged, for which assault he now sought reparation in damages, was because he refused to fall in the ranks and exercise with small arms, a thing which, as a passenger, they certainly had no right to compel him to do. And while Campbell, the mate, was dragging him to the shrouds, his wife interfered, upon which he d—d her for a bitch, and immediately knocked her down at the feet of her husband. Also, that while he was undergoing the punishment, he earnestly begged for a draught of water, which was refused him, and when they had finished, they compelled him to fall into the ranks, with his back mangled and torn, exposed to the burning rays of an eastern sun.

The material facts, as stated by the evidence, were, that on the 15th of April the men were ordered to fall into the ranks, and exercise with the great and small arms. Mr. Erskine stated, it was on account of its being the captain's birth day, but that was not the fact; and the defendant insisted it was in pursuance of orders he had received in Bengal, as the privateers from Mauritius infested those seas.

The plaintiff's witnesses stated, that he on that day was sitting on a gun, between decks, when he received orders to fall into the ranks. He said he was a passenger, and had no right to go to quarters; that he knew his exercise already, and would fight if the ship was attacked. Lieutenant Campbell then went to the captain and complained, who ordered him immediately to be flogged. Campbell then returned below, and told him he should have a d—d good flogging. The plaintiff's wife interfering, he knocked her down, and dragged the plaintiff to the shrouds, where he was seized up, and received four dozen lashes with a thick cat. He begged for water while he was under punishment, which was refused, and he was compelled, as soon as it was over, to fall into the ranks.

Mr. Gibbs admitted that a verdict must go against his clients, but said he should lay before the jury such circumstances as must reduce the damages to merely nominal ones. He then stated that the plaintiff and 23 other soldiers had been put on board only three days before, and that the officer who delivered them to the chief mate, told him to have a wary eye over them, for that they were very mutinous and refractory, particularly the plaintiff, Connor. He also stated, that when the plaintiff was ordered to quarters, he not only refused to go, but used very indecent language, he d—d all the officers, said the captain was an old woman, and that if the ship was attacked he might defend her himself; and when on deck he behaved with great insolence to the captain himself, daring him to punish him. It would also appear by the plaintiff's discharge, that he was dismissed as a seditious character, and unfit to remain in India. In short, his whole conduct was so mutinous, that the officers, all but Mr. Barker, the first mate, thought it necessary to leave the deck and arm themselves.

Several witnesses were called, who having proved these facts,

Mr. Justice Lawrence told the jury, that wanton insult was always a ground for heavy damages, but, on the contrary, circumstances might operate in mitigation. He then remarked on the conduct of the defendant, which he highly blamed, and left it to the jury to consider what damages they would give. Verdict for the plaintiff, damages 100*l.*

Foster v. *Mellish.*

(Feb. 27, Breach of Promise of Marriage.)—The Attorney-General, on behalf of the plaintiff, said he was a young gentleman about 27 years of age, of considerable respectability in the medical line at Highgate, whose health and peace of mind had been deeply affected by a cruel breach of promise on the part of the defendant. Being recommend-

ed by his friends to fix his business in or near London, he had, in the year 1799, purchased the house of a Mr. Sands, for the sum of 1800l. and the good-will of his business, which, on an average, was worth from 8 to 900l. per annum, for the sum of 1600l. being two year's purchase, to be paid by instalments. The defendant, he understood to be a young lady of very considerable attainments, of a beautiful person, and a most graceful form, and the natural daughter of a person of considerable property. The plaintiff met her early in the year 1800, at the Highgate Assembly, a mutual attachment was conceived between them, regular proposals were made and accepted, they had numerous meetings, and, at length, the defendant plighted herself in the most solemn manner to become the wife of Mr. Foster. Some interruption had taken place in their intercourse; but, from the month of April to that of August 1801, it had continued unbroken. Her brothers were somewhat adverse to the match; but nothing had been done clandestinely; every party had been apprised of the proceedings; and, on her part, every thing had been settled, even to the purchasing of her wedding cloaths. The Attorney-General here read a number of letters which had been written by the defendant to the plaintiff, and to a Miss Swain, her friend, on the subject of her intimacy with Mr. Foster; all of which, as Mr. Justice Le Blanc afterwards observed, tended to shew her firm intention to marry him.

The promise on the part of the defendant, and the subsequent breach of it was afterwards proved by Miss Swain, who had first become acquainted with the defendant, whom she stated to be of the age of 23, at school, and their acquaintance had recommenced at Brighton about two years ago. She had been the confidant of Miss Mellish throughout nearly the whole of the affair, and had materially assisted in promoting the wishes of the parties. It was agreed between Miss Mellish and the defendant, that the half of her property, which was 13,900l. 3 per cents. was to be settled on herself and heirs, and, in default of heirs, she was to have the power of willing it as she pleased; the other half to be sunk, so as to raise a sum of money for the purpose of paying off some debts of the plaintiff; Mr. Swain, the father of Miss Swain, being intended as one of her trustees. On the cross-examination of Miss Swain it appeared, that throughout she was acquainted with the violent aversion entertained by the brothers of the lady to the match.

Mr. Erskine, on the part of the defendant, said, that the question was, whether the promise the defendant had made, was not one which would be more honoured in the breach than the observance. If it should appear, however, that the plaintiff had been capriciously and cruelly treated, that his attachment had been solely to the mind and person of the defendant, and that he had thought nothing of her miserable three per cents. as he had made up his mind to be paid in money, in money let him be paid; though it certainly was not a very common thing for delicate-minded men to come to Westminster-hall to claim a marriage portion. Mr. E. then contended, that the plaintiff had no affection for her; and only wanted to secure her fortune. From his statements, and from evidence which he called, it appeared, that during an interruption which took place in this courtship, in the year 1800, in consequence of the interference of Mr. Mellish, the defendant's brother, Mr. Foster, paid his addresses to a Miss Pullen, at Highgate, from whose father he had borrowed 1700l. and told her she was the only woman he had ever seen with whom he could be happy. Mr. Pullen, the father, finding the plaintiff to be extravagant and embarrased in his affairs, broke off the connexion between him and his daughter. Mr. Foster again renewed his addresses to Miss Mellish, who on the 28th of September last wrote him a letter, containing a solemn promise to marry him in December following. But before that time she informed him that their correspondence must terminate. The cause assigned for this resolution on the part of the lady, was an anonymous letter which she had received in August last, purporting to be written by a female acquaintance, with a view to terrify her into the match with Mr. Foster, by holding out to her that her character was in danger of being lost, &c. This letter Miss Mellish had every reason to think was written by the plaintiff, and it was on the proof of that fact that Mr. Erskine rested the defence; because if it should appear that he wrote it, the conduct of Miss Mellish in breaking off the match was highly justifiable. Mr. Samuel Mellish, the defendant's brother, said, he had no doubt of the hand writing being that of the plaintiff. The Inspector of franks, at the Post Office, said, the hand writing of the letter was disguised, and on comparing it with the admitted letters of the plaintiff, he had no doubt of its being written by him. On the other hand, Mr. Swain, Mr. Sands, Mr. Hodges, and Mr. Folkes, swore they did not believe the letter to be the hand writing of the plaintiff. The Jury found a verdict for plaintiff, damages 200l. This trial lasted from eleven in the morning till near ten at night.

GUILDHALL.—Before Sir N. Grose.

Cherrill v. *Cherrill.*

This was an action brought by the plaintiff, a young lady, to recover special damages of the defendant, her kinsman. She was the daughter of a respectable farmer in Gloucestershire, and had been placed under the care of Miss Stewart, a Fancy-dress maker, in the vicinity of Oxford-street, to learn her business. She had not been above six months in London before she became extremely ill, and was advised to return to the country, to enjoy the benefit of her native air.—Immediately after her departure, the defendant called at the house of Miss Stewart, and asked one of the servants if she knew the reason of Miss Letitia Cherrill's retiring to the country. Upon her answering in the negative, he said she was with child, as well as her sister, Martha Cherrill, and both by a person of the name of Adams. The defendant also propagated the same injurious report among several other of the young lady's acquaintances, and in particular he told it to a person who was in the service of a gentleman of large property in the neighbourhood of the plaintiff's father's residence. It became the common talk in the village where her father lived, and also in Miss Stewart's family. When the young lady recovered, her father wrote to Miss Stewart, informing her she would return to her service; but Miss Stewart, who had several female apprentices of virtuous characters in her house, thought it would be setting a very bad example

before them, to introduce into their society a girl who had so extremely misconducted herself: she therefore refused to receive her, and sent her word to that effect—it was for this special damage the action was brought: the defendant was clearly proved to have used the words alleged in the declaration.—On the cross-examination of Miss Stewart, it was endeavoured to be inferred, that she had declined receiving her, not because she believed the story to the prejudice of her chastity to be true, but because she had discovered that the plaintiff had deceived her, by asking her permission to go to a dance with Mr. Adams, who was courting her sister, and instead of so doing, availing herself of the opportunity by going to a masquerade; but Miss Stewart persisted in saying she had only been actuated by the report circulated by the defendant.

Mr. Justice Grose highly censured the conduct of the defendant, in spreading a calumny as malignant as it was unfounded. It was a cowardly, base, and unmanly attempt to ruin the character of an unprotected female.

The jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff.—Damages £100.

COMMON PLEAS.

Eagleton v. *the East-India Company.*

(Feb. 1.)—The plaintiff Mr. Edward Eagleton, an eminent tea-dealer in Cheapside, had on the 17th of June last, been the highest bidder at one of the company's sales: he bid for 60001b. weight of tea at the sum of £1650 but the East-India company refused to admit him as a bidder, and refused his deposit. He afterwards brought an action against the company, and obtained a verdict, subject to the opinion of the court. That action was defended on the ground of a bye-law made by the company, which stated, that if the purchasers of goods should make default in completing the purchase within a stipulated period, they should be re-sold, and the difference, if any, paid to the first purchasers; and also that such purchasers should ever after be rendered incapable of bidding at any of the company's sales. It then appeared that the plaintiff had at a sale previous to the one mentioned in the declaration, been declared the best bidder of a lot of teas, on which he had paid the usual deposit, but neglecting to make good the purchase within the period limited, he had applied to the defendants, who so far from insisting on the forfeiture, had given him time; that he afterwards paid the purchase-money, with interest for the delay, but that the defendants declared he should not be permitted to bid at any other sale.

Mr. Serjeant Best, on behalf of the plaintiff, said this question was of the utmost magnitude and involved nothing less than this, whether the whole trade of the East Indies was to be completely under the controul and dominion of the company. If they could do what they pretended they had a right to do, the effect would be that of investing them with a degree of influence inconsistent with the principles upon which commerce was carried on. It was quite impossible the East-India company could destroy the right of the subject by any bye-law of their own; and he therefore maintained that this bye-law set up by the company, was upon every recognized principal of the law of England absolutely void, and not binding upon the subjects of the country. It was a bye-law in restraint of trade, and not in regulation of it, and on that ground was illegal. It would be in vain to direct the company's goods to be put up to public auction, unless every subject had a right to bid, it was impossible the company could of itself usurp a legislative power restrictive of the rights of the subject. The bye-law in question was unnecessary, injurious to the company, injurious to the public, and injurious to the revenue. Admitting the present bye-law could be supported, still it could not apply to the plaintiffs, for no corporation could make bye-laws to bind any other than such as were members and part of its own body. The learned serjeant then observed that with regard to the facts of the case, it was the hardest one that could be imagined. Mr. Eagleton was no insolvent person; he was a man in reputable circumstances, and at this moment did not owe the company a shilling. He trusted the court would teach these proud lords of the East they were not with impunity to violate the rights of the subject. It has been said by Lord Coke, that corporations had no souls—certainly no individual, possessed of a soul, would have acted in the manner this monopolizing corporation had done. He concluded by observing, that he felt the case of the deepest importance, not only to the plaintiff, but to the whole subjects of the country, who would at any time and upon all occasions, be liable to become the victims of the arbitrary exclusion of the East-India company.

(Feb. 3.)—The cause being resumed this day, Mr. Serjeant Bailey, on the part of the defendants, contended that they had a right to exclude the plaintiff from bidding at their sales. Without such a restraint, any person who was a beggar in his circumstances, might, after having made default in the completion of former contracts, bid for goods upon speculation, without the least probability of ever paying for them. It was necessary, in order to enable the East-India company to carry on their immense trade, that they should make their contracts of sale upon a certainty of their being fulfilled by the buyer. He contended that the condition of sale which the plaintiff considered he was not bound by, was reasonable; it was a condition precedent of which the plaintiff was aware before he became a purchaser of goods at the company's sale, and he therefore ought, previous to his bidding for any lot, to have been well assured he had the means of completing his contract. His learned brother had, in the course of his speech, considered the conduct of the directors in this instance as harsh and rigorous, but he submitted the facts of the case did not warrant any such conclusion; on the contrary, they had acted in the most temperate manner possible towards the plaintiff. Instead of carrying the law to its full extent against him, by insisting upon the forfeiture of his deposit, and obliging him to pay the loss and expences of a re-sale, they had allowed him the delay he required, but at the same time expressly told him they reserved the right of refusing to let him bid at their sales, till they had received satisfaction as to the cause of his not paying them sooner. He acceded to this condition, and afterwards, when he had availed himself of the benefit of it, and had paid the money, he pretended he was not bound to give the directors any such satisfaction, for that in point of law they had no right to demand it.

Mr. Serjeant Best again maintained that the right of bidding at the East-India company's sales was a vested right, which nothing but parliament could take away. Upon the subject of the satisfaction the company reserved the right of demand-

ing, he was at a loss to know what it meant; it might mean that the plaintiff should engage Mr. Rous their counsel, in single combat in barriers closed, or it might mean that the plaintiff should make a pilgrimage to the East Indies, or perform certain ablutions in the waters of the Ganges—it was a phrase so indefinite, that it was impossible for any one to guess at what it was intended to convey.—He trusted the court would be of opinion, the company should have expressed in their conditions what the nature of the satisfaction was they required from those who failed in performing their contracts, and that they had no right to refer it merely to their own discretion and caprice.

Lord Alvanley.—There is no doubt but the East India company has a right to impose conditions with regard to their sales, provided they are reasonable ones. The only question is, whether they have a right to impose such terms as the directors may insist upon or relax. The words of the condition of sale are very vague—I do not know what is meant by saying, that a person who has made default in fulfilling his contract, shall not be entitled to bid at future sales till he has given satisfaction to the directors. It may mean, in the opinion of the directors, the satisfaction of a gentleman. There is only one way in which the word satisfaction can be construed in a court of law, and that is, by the party paying the money, and it appears the money has been paid with interest. I think the words of the condition can admit of but one construction. The East-India company may impose a new condition, and it will be for the court to say whether it is reasonable or not. That they have a right to make conditions of sale there can be no doubt. We will consider of it, but I see no necessity for another argument.

The other judges gave the same opinion as to the meaning of the word "satisfaction."

Cook v. *Bennett.*

(Feb. 26.)—This was a new and interesting case, being the first of the kind ever tried.—The plaintiff had been a sailor on board the Kingston, engaged in the southern whale fishery. He had contracted with the defendant, the owner of the ship, to serve on board, on condition of receiving a certain proportion of the produce of the fishery, and of all the prizes made during the voyage. The ship sailed on her voyage about three years ago, and off the coast of South America captured a Spanish ship, which sold for 3000l. but running short of provisions, the captain sent the Spanish prisoners on shore with a flag of truce. The plaintiff, and other mariners, conducted them on shore, where they were taken and kept in prison for a year. In the mean time the Kingston completed her voyage; and returned to England without the prisoner, who brought this action to recover a share of the profits and prizes made by her during the whole voyage. It was contended he was entitled to a share only during the time he was on board. The jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff, subject to the opinion of the court.

KENT ASSIZES. Maidstone Spring Circuit.

Turner v. *Umferrel.*

The counsel who opened this cause stated, that it was an action brought by the plaintiff, a young and respectable attorney, against the defendant, a stout athletic farmer, to recover damages for a most violent assault, committed in violation of the rights of hospitality. Miss James, a young lady of about 18 years of age, and sister-in-law to the defendant, said she had been upon a visit to the plaintiff's father, in London, and was so pleased with her treatment, and the attention of the plaintiff, who was about the age of 21, that she in return invited him down to her brother's. The young lady shewed an extreme partiality for the young lawyer, and they were never happy but in each other's company.—They were accustomed to amuse themselves by walking in the groves of Greenwich Park, and upon a certain evening, after having been a long time missed, they were found enjoying a *tete-a-tete* in one of the vaults of Sir Gregory Page Turner's decayed mansion. Another source of amusement was reading novels to each other, and upon the evening the supposed assault was committed, the defendant was preparing to go round his grounds with a pistol in his hand, as was his custom, when he heard the plaintiff in his sister's bed chamber, reading a novel. He immediately exclaimed to his wife—"What's that girl "and boy about in the bed-room—they shan't be "there." And he ordered that Miss should sleep in the same room with her sister that night; and he would take care to keep the lawyer from her. This determination so affronted the plaintiff that he resolved upon leaving the house that instant. He went out, and Miss James followed him, and insisted upon seeing him safe over the heath to some other house. She clung round and resisted every attempt of the farmer to get her away.—The assault consisted in nothing more than the struggle which was the consequence of her laying tight hold of the plaintiff; no blow was struck whatever; on the contrary, the defendant wished the plaintiff to come back, and sleep at his house that night. A surgeon was called, to prove that the defendant had been seized with a cold and fever, and had paid him 20l. He however admitted, that passing an hour or two in a damp vault was as likely as any other cause to produce such a disorder. The judge thought that the defendant had acted like a prudent man. He even intimated that he would not have, perhaps, far exceeded his authority if he had given the plaintiff a gentle horse-whipping, and had locked the young lady up for a week, upon an allowance of bread and water.—Under his lordship's direction, the jury found a verdict for the defendant.

SHERIFF'S COURT,

(Crim. Con.) Martin v. *Pobjoy.*

(April 3.) This action came before the court in the nature of a writ of inquiry, to assess the damages which the plaintiff claimed from the defendant, for having seduced, and had criminal intercourse with his wife, the defendant having let judgment go by default. No counsel was employed; but the plaintiff's attorney stated, that his client was a master taylor of great respectability; that ten years ago he married Louisa Beasly, his now wife, by whom he had seven children the youngest only six months old; and that they had lived on the most affectionate terms together until the event in question. About a year ago he employed the defendant as his foreman. He was a young man of an engaging appearance; and it soon became visible the wife entertained a partiality for him; but it was not till Christmas last that the husband could discover any thing to prove an improper connexion. About this time he was spending an evening at a public-house, and coming home

earlier than usual, he knocked several times at the door, but could gain no admittance. After waiting and knocking a considerable time, his wife let him in, and appeared to be in great confusion and embarrassment; and, when asked the reason of the delay, and whether any person had been with her, hesitated, faultered, and could give him no satisfactory answer. He then called up his maid servant, and threatened to send her before a justice if she did not tell him who had been with her mistress. The girl being frightened, said that Mr. Pobjoy had supped with her, and that they had been for two hours locked up together in her bed-room. His wife then threw herself at his feet, confessed her crime, and begged forgiveness. The plaintiff then understanding that the defendant was in his room, he ran up with a poker in his hand, and gave him a blow which broke his arm. The neighbours were then called in, a surgeon was sent for, who set the arm, and the wife was for that night permitted to sleep with the maid servant, but sent away the next morning. The maid servant being then called, proved all these facts: and added, that her mistress and Mr. Pobjoy used frequently to be together in her master's absence, and she had no doubt of the criminal intercourse having taken place. The attorney for the defendant urged, in mitigation of damages, the great loss he had sustained in consequence of the breaking of his arm. The under-sheriff said he came off very well, for if the plaintiff had killed him he would not have been legally answerable for it.—The jury gave the plaintiff 30l. damages.

Adjourned Sittings, GUILDHALL.

Penman v. *Wheelwright.*

(April 23.) This was the first cause tried before Lord Ellenborough. It was an action upon a policy of insurance on the Swedish ship, Resolution, at and from Pensacola and Morsbide to London, upon goods and species, or both, as should thereafter be declared, with a warranty, that the goods were the property of British subjects, or of the subjects of states in amity with his Majesty. The question in the cause was, whether, in fact, the goods belonged to Penman, Shaw, and Co. English merchants, or to Panton, Lesly and Co. who resided in Pensacola, and were domiciled subjects of the King of Spain, then in enmity with his Majesty.

It was sufficiently proved in the cause, that the ship had the necessary licences, and was documented with the necessary papers, without which she could not have sailed, and that the plaintiffs had shipped on board between £20,000 and £30,000 worth of goods, consigned to Panton, Lesly, and Co. at Pensacola. By the account current it appeared, that the balance due to Penman and Shaw was £27,529, and they contended that the goods on board was in part payment of that debt, and that they had accepted them as such.

Captain Ross, who navigated the ship, said he sailed with the cargo from Portsmouth to Pensacola. He was met by a French privateer, who stopped him, and plundered him of his two licences. He afterwards delivered his cargo to the house at Pensacola, and received 50 hogsheads of deer-skins in return. He sailed again for England with this cargo, consigned to the present plaintiffs, but was detained, and carried into Jamaica, by his Majesty's armed ship, Syren, Captain Goslin. The vessel was libelled in the Admiralty court of Jamaica. The plaintiff then abandoned the vessel to the underwriters, and brought the present action to recover upon the policy, which insured against all detention of princes. Upon the account current between the parties, which the plaintiff produced in evidence, it appeared, that the charge of insurance for this very cargo was debited to the foreign house, and that a part of it had been sold to a man named Tipping, who became a bankrupt, and that the dividend received under Tipping's commission was placed to the same account. On all the former transactions, also, the House of Penman and Wheelwright had accounted to Panton and Co. only for the nett proceeds of the cargoes.

Lord Ellenborough observed, that this was an action upon a policy of insurance on a Swedish vessel, which, by the 39th and 40th of the R. C. 4, was allowed, during the war, to carry goods, provided the same were the property of British subjects, or of the subjects of states in amity with his Majesty. By this Act of Parliament, the Navigation Act was in part suspended, and it legitimized a species of traffic, which, but for it, would have been illegal. The only question in the case was, to whom did those goods belong? To the plaintiffs, or to Panton, Lesly, and Co. at Pensacola. The latter, though they were British born subjects, yet in respect to their being domiciled in the dominions of Spain, for the purposes of this action, were to be considered as enemy's subjects. On the part of the plaintiff it was contended, that there was a balance due to them from Panton and Co. of 27,529*l.* and that these goods were consigned in part of payment, and accepted by them for such purpose. The answer to this case arose out of the accounts; his lordship then commented on those parts of the account current which applied to that appoint, and gave his decided opinion in favour of the defendant, arguing that the papers of the ship were colourable to evade the chance of capture by British cruisers.

The jury withdrew for half an hour, and then returned to ask, "whether the indorsement on the "bill of lading was a legal assignment?" His lordship replied, "it was, for all ordinary pur-"poses, but that was not the question here: the "papers, no doubt, on the face of them, were "regular, but were they not merely colourable?" The jury again withdrew, and after a short time returned a verdict for the plaintiff. In the course of the last term Mr. Garrow moved for a new trial, on the ground of a verdict against evidence, and it came on to be argued. The learned judge read his notes of the evidence, and the court concurred in the opinion of the chief justice, as delivered at Guildhall. The verdict was accordingly set aside, and the cause now stands for another trial.

The King v. *Macleod.*

(April 24).—The defendant, Alan Macleod, stood charged with having published two libels in the Albion newspaper, of which he was the printer and publisher. The first was against the character of the Earl of Clare, late chancellor of Ireland, and the information charged, that it was written with intent to stir up evil disposed persons to kill him, or do him great bodily harm. The libel, after adverting to some part of that nobleman's conduct, continued "you have been "twice pelted, my lord, by an enraged mob; be-

" ware the third time—Buckingham had three " warnings before he fell under the dagger of " Felton; you may resemble him in more in- " stances than one."

The attorney-general led the cause, and commented, in a very able speech, on the mischievous tendency of such libels, in the course of which he drew an animated character of the late Lord Clare, whom he described as more illustrious for virtue, patriotism, fortitude, wisdom, and learning, than from his high and exalted station. The libel was proved in the usual way, by the person who purchased a copy of the paper. Mr. Scott then went into a long defence of Mr. Macleod, in which he insisted that all he wrote was " matter of history." He commented at great length upon all the cases of libel, which he insisted was a bastard slip, and not a legitimate shoot, from the laws of England, derived out of the tyranny of the Court of Star-chamber. Mr. Macleod himself also addressed the jury, in which he disclaimed all personal animosity against the Earl of Clare, and insisted before the jury could find him guilty, the crown ought to have produced to them evidence, to prove that his intentions were such as were charged upon him by the information.

The jury however found him guilty.

He was then tried and found guilty upon the second libel, being strictures upon the Irish Martial Law Bill, which he described " as the last " act in the tragedy of despotism, which no brave " and generous people would ever sit out." In order to prove his statements with respect to the kingdom of Ireland, he had *subpœnaed* the Earl of Camden, the late lord lieutenant, and was proceeding to examine him, on the subject, when the attorney-general interfered, and submitted to the court, that his lordship could not be examined, as it would lead to disclosure of matters which came to his lordship's knowledge as a privy counsellor, and on this ground his examination was over-ruled.

The following term (Easter) the defendant was brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment, where he again spoke at great length. He was again remanded, and brought up on a subsequent day, when he again wished to address the court; but was informed, that he had already been heard, and by the rules of the court could not be heard again. He, however, obstinately persisted, and the court was obliged to remand him to prison. As he went out, he threatened the judges by observing, that " judges had been im- " peached in better times."

He was again brought up this (Trinity) term, and again begged to be heard, saying he had matter to lay before them which would arrest the judgment. The court informed him, that if he had any thing to say in arrest of judgment they would patiently hear him. He accordingly again made a long speech, which was rather meant a justification of all he had done, than applying to any matter in arrest of judgment. He was frequently reminded by the court that he wandered from his point, but the intimation had very little effect upon him. Having at length concluded, Mr. Justice Grose pronounced the sentence of the court, which was, that he should be imprisoned for eighteen months in Newgate, for the first libel, to commence from the expiration of his present sentence (which is in July), and a further imprisonment of eighteen months, to commence from the expiration of his last sentence, and to find sureties for his good behaviour, for seven years, himself in 1000*l.* and two others in 200*l.* each.

Macleod has already been imprisoned for eighteen months, for a libel in the Gazetteer upon the character of the Prince of Wales, for which he has also stood in the pillory, and is also fined 100*l.* for a libel upon the House of Lords.

Brook, v. *Guy*.

(April 28.)—This was an election quarrel, the plaintiff, it seemed, had an inclination to represent the town of Chippenham in Parliament, which was a manufacturing town in the woollen-trade, the plaintiff, also being a wool-broker. In his addresses he had represented himself as able to be of very essential service to the town in their manufactory, and urged that as a reason why they should elect him. The defendant being, of course, in an opposite interest, wrote the letter which was complained of as a libel, and circulated it among all the freemen of Chippenham. The purport of it was as follows—" When I first " heard that you proposed yourself to the free- " men of Chippenham, I was astonished and puz- " zled to find on what you could found your " pretensions. It was no less surprising, how a " wool-broker, in the fair exercise of his busi- " ness, could live in the manner you do, and ac- " cumulate a fortune, or how you could serve the " town by selling cheaper than others, without " fraud and perjury. I thought, therefore, there " was little weight to be attached to your pre- " tensions, and was not much surprised when I " heard it came out in evidence, before arbitrators, " three respectable merchants in the city of Lon- " don, that you had charged Messrs. Wallingtons " two-pence in the pound upon a contract of " wool more than you paid." The letter also charged the plaintiff with having himself dealt as principal in wool, contrary to his oath and duty as a broker. To this action the defendant had pleaded a justification, alleging the matter stated by him to be true.

To make out this case, the bond and oath of a broker were produced and read, by which it appeared, that they were not to deal as principals, and not surcharge any one for whom they acted as broker.

Manuel de la Torre, the agent for the Spanish government, was called. He said he was agent for two-thirds of the Spanish wools imported into this country. He proved the contract between himself and Brook at 5*s.* 1*d.* for the Leonissa wools, and 4*s.* 8*d.* for Segovias His books were also sent for and examined, by which it appeared that the whole contract for the wools amounted to 160,000*l.* that year.

On cross examination the counsel endeavoured to establish, that although the wool in question was paid for at 4*s.* 8*d.* to De Torres, yet that other parcels were paid for in other proportions, so that upon the whole contract, Brooks, as the broker, did not get any surplus beyond what he paid to the factor.

Mr. Wallington was also called, and he said he gave Brooks orders to purchase 180 bags of foreign wool, *viz.* 140 Leonissa, and 40 of Segovia. The invoices of these wools were compared with the weight notes from Torres, and it appeared there had been a surchage of two-pence in the pound.

Evidence was also produced, to shew that the defendant had dealt in wool himself as principal.

Mr. Justice Grose, before whom the cause was tried, observed, in the course of his summing up, that the letter was a most excellent treatise on the duty of a broker, and he wished much the plaintiff would attend to it He then went through the evidence, and intimated his opinion, that the defendant had made out his justification.

Verdict for defendant.

Moss, v. *Charnock.*

(May 1.)—This was a question upon the validity of the transfer of a ship under Lord Liverpool's Act. The action was brought by the plaintiff, as assignee of Kirkpatric, a bankrupt, to recover two-thirds of the ship Mary Anne, under the following circumstances. Charnock was a creditor of Kirkpatric's, and on the 15th of November took an assignment of Kirkpatric's share in the ship, as part payment of his debt. On the 5th of December, the transfer of the property was registered at the Custom-House, according to the direction of Lord Liverpool's Act. But after the assignment, and previous to the registering, Kirkpatric became a bankrupt. The present action was brought to recover the ship from Charnock, the assignee contending, that as the sale was not complete until the registering of the ship, the property was not out of the bankrupt at the time of the bankruptcy; consequently, that he, as the assignee, was entitled to recover it. The defendant, on the contrary, contended, that the registering was mere matter of form, and when done, it completed the title from the time of the original assignment.

Mr. Justice le Blanc said, this did not seem a question for the jury, it was a mere point of law upon the construction of the act of parliament. By Lord Liverpool's Act, the transfer of property in shipping, must be attended with certain formalities, to make it valid, and when a ship was out of the kingdom, as was the prerent case, it directed, that an entry of the transfer should be registered on the books of the Custom-House, in that port to which she belonged. This was not done until the 5th of December, when the ship arrived, and therefore, his opinion was, that the property was vested in the bankrupt, until the title was complete by registering the transfer.

The facts of the case being agreed on by the counsel, with the additional fact, that the grand bill of sale remained in the custody of Kirkpatric, a verdict was taken for the plaintiff subject to the future opinion of the court, as to the point of law.

In the subsequent term, (Friday May 28) the case was argued in court.

Mr. Parke, in support of the verdict, contended, that the assignment was not valid, neither under the statute nor at common law. To make a valid assignment at common law, it was necessary that the grand bill of sale should be delivered to the assignee, and he insisted that Lord Liverpool's Act did not supersede the ancient but superadded others. By the 16 sect. of the 34 Geo. 3. c. 68, when a ship at sea was transferred from one owner to another, it was necessary to deliver a copy of the bill of sale to the Custom-House. His learned friend contended, that when this was to be done, was not limitted in point of time. He contended, that it ought to be done forthwith, and that if a bankruptcy intervened it altered the whole contract. It was similar to a bargain and sale to be enrolled under the statute of Elizabeth, where nothing passed until the enrolment.

Mr. Erskine, *contra*. It was admitted, that the disposition of the property, previous to the bankruptcy, was *bonâ fide*, and as no particular time was specified in the act, when the transfer should be registered, it must be done in a reasonable time, and what was a reasonable time must be left to the jury to determine. With respect to the grand bill of sale remaining with Kirkpatric, it was only a bill of sale of two-thirds. There could be but one grand bill of sale, and why he should have it rather than any other of the co-owners, he could not see, but although the transfer of the bill of sale was necessary, previous to Lord Liverpool's Act, yet since that time it was immaterial, as the regulations of that act sufficiently prevented any fradulent transfer of shipping. With respect to the time after the assignments, and previous to the registering, as no unnecessary delay had been suffered to intervene, and as the act did not bind them to any particular space, he insisted that it was a fact for the jury to determine, whether they had been guilty of any neglect; and if they had not, he argued, that their title was good from the date of the assignment, which was previous to the act of bankruptcy. Mr. Gibbs argued on the same side.

On a subsequent day Mr. Justice Lawrence delivered the opinion of the court in favour of the plaintiff, on the ground that it would open a door to great frauds, if the title was complete until all the necessary forms were gone through.

EASTER TERM.

The King v. *Joseph Cator.*

(May 31.) The defendant appeared to receive the judgment of the court, having been convicted last Kent assizes, of writing several anonymous and libellous letters to Mr. H. Jackson, of Beckenham.

The defendant is a gentleman of large fortune, having lived many years in the East-Indies, now retired to the village of Beckenham in Kent. Mr. Jackson, the prosecutor, is a merchant, also residing in the same parish, which unfortunately has for a long time been in a state of civil dissension, respecting the regulation of the poor rates; Mr. John Cator, the brother of the defendant, being the leader of one party, and Mr. Jackson, the prosecutor, of the other. This caused considerable ill blood between the families, but it did not appear that Mr. Jos. Cator had been active in the quarrel any way.

In the course of the last year, Mrs. Jackson received several anonymous and scurrilous letters, which were never suspected to come from the defendant, until some one looking at them, said he knew it to be the hand writing of Mr. Jos. Cator, although disguised. There was also a particularity about the paper, which induced Mr. Jackson to write a note to Mr. Cator, for the purpose of getting an answer—the answer came on the same sort of paper; and it was afterwards proved on the trial by the paper-maker, that he had never sold any of that paper but to the Bishop of Rochester and to Mr. Cator's servant. Mr. Jackson accordingly indicted Mr. Cator for the libel contained in those letters, and the jury found him guilty. He now appeared to receive the sentence of the court.

Mr. Justice Grose began by observing, that he stood convicted of publishing a false, scandalous, and malicious libel, reflecting upon the character

of Mr. Jackson; and having stated the mode of its publication, viz. by anonymous letters, he continued his address in substance as follows:

"The libel fully answesr the description given "of it in the indictment; it represents the "prosecutor as a fool a great rascal, a braggado- "cio, a lover of litigation, a great hypocrite; and "also, in one letter to Mrs Jackson, insinuates "that he had been incontinent to his marriage "bed The author of these scurrillous produc- "tions feeling that the person to whom they were "thus addressed in private letters, might not "choose to publish this abuse of himself to the "world, but rather let it die away without public "notice, on the outside of one letter, addressed "to Mr. Jackson, has also added, 'a noisy, emp- "ty, braggadocio, meddling fellow.' I advert to "this circumstance, because I think it applies in "answer to one argument used by your counsel, "namely, that there was no inuendo to explain to "whom the words applied. In truth, it was too "plain, and needed not the intervention of any "inuendo wharever to make it plainer.

"That a person, standing accused of so un- "manly, so degrading a crime, should make every "effort to repel the charge, is not at all wonder "ful, but what was naturally to be expected. "Accordingly, all means were used in your de- "fense before the jury; no pains have been "spared by your counsel, either at the trial or at "bar, to defend you from the charge, and to "avert from you its effect. But you have been "found guilty! The evidence upon which you "were convicted was, as it generally is in such "cases, of a circumstantial nature: other evi- "dence could not well be expected; for the man "who can attempt to assassinate in the dark the "peace of a family, and wield his weapon from "an unknown quarter, will most likely take such "measures of precaution, as to preclude the pro- "bability of abtaining direct proof against him. "Yet such is often the interference of Providence, "that some trivial and unforeseen circumstance "leads to detection. Thus, in the case before us, "we find the feigned hand-writing for a moment "losing its assumed chararcter; or, as the learned "counsel (Garrow) well observed, the mask drop- "ped off, and the natural features for a moment "became visible. Some witnesses spoke more "particularly to the words '*hypocritical villain*,' "as being your usual hand-writing; and others, "that they believed the whole to be so. Had it "been a case of doubt, after the evidence of cha- "racter you produced upon your trial, the jury "would have acquitted you;—but it did not rest "here; this evidence received confirmation from "other and collateral circumstances, such was "the evidence respecting the writing-paper, and "your expressions of "You never sold any of that "paper to me,"—"Reformers seldom do any "good," &c. It is enough, however, for me, "without going through the evidence at this "period of the cause, to observe, that after the "best advice and assistance which the English "bar could afford you, a jury of your country "have found you guilty.

"With regard to your motives, we can only "divine them from facts. From the records of this "court we know, that in the parish where both "you and the prosecutor inhabit, the latter had "exerted himself to correct some evils respecting "the parish rates, and to abolish an old and un- "just system of rating, in order to substitute "one more eqitiable in its operation. In this, the "justice and liberality of the prosecutor were "most conspicuous; and to this, perhaps, was "meant to apply your observation, that "Re- "formers do no good." If it were so meant to "apply, it must be considered as aggravating the "libel. From your rank and character in society, "he ought to have expected that from you he "should have had approbation and assistance in "so salutary an undertaking, and not to have met "with obliquy and reproach. But whatever might "be your motives, nothing can be more destruc- "tive to domestic felicity than a libel which sug- "gests to a wife that her husband was inconstant "to her bed, and that amongst his neighbours he "was considered as a fool, a medler, a braggado- "cio, and, in short, a contemptible character; "and although it might and has been said, that "this was not a sort of libel likely to produce "much public mischief, yet most certainly, as a "private libel, it was cruel in the extreme.

"In mitigation, we have heard most respecta- "ble evidence in support of your general good "character. Upon this subject, melancholy ex- "perience compels me to lament that we daily "hear the best of characters given to the worst of "culprits. Whether it be that such is the hypo- "crisy of offenders, they deceive all around them, "or whether it arises from the imperfect obeserva- "tion and fallibility of witnesses, or whether, "worst of all, from an attempt to deceive us sit- "ting here, I cannot determine.

"In the present instance, notwithstanding the "same sort of evidence was given before the jury, "they have drawn the conclusion that you was "guilty And here I must pause to obsevre, that "how far the method of *viva voce* testimony of "character before a jury surpasses the mode of "affidavits before us, what has happened in this "cause will most abundantly demonstrate.

"As to the sentence which the court is about "to pronounce upon you, the rank you have hi- "therto held amongst men, the character and "situation you have enjoyed amongst your neigh- "bours, are considerations which have paralized "the arm of criminal justice. The punishment "we inflict will be small, compared to that "arising out of your own situation. The indelible "evidence of this record, and the torture of your "own conscience, must be worse punishment to "you than this or any human tribunal can in- "flict.—The sentence which I am directed to pro- "nounce is, that you pay a fine of 200l. to the "King, and be imprisoned until that fine is paid."

COMMON PLEAS.

Robertson v. *Badcock.*

(June 19.) The plaintiff is Miss Robertson of Blackheath, and this lady has published her life. It is needless to say any more respecting her, but refer our readers to it. The defendant is a book- seller in Paternoster-row, who solicited as a fa- vor that Miss Robertson would employ him as her publisher, which she did, and this action was brought for the recovery of the profits of two phamphlets that passed through his hands. The contract made in November last was, that the de- fendant should employ a printer, whom he was to pay out of the profits, and take the rest on sale, or return to account for the end of January following. Miss Robertson had several interviews with the defendant, who seemed much pleased

with his engagement. When the time was expired, Miss Robertson made application for a settlement, which the defendant evaded. In February following Miss Robertson sent for 100 of the pamphlets; the defendant could not produce any, and sent her servant to another bookseller for some, when only twenty could be procured. This proof of their being sold induced Miss Robertson to ask a friend to call with the bill, and urge a settlement. The defendant then admitted the account to be just. Some days after he called upon Miss Robertson with his account, and offered her 1l. 8s. and said, that balanced the account. This she refused to take, and requested the account might be left for inspection; on which he crushed it up, and put it in his pocket, went out, saying, he would have no more to do with it. Miss Robertson's attorney then applied for the money, and had several interviews with the defendant, who acknowledged he was indebted to Miss Robertson; but wished her solicitor not to proceed in the business, and offered him a few guineas, which was refused. The action was then brought, and proceeded on with a laudable expedition by the plaintiff's attorney.

The above facts, as stated by counsel, as well as the contract between the parties, were proved in evidence. The defence set up by the defendant was, that the plaintiff being Miss Robertson, of Blackheath, whom all the world knew by public report, the mere mention of her name was sufficient to entitle him to a verdict, and the counsel addressed the jury to that effect. This produced a very able and spirited reply from Mr. Serjeant Cockell; who said he was sorry to hear it insinuated in a court of justice, that, because a lady had unfortunately been involved in difficulties and distress, she had no right to sue a person for a legal debt. Such a defence he reprobated, and he was sure his noble and learned brother on the bench would do the same. There never was, he said, any thing more clear than that Miss Robertson had proved her property in the work in question; and was he to be told in a free country, that she should have no redress for the wrong she suffered; that she was not entitled to recover her property, because she had contracted debts for which she was now in confinement. Another part of the defence was, that a partnership existed between the plaintiff and Miss Sharp, and that therefore she could not sue singly. This, however, was not proved; but on the contrary, it appeared that the partnership had been dissolved since Midsummer 1800; and that this was a distinct concern of Miss Robertson's. Lord Alvanley in his able and impartial charge to the jury, said, from the evidence before him, he saw nothing to warrant the insinuations thrown out by the defendant's counsel; but on the contrary, it appeared to him that Miss Robertson had acted in the business of this suit with great fairness. The jury after deliberating about twenty minutes, found a verdict for the plaintiff.—Damages 62l. 4s. 6d.

Miles v. *Burke.*

The defendant was Captain of the Albion, South Sea Whaler. In 1800 he sailed for the South Seas. The plaintiff was a sailor on board the ship: in the month of October the same year a dispute arose between the parties, in which it was proved that the Captain struck the plaintiff violently and treated him with great cruelty. He then confined him on board the ship for three days, until he came to Norforlk Island, New South Wales, when he and his mate went on shore, and made such representations to the governor concerning the mutinous behaviour of the plaintiff and another man of the name of Thompson; that the governor sent his boat for these unfortunate men, had them brought on shore, without the captain's even allowing them to take their hammocks or clothes with them, but telling them: "You shall not go "as gentlemen, you shall be forced to do the "work of the Island." Here they were kept in confinement, put to hard labour, and treated in every respect as convicts. The plaintiff at length made his escape, by getting on board his Majesty's ship the Buffalo, and entering as a seaman. Having returned to England, he found out the defendant, and brought this action for the recovery of his wages, and the profits due to him from the fishery, according to contract. The case being clearly made out by evidence, Lord Alvanly said, this was a case of great importance to the commercial interests of the country: at the same time that encouragment ought not to be held out to every sailor returning from a voyage to sue his captain for trifling, and, perhaps, necessary chastisement; captains were not to treat their men with arbitrary cruelty. His lordship highly disapproved of the conduct of the defendant. The jury found for the plaintiff, damage 70l.

KINGS BENCH.

The King v. *Henrietta, the Wife of John Kelfe, for Perjury*

(April 16.) Mr. Mingay, who led this cause, said he deplored very much that it ever came into court, and was sincerely sorry that a negotiation for an accommodation between the parties had failed of its effect. But as it was before the court, it became his duty to state the circumstances of the case to the jury. It was an indictment against Mrs. Kelfe, the wife of John Kelfe, Esq. for a perjury alleged to have been committed in an affidavit, in a former cause between John Ambrose, the present prosecutor, and her nephew, of the one party, and her husband of the other. The present prosecutor, Mr. Ambrose, was a natural son of Lord de Blaquiere's, and the defendant was his aunt. He had been in the habits, from very early life, of visiting his aunt, and spending much of his time with her, but he never understood that he was to be called upon for payment of that kindness.—This lady was early in life connected with a very honourable gentleman, a Mr. Hatton, who gave her a bond for 12col. and afterwards Mr. Hatton gave the prosecutor, Ambrose, a living in the church, and received the bond from Mrs. Kelfe to be cancelled. When Ambrose got the living, he was induced to execute a bond for an annuity to Kelfe, the husband of the defendant, and the defendant herself, to be paid from his parsonage, which he considered as extorted from him, and applied to the court of Kings Bench to set it aside, on the ground that the consideration was not truly set forth in the memorial. It was upon that occasion that the defendant Kelfe swore what was not true, namely, that she had expended 1900l. and upwards, for the advancement in life of her nephew, the present prosecutor, and that it was the consideration of the annuity.

An officer of the court of King's Bench produced a copy of the judgment, and of two rules of court,

made in the cause of Ambrose and Kelfe, with the affidavit of Kelfe and his wife, in which they stated that Ambrose, being the nephew of Mrs. Kelfe, she had advanced the sum of 1900*l.* for his advancement in life.

Mr. Hatton was then called, who stated, that he had given a bond to Mrs. Kelfe for 1200*l.* The bond was returned to him by Ambrose, and was now destroyed. He granted this bond some years ago. In the year 1794 she was desirous that her nephew should be presented to one of his livings, and he agreed to do it, upon consideration that she gave up his bond to be cancelled, he did present Ambrose to it, and his bond was given up.

John Ambrose, the prosecutor, was next examined. He said that he was never indebted to his aunt in the sum of 1900*l.* for his advancement in the world. Being asked what was the consideration for which he executed the bond of 1,900*l.* for the payment of an annuity, he answered, having supposed from his aunt's frequent declarations that she would provide for him, and having been acquainted with Mr. Hatton from seven or eight years of age. In the year 1794 his aunt authorized him to go to Mr. Hatton, and Mr. Hatton agreed that, instead of paying the bond to his aunt, he would appoint him to one of his livings. He accordingly received the bond from a Mr. Withy, by his aunt's directions, and gave it up to Mr. Hatton. When the living lapsed he was appointed, and he executed the annuity deeds, under an apprehension that, if he refused, he should have lost the preferment; but he never considered himself as his aunt's debtor. Upon cross examination he said he was under very many obligations to his aunt. He lived with her many years, and scarce knew any difference between her and his mother. He was married in the year 1787, and being interrogated, whether he did not then *swear* himself to be of age, and the register being put into his hand he declined answering. He had three children, which he believed were provided for by his father, Lord de Blaquiere. He was unable to provide for them himself: unfortunately, he lived how he could and where he could Upon several other questions it also appeared, that he had not been quite correct in his conduct. The learned judge here interposed, and intimated his opinion to the jury, that the evidence was much too slight to convict the defendant of the crime of perjury. Verdict, not guilty.

KING'S BENCH.

The King v. *the Bishop of Exeter.*

(June 28.)—Messrs. Garrow and Dampier shewed cause against a rule obtained by Mr. Gibbs, for a *mandamus* to be directed to the defendant, enjoining him to license the Rev. Mr. Rowe, as lecturer of the parish of Fremington in Devonshire.

Mr. Rowe's claim rested on the following grounds: in the year 1653, a Mr. Doddridge, by his will, charged his estates with 50*l.* per annum, as a stipend for a lecturer of the parish of Fremington: by different descents and transfers, those estates, with the lay Rectorship of Fremington and the appointment of this lecturer, devolved to the late Wm. Barber, Esq. The late Mr. Barber, in the month of May, 1797, appointed the Rev. Mr. Rowe, lecturer of that parish, but the bishop refused to license him, on the ground that the Rev. Mr. Cook, vicar of that parish, had positively refused Mr Rowe the use of his church, and that it was therefore impossible for him to discharge the duty of lecturer of the parish. The learned counsel confessed they were not instructed as to the objections against Mr. Rowe, but contended that it would be inconsistent with the preservation of our church, to allow any gentleman who pleased to settle a stipend on a lecturer, to send any clergyman he pleased into the pulpit of the parish church, without the consent of the vicar or the bishop. They thought the spiritual interests of the public would be best preserved by leaving the regulation of our churches, and the doctrine preached in them, to those who were responsible; namely, the vicar and the bishop. They then cited different cases to prove that this had been the opinion of Lord Mansfield, and of Lord Kenyon; and concluded by observing, that this endowment, made by Mr. Doddridge in the year 1658, was made during the usurpation of Cromwell, and when there was no legal power existing to accept or reject it.

Messrs. Gibbs and Wood, in support of the rule, stated, that the bishop had allowed that he had no objections to Mr. Rowe as a clergyman, and that he had ample testimonials of his good conduct. The Rev. Mr. Cook, the vicar of the parish, made no objection to Mr. Rowe in point of orthodoxy, religion, or morals; but said, he will admit no one into his church as lecturer, that is not appointed by the present Mr. Barber. It being allowed then, on all hands, that the nomination was in the family of Mr. Barber, the only question was between the appointee of the late Mr. Barber, and the appointee of his heir, the present Mr Barber.

The application at present was not that the vicar should let Mr. Rowe into his pulpit, but that the bishop should license him; he being of unexceptionable character, and regularly nominated. If he had the bishops licence, even although Mr. Cook might not permit him to lecture in his parish church, still he would know how to bring to an issue with the present Mr. Barber, the question respecting the 50*l.* per annum, attached by the will of the founder to the situation of lecturer.

Lord Ellenborough said, it was not for the court to consider what use was to be made of such licence, if granted, but merely what legal right the parties applying have to the interposition of the court; it was clear that no person could graft any new thing upon the constitution of the church, whether by endowing a lectureship or otherwise. There were but two ways of making this alteration; the one was by prescription, the other by Act of Parliament. The lecturer in this case could not claim a *prescriptive* right to the pulpit, for they saw the date when it first began. Nor was there any Act of Parliament. He therefore was of opinion that the mandamus should not go, as the person praying it had made no legal title to the thing, for which he asked the powers of the court to be put in motion.—Rule discharged.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

(June 30.)—Mr. Erskine shewed cause against a rule obtained by Mr. Gibbs, for a mandamus to the town clerk of Boston to swear in a Mr. John Sheaf to the office of common-councilman of that borough.

The affidavits upon which this rule was

granted on a former day were in substance as follow: that the corporation consisted of a mayor, twelve aldermen, and a common-council. The mayor and aldermen elected the common-council in the following manner: each alderman proposed whom he thought to be a fit candidate. The aldermen then elected by ballot six out of the whole number. These six, by a subsequent ballot, were again reduced to two, and by the last ballot one of these two was elected to the office. It was a singular part of the constitution of this borough, that the mayor had two votes, which, with the twelve aldermen, made fourteen voices, so that possibly there might be an equality of votes, which, in fact, took place in the case before the court. There being a vacancy in the common council, the mayor and aldermen on the 16th of March last proceeded to fill it up in the usual manner. The two candidates to be chosen by the ultimate ballot were a Mr. Sheef, on whose behalf the application was made, and a Mr. Clarke. Upon a ballot, they were seven and seven—the mayor and five aldermen on one side, and seven aldermen on the other. This ballot was repeated twenty-two times, and still the ballot was equal. At last a Mr. Damer, one of the aldermen, lost his balloting-ball, and requested to have another. He was a friend of Mr. Sheef, and the other party insisted, that by losing his ball he had lost his vote. The mayor, on the contrary, insisted that he ought to have another ball given to him. This produced a great dissension in the meeting. The mayor and his friends refused to ballot, but the others persisted, and said Mr. Clarke was duly elected. On the 19th of March another assembly was held by the mayor, which was adjourned until the 30th. The mayor then insisted that he had dissolved the former assembly of the 16th of March, and that the present one was the only one competent to the election. Mr. Clarke's friends insisted on the contrary, and moved the previous question. The town-clerk read his oath of office, by which he was directed to obey the majority; he therefore refused to officiate, upon which the mayor appointed another, *pro tempore*, and proceeded to a new election. And as the balloting-boxes were inverted by the opposite party, he polled the aldermen, and declared Sheef elected; Clarke's friends denied the legality of the meeting, and refused to vote.

The question now came before the court which of the two was duly elected, and a mandamus was applied for to swear in Sheef.

Mr. Erskine and Mr. Wood, on the part of the prior election, contended that the assertion of Mr. Damer, that he had lost his ball, was a mere pretext to get another, and give a majority to his favoured candidate. They then went through an immense mass of affidavits, to shew, that by the bye laws of the corporation, the mayor could not dissolve the meeting, and that he could not put, nor purpose, any question without a consent from the majority, which, in the present case, was against him.

Mr. Gibbs and Mr. Dampiere argued on the other side at considerable length.

The court at last decided it upon a very simple point. They said it appeared from the affidavits on both sides, that any election, by the constitution of the borough, must be by ballot. The election under which Sheef claimed was not so, since it was said, that as the balloting-boxes were inverted, the mayor called upon the aldermen openly for their suffrages. It was certain that he could not change the constitution of the borough, which required a secret election, and therefore one in any other mode was a void one. As they were called upon merely to grant a mandamus to swear in Sheef, and his election manifestly not being regular, they must of course discharge the rule.—Rule discharged.

AMERICAN STATES.

A causeless indifference to the affairs of the Western Continent has for a long time been the fashionable folly of British politicians. It has been our endeavour to rouse them from this fatal indifference, and to claim some attention towards a country that has risen to wealth and influence with a rapidity that beggars all former example. Yesterday but an insignificant colony of England, America is now the commercial rival of the greatest powers of Europe, not excepting England herself. Her trade, which the enterprise of her mariners and her merchants has extended over the whole world, would alone have furnished her with the means of being formidable. In the fertility of her soil, the value of her productions, the industry of her inhabitants, and the geographical advantages of her situation, she possesses the certain sources of greatness. By the extraordinary changes too, in the political situation of nations, the great theatre of action, appears to be, at present, removing from the old to the new world; the destinies of the East may probably be fixed in the West, and the fate of Europe may now be decided in America, as that of America heretofore has been in Europe. At this period it behoves a British minister to keep a steady eye on the transactions beyond the Atlantic. Every measure and every proceeding of the government of the United States (a government whose views and whose temper are not clearly understood) has great and commanding claims to his notice; and every display of the sentiments of the leaders of the grand parties and divisions among the Americans, deserves his utmost attention.

Such being our persuasion, we have, in the whole course of this work, endeavoured to avail ourselves of every opportunity of conveying to our readers a correct information relative to the politics and political œconomy of the American States. It remains for us, at present, to lay before our readers such materials as may not have been within our reach heretofore, or as were

found to be too bulky for a weekly publication.

To render these papers perfectly intelligible, and to convey to every reader a satisfactory idea of the state of parties, as well as of the object and motives of the various public measures, it would be necessary for us to carry our introductory remarks as far back, at least, as the time when *federalist* and *democrat* became the destinctive appellations of the two parties, into which the people of the United States are divided. But a retrospect so extended would demand more room and time than we have to spare; and, as most of our readers are, probably, in possession of Porcupine's Works, in which the history of American factions and politics is brought down to the close of the election of Mr. Jefferson (March, 1801), we shall, therefore, confine ourselves within the time subsequent to that epoch.

As Jefferson obtained his election by a very small majority, the triumph of the democrats* was, as yet, but half complete. To gain a decided ascendency in all the affairs of the nation, small as well as great, it was necessary to drive from office all those persons, who had been appointed by Washington and Adams, and whose places were held during the pleasure of the president. Besides the desire to rule, which every political party possesses, the democrats were actuated by two other powerful motives—they were very anxious to take revenge on their enemies, and still more so to receive the long-sought reward of their factious exertions. When, therefore, ambition, revenge, and self-interest were all cordially united against the unfortunate federal place-men, it is no wonder that they were speedily ousted The change was general. Jefferson seemed to have taken the civil list in his hand, and to have scratched out every name. The ejection extended to the poor clerks, and even the door-keepers. So that, in less than two months after the election of the new president, the whole power of the state passed into the hands of those, who had constantly declared their hostility, not only to the measures of the federal government, but to the existence of the government itself. Of the persons appointed we shall only particularly mention those who fill the five great offices. James Madison was appointed secretary of state, Albert Gallatin, secretary of the treasury, Henry Dearbon, secretary at war, Robert Smith, secretary of the navy, Levi Lincoln, attorney general. These officers form what may be called the cabinet council of the president.

This revolution of office having been effected during the summer, the congress met at the city of Washington, on the 8th of December. The president had resolved on a radical change of every thing that his office enabled him to touch; and, in conformity with this resolution, he opened the session with a letter, addressed to the speaker of each house respectively, instead of a speech delivered to the two houses, as had been the invariable custom with his predecessors. —On this speech we shall now quote some remarks from a pamphlet entitled the *Examination*, written by the famous Mr. Alexander Hamilton.

Extract from the Examination of the President's Message.

In order to cajole the people, the message abounds with all the common-place of popular harangue, and prefers claims of merit, for circumstances of equivocal or of trivial value. With pompous absurdity are we told of the "multiplication of men, susceptible of happi- "ness," (as if this susceptibility were a privilege peculiar to our climate) "habituated to self- "government, and valuing its blessings above all "price." Fortunate will it be, if the present favorites of the people, do not, before their reign is at an end, transform those blessings into curses, so serious and heavy, as to make even despotism a desirable refuge from the elysium of democracy.

In a country, the propensities of which are opposed even to necessary burdens, an alarm is attempted to be excited about the general tendency of government, "to leave to labour the "smallest portion of its earnings, on which it "can subsist, and to consume the residue of "what it was instituted to guard." It might have been well, to have explained whether it is the whole of the earnings of labour, which government is instituted to guard, or only the residue after deducting what is necessary to enable it to fulfil the duty of protection. Representatives who share with their constituents in an excessive jealousy of executive abuses, are cantingly admonished to "circumscribe discretionary

* The *democrats* are the friends of France, and of sedition all over the world. They are the sworn enemies of England. They are, for the far greater part, poor, and not a few of them persons of infamous character. The *federalists*, who took their name from their attachment to the federal or general government, which they defended against the democrats, cannot be better described, than by saying that they are, in every respect, exactly the contrary of their opponents.

"powers over money," though they are known to be already so limited, as that the executive, even on the prospect of a rupture with a foreign power, would not possess the means of obtaining intelligence the most necessary for the proper direction of its measures.—That the new administration has not boldly invaded the laws and with-held the funds applicable to the payment of the principal and interest of the public debt, is fastidiously proclaimed as evidence that "the "public faith has been exactly maintained." The praise of a spirit of economy is attempted to be gained, by the suppression of a trifling number of officers, (a majority of whom had become unnecessary by the mere change of circumstances) and by declaiming with affectation, against "the multiplication of officers and the "increase of expense." The proposition to reduce our insignificant military establishment (the actual number of troops probably not exceeding that which is intended to be retained) cannot be suggested, without tickling our ears with the trite but favourite maxim, that "a standing "army ought not to be kept up in time of "peace." To make a display of concern for their prosperity—Agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and navigation are introduced among the pageants of the piece; but, except as "to "protection from casual embarrassments," we are sagaciously informed that these "great pil-"lars of our prosperity, ought to be left to take "care of themselves." The carrying trade, however, seems to engage more solicitude; no doubt that we may be terrified by the expectation of future evils, from a much traduced instrument*, which in time past, has done nothing but good, in spite of the gloomy predictions of patriotic seers.

Such are the minor features of this curious performance. Had these been its only blemishes, a regard to national reputation would have forbidden a comment; but connected as they are with schemes of innovation replete with great present mischief, and still greater future danger; designed as they are to varnish over projects which threaten to precipitate our nation from an enviable height of prosperity to that low and abject state, from which it was raised by the establishment and wise administration of our present government—they become entitled to notice as additional indications of character and disposition.

The merits of the message have now been pretty fully discussed; but before it is dismissed, it may be useful to take a view of it in another and a different light; as one link in a chain of testimony, which the force of circumstances, at every step of the new administration, extorts from them, in favour of their predecessors.

The president, on the threshold of office, at the first opportunity of speaking to his constituents, in his very inaugural speech; full of a truth, which the most rancorous prejudice cannot obscure, and not sufficiently reflecting on the inferences which would be drawn, proclaims aloud to the world, that a government, which he had disapproved in its institution, and virulently opposed in its progress, was in the full tide of successful experiment. In the last address he again unconsciously becomes the panegyrist of those whom he seeks to depreciate. The situation in which (humanly speaking) we have been preserved by the prudent and firm councils of the preceding administrations, amidst the revolutionary and convulsive throes, amidst the desolating conflicts of Europe, is there a theme of emphatic gratulation. It shall not be forgotten, as the solitary merit of the address, that we are reminded of the gratitude due to heaven for the blessings of this situation. Amidst the spurious symptoms of a spirit of reform, it is consoling to observe one, which, in charity, ought to be supposed genuine. But it would not have diminished our conviction of its sincerity, if the instruments of Providence in the accomplishment of the happy work, had not been entirely overlooked; since this would have been evidence of a willingness to acknowledge and retract error—to make reparation for injury. But though they have been overlooked by the message, the American people ought never for a moment to forget them. Their efforts and their struggles, their moderation and their energy, their care and their foresight; the mad and malignant opposition of their political adversaries; the charges of pusillanimity and perfidy lavished on the declaration of neutrality; the resistance to measures for avoiding a rupture with Great-Britain; the attempt to rush at once into reprisals; the cry for war with the enemies of France, as the enemies of republican liberty; all these things should be for ever imprinted on the memory of a just and vigilant nation. And in recollecting them, they should equally recollect that the opposers of the salutary plans to which they are so much indebted, were and are the zealous partizans of the present head of our government; who have at all times submitted to his influence and implicitly obeyed his nod; who never would have pursued with so much vehemence the course they did, had they known it to be contrary to the views of their chief: nor should it be forgotten that this chief in the negotiation with the British minister, conducted by him as secretary of state, acted precisely as if it had been his design to widen, not to heal the breach between the two countries; that he at first objected to the declaration of neutrality; was afterwards reluctantly dragged into the measures connected with it; was believed by his friends not to approve the system of conduct, of which he was the official organ; was publicly and openly accused by the then agent of the French republic with duplicity and deception, with having been the first to inflame his mind with ill impressions of the principles and views of leading characters in our government, not except ng the revered Wash ngton; that this chief, at a very critical period of our affairs in reference to the war of Europe, withdrew from the direction of that department peculiarly charged with the

* The treaty with Great-Britain.

management of our foreign relations, evidently to avoid being more deeply implicated in the consequences of the position, which had been assumed by the administration; but on the hollow pretence of a dislike to public life and a love of philosophic retirement. Citizens of America—mark the sequel and learn from it instruction! You have been since agitated to the center, to raise to the first station in your government, the very man who, at a conjuncture when your safety and your welfare demanded his stay, early relinquished a subordinate, but exalted and very influential post, on a pretence as frivolous as it has proved to be insincere! Was he, like the virtuous Washington, forced from a beloved retreat, by the unanimous and urgent call of his country? No: he stalked forth the champion of faction—having never ceased in the shade of his retreat, by all the arts of intrigue, to prepare the way to that elevation, for which a restless ambition impatiently panted.

The undersigned eulogy of the men, who have been slandered out of the confidence of their fellow citizens, has not been confined to the situation of the country, as connected with the war of Europe. In the view given of the very flourishing state of our finances, the worst of the calumnies against those men is refuted, and it is admitted, that in this article of vital importance to the public welfare, their measures have been provident and effectual beyond example. To the charge of a design to saddle the nation with a perpetual debt, a plain contradiction is given by the concession, that the provisions which have been made for it are so ample, as even to justify the relinquishment of a part no less considerable than the whole of the internal revenue. The same proposal testifies the brilliant success of our fiscal system generally; and that it is more than equal to all that has been undertaken, to all that has been promised to the nation.

The report of the secretary of the treasury, as published, confirms this high commendation of the conduct of the former administrations. After relieving each state from the burthen of its particular debt, by assuming the payment of it on account of the United States, in addition to the general debt of the nation; after settling the accounts between the states relatively to their exertions for the common defence in our revolutionary war, and providing for the balances found due to such of them as were creditors; after maintaining with complete success, an obstinate and expensive war with the Indian tribes; after making large disbursements for the suppression of two insurrections against the government; after liberal contributions to the Barbary powers to induce them to to open to our merchants the trade of the Mediterranean; after incurring a responsibility for indemnities to a large amount, due to British merchants, in consequence of infractions of the treaty of peace by some of the states; after heavy expenditures for creating and supporting a navy, and for other preparations, to guard our independence and territory against the hostilities of a foreign nation; after the accomplishment of all these very important objects, it is now declared to the United States by the present head of the treasury, by the confidential minister of the present chief magistrate, by the most subtil and implacable of the enemies of the former administrations, "That the actual revenues of the union are sufficient to defray all the expenses civil and military of government, to the extent authorized by existing laws, to meet all the engagements of the United States; and to discharge in fifteen years and a half, the whole of our public debt"—foreign as well as domestic, new as well as old. Let it be understood, that the revenues spoken of were all provided under the two first administrations; and, that the "existing laws," alluded to, were all passed under the same administrations; consequently, that the revenues had not been increased, nor the expenses diminished by the men who now hold the reins: and then let it be asked, whether so splendid a result does not reflect the highest credit on those, who in time past, have managed the affairs of the nation? Does not the picture furnish matter not only for consolation, but even for exultation to every true friend of his country? And amidst the joy which he must feel in the contemplation, can he be so unjust as to refuse the tribute of commendation to those, by whose labours his country has been placed on so fair an eminence? Will he endure to see any part of the fruit of those labours blasted or hazarded, by a voluntary surrender of any portion of the means which are to ensure the advantages of so bright a prospect?

In vain will envy or malevolence reply, "The happy situation in which we are placed "is to be attributed not to the labours of those "who have heretofore conducted our affairs, "but to an unforeseen and unexpected progress "of our country." Candour and truth will answer—Praise is always due to public men who take their measures in such a manner as to derive to the nation, the benefit of favourable circumstances which are possible, as well as of those which are foreseen If proportionate provision had not been made, concurrently with the progress of our national resources, the effect of them would not have been felt as to the past, and would not have been matured as to the future.

But why should it be pretended that this progress was not anticipated? In past experience, there were many data for calculation. The ratio of the increase of our population had been observed and stated; the extent and riches of our soil were known; the materials for commercial enterprize were no secret; the probable effect of the measures of the government to foster and encourage navigation, trade and industry, was well understood; and especially, the influence of the means, which were adapted to augment our active capital, and to supply a fit and adequate medium of circulation, towards the increase of national wealth, was declared and insisted upon, in official reports. Though adventitious circumstances may have aided the result, it is certain, that a penetrating and comprehensive mind could be at no loss to foresee a

progress of our affairs, similar to what has been experienced. Upon this anticipation the assumption of the state debts, and other apparently bold measures of the government were avowedly predicated, in opposition to the feeble and contracted views of the little politicians, who now triumph in the success of their arts, and enjoy the benefits of a policy, which they had neither the wisdom to plan nor the spirit to adopt; idly imagining that the cunning of a demagogue and the talents of a statesman are synonimous. Consummate in the paltry science of courting and winning popular favour, they falsely infer that they have the capacity to govern, and they will be the last to discover their error. But let them be assured that the people will not long continue the dupes of their pernicious sorceries. Already the cause of truth has derived this advantage from the crude essays of their chief, that the film has been removed from many an eye. The credit of great abilities was allowed him by a considerable portion of those who disapproved his principles; but the short space of nine months has been amply sufficient to dispel that illusion; and even some of his most partial votaries begin to suspect, that they have been mistaken in the object of their idolatry.

List of the Acts passed at the First Session of the Seventh Congress, of the United States of America, held at Washington.

An act extending the privilege of franking and receiving letters, free of postage, to any person admitted or to be admitted to take a seat in Congress as a delegate; and providing compensation for such delegate.

An act concerning the library for both houses of congress.

An act for the apportionment of representatives among the several states, according to the second enumeration.

An act for the protection of the commerce and seamen of the United States against the Tripolitan cruisers.

An act to authorise an advance of money to Samuel Dexter.

An act for the relief of Lyon Lehman.

An act authorising the discharge of Lawrence Erb from his confinement.

An act making certain partial appropriations for the year one thousand eight hundred and two.

An act to amend an act, intituled "an act to "lay and collect a direct tax within the United "States."

An act for the relief of Francis Duchouquet.

An act fixing the military peace establishment of the United States.

An act to repeal certain acts respecting the organization of the courts of the United States, and for other purposes.

An act to authorise the president of the United States to convey certain parcels of land therein mentioned.

An act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and to preserve peace on their frontiers.

An act making appropriation for defraying the expense of a negotiation with the British government to ascertain the boundary line between the United States and Upper Canada.

An act for the accommodation of persons concerned in certain fisheries therein mentioned.

An act authorising the erection of a certain light-house; and for other purposes.

An act to repeal the internal taxes.

An act making a partial appropriation for the support of government during the year one thousand eight hundred and two.

An act for the relief of Isaac Zane.

An act for the relief of the marshals of certain districts therein mentioned.

An act to establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and to repeal the acts heretofore passed on that subject

An act making an appropriation for defraying the expenses which may arise from carrying into effect the convention made between the United States and the French republic.

An act to revive and continue in force an act, entituled "an act to augment the salaries of the "officers therein mentioned," passed the second day of March, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine.

An act to amend an act entituled "an act to "retain a further sum on drawbacks, for ex-"penses incident to the allowance and payment "thereof, and in lieu of stamp duties on deben-"tures."

An act declaring the assent of Congress to an act of the general assembly of Virginia, therein mentioned.

An act for the relief of Thomas K. Jones.

An act for the relief of Paolo Paoly.

An act for the relief of Louis Tousard.

An act in addition to an act, entituled "an act "in addition to an act regulating the grants of "land appropriated for military services, and for "the society of the united brethren for propa-"gating the gospel among the heathen."

An act making provision for the redemption of the whole public debt of the United States.

An act to amend the judicial system of the United States.

An act to regulate and fix the compensation of the officers of the senate and house of representatives.

An act for the relief of Theodosius Fowler.

An act for the relief of the widows and orphans of certain persons who have died in the naval service of the United States.

An act supplementary to an act, entituled "an "act for the encouragement of learning, by se-"curing the copies of maps, charts and books, to "the authors and proprietors of such copies dur-"ing the time therein mentioned."—And extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving and sketching historical and other prints.

An act to revive and continue in force an act, entituled "an act for the establishing trading "houses with the Indian tribes."

An act to suspend, in part, the act, entituled, "an act regulating foreign coins, and for other "purposes."

An act to amend "an act to establish the com-"pensations of the officers employed in the col-"lection of the duties on imports and tonnage: "and for other purposes."

An act to enable the people of the eastern division of the territory north west of the river Ohio, to form a constitution and state government,

and for the admission of such state into the union on an equal footing with the original States; and for other purposes.

An act to provide for the establishment of certain districts—and therein to amend an act, entituled, "an act to regulate the collection of duties "on imports and tonnage; and for other pur- "poses."

An act making appropriations for the military establishment of the United States, in the year one thousand eight hundred and two.

An act making appropriations for the support of the navy of the United States, for the year one thousand eight hundred and two.

An act to abolish the board of commissioners in the city of Washington, and for other purposes.

An act making appropriations for the support of government, for the year one thousand eight hundred and two.

An act to extend, and continue in force, the provisions of an act, entituled "an act giving a "right of pre-emption to certain persons who "have contracted with John Cleves Symmes, or "his associates, for lands lying between the "Maimi rivers, in the territory north west of the "Ohio; and for other purposes."

An act to impower John James Desour and his associates, to purchase certain lands.

An act to incorporate the inhabitants of the city of Washington, in the district of Columbia.

An act further to alter and establish certain post-roads; and for the more secure carriage of the mail of the United States.

An act to amend an act, entituled "an act for "the relief of sick and disabled seamen;" and for other purposes.

An act making appropriation for carrying into effect the convention between the United States of America, and his Britannic Majesty.

An act for the relief of Fulwar Skipwith.

An act additional to, and amendatory of an act entituled "an act concerning the district of Co- "lumbia."

Review of the Session of Congress, which began in December, 1801, *and ended in May,* 1802.

The late session of Congress has been so long, and so expensive, beyond what might have been expected from democratic zeal and disinterestedness, that we are naturally led to enquire what it has produced. The meeting of the first republican congress was announced with joy as part of that "glorious revolution" which had been effected, and as a new era pregnant with delightful wonders. The mountains have been five months in labour, what have they brought forth?

When we review the works of these "great "councils of the nation," the first thing which strikes us, is, that no unusual number of laws private or public have been past, that many of those past are of trivial importance, or in the ordinary routine of business, and that therefore democracy can claim no singular merit on account of the mass of business accomplished. On the contrary, there has certainly been an unusual share of ignorance and absurdity of blunders, embarrassment and delay. The session has not however, it is cheerfully acknowledged, been productive of no benefit. It has afforded the public some useful lessons, it has torn the mask from falsehood, and brought important truths to light.

The message of the President, read at the opening of the session, taught the public, that notwithstanding all that had been said about the dangers of executive influence in the legislature, that influence was now employed. To originate money-bills is the peculiar prerogative of the house of representatives, yet the President strongly recommended the abolition of all the internal taxes, when that recommendation going out to the public, would itself virtually abolish them; would render their continuance not only unpopular, but almost impracticable. Was not this pointed recommendation, on such a subject, overstepping the sphere of office, or at least the bounds of propriety? And when the executive marked out for destruction that portion of the judiciary system recently enacted, and sent his document to displace fifteen federal judges from offices, which by the constitution they held during good behaviour—was not this employing executive influence? was it not employing it for an unjustifiable purpose?

Mr. Pickering had long been charged with embezzling public monies, and the hour had arrived which was to confirm the charge, and damn him and federalism to everlasting infamy. But scarcely had the session commenced, when a distinguished person in the party, actuated by candour or by cunning, expressed his belief in the irreproachable integrity of that calumniated man. That opinion, founded no doubt on official intelligence, has been confirmed by an official report from the head of the treasury department—and from that very man, who, as we have been told, abetted or connived at the villainy of a perjured clerk, to cloud the fair fame of one of the most upright of men, and subserve the purposes of a vile ambition. Happy indeed will it be for the people, if the Genevan and his coadjutors shall go out of office with hands as clean as those of this rigidly honest public officer and his colleagues. If they do, it will be more than has happened with one of their predecessors of the same school.

No longer able to deny or conceal the integrity of Mr. Pickering they have charged him with not adhering in every case to specific appropriations. The president too in his message, has recommended "appropriations for every purpose capable of "definition." We might therefore imagine that he made specific appropriations, so much per diem, pay and rations, for every man, woman and child, saddle-horse and coach-horse, which he has in his palace, kitchen or stable, and that it was death to eat one day more than another. We might suppose that he limited his coffee, his soups and his meats, his pastry and wines, his sugar, butter, salt and pepper, each in their individual capacities, to a specific daily allowance. But if this be the case, gentlemen legislators should inform themselves whether there be no difficulty in the "gestion" of his affairs, and whether at any rate this would be a proper model for the public affairs of a great nation. The propriety of specific appropriations and of adhering to them is not however disputed. But definition and specification, like other things, may be carried to excess. And it is easy to perceive, that it is far safer for the treasury, that the head of a department should, on a particular emergency when the public service must suffer without it, apply to one

object what is appropriated to another under the same general head, and afterwards throw himself on the wisdom of the legislature to cover the expense, than to increase the appropriation for each specific object beyond the necessary amount, or to augment the contingent fund, funds of all others the most liable to abuse. We find, however, that these mortal enemies to deviation from specific appropriations have voted, as a "partial "appropriation," one hundred thousand dollars towards defraying the expenditure of the civil list (no specification), including the contingent expenses of the several departments.

The present administration has gone further. They have taken money from the navy funds, and applied it to repairing a captured French corvette, in order to her being delivered up to the French republic. Nay, this has been done without any appropriation at all for that purpose, and without the least sanction of law.

These facts were drawn from their secret recesses by the resolution of Mr. Griswold respecting the Berceau, after a hard struggle among the ministerialists, between the danger of denying the information called for, and the danger of granting. On another occasion, however, their fear of meeting an important question fairly, or indeed of its going before the people at all, prevailed, not only over all precedent and propriety, but even over their fear of the consequences of such an outrage against reason, and over their loquacity itself. When the federalists called for official information on the subject of internal revenue, it was absolutely refused, and the majority, afraid of discussion, sat in "philosophic" silence. At the commencement of the session, when the party wished that an unusual number of the president's message and documents, voluminous beyond example, should be published, they declared by their mouth-piece, Mr. Giles, that "it was not eco-"nomy of information they desired." But, in the course of the session, they have refused information contrary both to precedent and propriety. They have repeatedly evinced, that on certain occasions even an economical supply of information was too much for the house and the public. Like absolute misers they kept it all for themselves. They had no doubt their reasons. What they were, let the people judge.

As economy in the use of the public treasure is their great boast, the net with which they are always fishing for popularity, let us now examine what proofs of it this republican congress have given, or what their first session has disclosed. There are various things which go under the name economy, and to the praise of some of them this administration is justly entitled. There is a self styled economy which ends in loss, waste, and profusion. Of this kind of economy there have already been proofs and ample provision has been made for more.

Neglect and folly often call themselves economy. The former sometimes leaves his fences in a state of ruin and says, he can't afford to repair or renew them; but when his neighbour's cattle break through and destroy his crop, then this kind of saving turns out to be folly. Similar is the case with nations who neglect the means of defence until some rapacious conqueror levies from them untold millions, and ravishes away their independence itself. Destruction to such narrow-minded economy which sacrifices every thing future to the miserly spirit of saving dollars at the present moment!

There is another species of economy which saves in the merest trifles, in a manner unbecoming the dignity of station, and inconsistent with the views of an enlarged and practical mind. This, in some cases, is only a short-sighted little minded uneasiness. But when it with-holds by false or doubtful constructions of law, the well earned compensation of the gallant officer, it is a rascality of soul supremely odious and contemptible. It ought to be drummed out of the universe.

Once more—Pretences to economy are often a mask for the most dangerous ambition and hollow souled avarice. In such cases they will sooner or later discover themselves under the disguise they have assumed. Economists of this class will take care of their friends and themselves. Was it economy, for instance, which sent to the two houses documents so voluminous that they could not be printed in season and thereby produced delay in the public business? Was this economy, or a grasp at popularity? Was it not "returning," or rather long-continued "friend-"ship" for the French republic, which so promptly and at so great expense, repaired, stored, and delivered up the Berceau? What was it which induced the administration to indulge the officers of the Berceau with 870 dollars and a proportional allowance until embarkation, while they are so rigid with our own officers? Were these marks of friendship a return for the millions which the great republic kindly took charge of, and as kindly keep, or was it an invitation to make free use of American property in the West-Indies, or on the plan of Gov. Monroe to accept a loan to be repaid if convenient? No matter which it was; King Buonapatté and we are sister republicks, and friends make no account of trifles. What was it, again, which prompted Gov. M'Kean and Secretary Dearborn to provide so handsomely for their relations? Was it economy which induced the attorney-general to accept 3000 dollars a year, for an almost sinecure office, and be absent from the seat of government half the time? What could possibly induce Albert Gallatin to receive 5,000 dollars a year when he formerly voted against so large a sum when the same office was held by another man? Was it economy which induced the majority in congress to revive an expired law, raising the salaries of the public officers when some of that majority formerly voted against such salaries? Was it regard for economy, or love of specific appropriations, which would not permit these salaries to be revived distinctly, but voted for them in mass? Was this specific appropriation or economy? It was not. Was it economy that prevented the majorities of the two houses from reducing their six dollars a day, which some of them complained against as too high, at a time when every thing was at war prices? Was it economy which prevented them from reducing their daily allowance even to five dollars, in a season of peace, when flour has fallen, and business stagnated?

Economy is the magic which is to pull down every establishment of the federal system. Was it economy then which prolonged the Session for five months at an immense expense, when the most of it went into the pockets of the honourable and frugal gentlemen themselves?

Did all these things, it is asked, proceed from economy and patriotism? No; but from the love of power and of cash.

In one point of view the present congress have, it is agreed, done much. But when we consider what time, and patience, and wisdom, are required to build up, and how easily and rapidly folly and violence can pull down and destroy; the majorities of the late session cannot even on this ground claim the praise of ingenuity or ability. But when the friends of the constitution and the country look back on what these majorities have accomplished, emotion of a stronger nature than contempt itself, are awakened—grief and indignation are excited.

The convention with France and peace in Europe, rendered a reduction of expenses prudent and necessary, and a federal administration would have reduced them when the purposes for which they were incurred no longer demanded them. But let the public judge whether this administration will not reduce the army to a dwarfish skeleton, and the navy to a rotten hulk: let our cities and merchants determine what will at last become of an unprotected commerce, and a revenue levied entirely upon it: let the farmers determine what price their produce will bear if trade is destroyed: let the military man and the statesman calculate, what these mighty savings may cost the country if the war should be renewed in Europe; if French or English haughtiness and rapacity should be resumed; if Louisiana should come into the hands of the French; if the war in the West-Indies, and the preaching of equality, should produce a negro insurrection in the South—Let them calculate how much it may cost us, if, in such a situation of things, we should be found destitute of an army, or a navy, or of revenue. —Let all classes of citizens consider, whether the system of measures now pursued, will not sooner or later end in national dishonour, loss, and calamity.

But on the militia, according to that great military character, the present commander in chief of the armies of the United States, on the militia, "it "is best to rely, not only to meet the first attack, "but to maintain the defence until regulars can "be engaged to relieve them;" that is, until raw recruits can be enlisted in sufficient numbers, embodied, and matched, to contend with the most veteran valour, and highest military skill. Well, this is an extraordinary discovery; but let it be so—our celebrated captain-general has decided the point, let it be so. But, gentlemen legislators, "you ought not to have separated until you had "done every thing for the militia which you "could have done were an enemy at our door." You have separated—instead of every thing, you have done nothing, and presidential censure falls heavily on your heads.

"But our revenue is sufficient, and yet we take "off the taxes and pay off *all the debt!*" Glorious news! Admirable legislators! Your revenue is sufficient, the treasury is full. But was it your administration that filled it? Did you risk your popularity by laying taxes to defend the country from insult and aggression, and to pay off the debt? Was not Wm. Giles for shutting himself up in his shell when French rapacity was plundering us in every quarter? Did you not clamour for paying off the public debt, and yet oppose the means of doing it? Have you not now greatly diminished the resources for extinguishing that debt by abolishing the whole internal revenue? If it was right that part of the internal taxes should be repealed, yet would not the people have cheerfully submitted, at least to a part, for a few years longer, if their produce were honestly applied to the extinguishment of the debt?—Since the internal taxes tended to equalize taxation in different parts of the country; since the system was already in operation; since various events might render it of high importance to the country to be in possession of these resources; since at any rate their amount might have effected a much more speedy extinguishment of the public debt; let any reflecting man say, whether it was prudent to abolish the whole internal revenue, and cut it up root and branch? If, however, resources to the amount of the internal revenue could actually be spared, ought not the high duties on coffee, bohea tea, brown sugar and salt to have been diminished, and those on refined sugars and pleasurable carriages retained? Let "the mouth of la- "bour," let the poor and middling classes of society who pay these duties make the reply: let reason and humanity, justice and sound policy answer the question, and they must say, yes.

"But we have made provision for paying off "the whole debt." Indeed! we are glad to hear it; but what provision? "We have appropriated "so many millions annually." Oh! that is, you have promised to pay at such a time, but every man knows that promising and paying are two very different things. Are you sure you will have so much to spare? If you pay so much on that score, will you have enough left for other purposes? Will not the impost be diminished by the return of peace, by the loss of our carrying trade and the general stagnation of commerce? Will you not be obliged to borrow again? The fact is, that a loan is authorised by that very bill which by its title promises to pay off the debt, and various agencies are likewise authorised at a considerable expense. It was therefore with propriety urged by the federalists, that the title of the bill should be changed from that of a bill to provide for the redemption of the whole public debt, into that of a bill making certain provisions respecting the public debt and authorising a re-loan of part of it.

On the other hand, had not part of the debt been actually discharged by the former administrations, and were not means provided for its extinguishment, which, if left to themselves, would have accomplished that object without embarrassment?

The mint of the United States was marked out by the ruling "sect" for destruction. The establishment, of one of the signs of national sovereignty, was doomed to annihilation by a bill passed in the House of Representatives. The country was again to have been flooded with base coins, with barrels of fraudulent copper from Birmingham, and with perishable paper money issued by every petty store-keeper. But whether some gleam of prudence, some lucid interval, passed over certain senators at the moment this bill was before them, or whether the bill itself was not so thoroughly destructive as they wished, it was rejected. No thanks, however, to Mr. Giles or his colleagues that its fate is suspended.

To have triumphed over their predecessors—to have pulled down in a single session much of what the government had erected for twelve years before, might have satiated a common thirst of revenge or rage for innovation. It was not suffi-

cient for the present administration. It was not sufficient to have turned from office the friends of the constitution, however distinguished by virtues and services; the constitution itself has not been spared. The judiciary bill, passed at the preceding session after much experience and deliberation, has been repealed. By this act, by the diminution of courts and judges, the administration of justice is rendered less expeditious, less convenient, and less entitled to confidence. But this evil, great as it is, is only a small part of the evil. The judges, who by the constitution, hold their offices during good behaviour, are displaced without a crime laid to their charge, and one of the great independent branches of government is broken down, and brought to the feet of the others. Will then judges, who hold their offices at legislative discretion, oppose the legislative will? Will any law, however unconstitutional and oppressive, be declared so by a judiciary who are dependent on those who pass that law? The question is answered by the party themselves. They assert that the judiciary have no such power. What barrier, then, it is asked, have the people left against the uncontrouled power and tyranny of these legislative despots?

But what were the motives for this unconstitutional and pernicious act? Was this also economy? If 30,000 dollars will be saved next year, has not an expense of more than that sum been already incurred by the 40 or 50 days which have been employed upon the repealing bill, and the consequent amending bill? A leader of the party has declared the saving but a paltry consideration; but the constitutional question, he said, must be settled. Who was it then that raised this question? And why was it raised? And how is it settled? Can the judges, will the people acquiesce, in such a settlement? Will they acquiesce in a decision of the majority of the legislature in their own favour, when that decision is contrary to the plain language of the constitution, hostile to the rights of the citizen, and destructive of public liberty? Let the people consider, whether it was not party spirit, revenge, and a wild spirit of innovation, which dictated this attack on the federal judges and constitution. Let them consider, whether some of the party were not secretly actuated by a dislike to speedy justice, especially to federal justice, and to the constitution itself?

With such rulers as we now have, and such a system as they pursue, will not this great nation be reduced back to a state, worse than the old confederation? Will not this constitution, under which we have heretofore flourished, be made a worthless wreck? Will not this temple of liberty, the noblest on earth, robbed of its pillars, crush millions in its fall? We are certainly in danger of such a fate; but the sun of federalism shall arise in its brightness, and the dark and perilous night of democracy disappear.

AMERICAN NAVY.

Extract from an Address to the People of the United States on the Policy of maintaining a Permanent Navy. Published in Philadelphia, 1802.

If it be impracticable, as well as impolitic, to relinquish our navigation, we must, fellow citizens, afford it adequate protection. A defenceless commerce offers to avarice and ambition temptations which they are incapable of resisting. Responsible to conscience and heaven alone, and urged by a policy which is callous to remorse, can that spirit which aims at universal empire, or the avarice and jealousy which spring from a false idea of a balance of trade, be taught, through a sense of justice, or the remote connexion of policy with virtue, to respect the rights of nations? When have these principles directed the conduct of independent states? How inadequate have they ever proved to restrain individuals bound together by the affectionate ties and amenable to the awful tribunals of society. And can it be supposed that powerful nations, mutually jealous, and rivals each other, accountable to God alone, will listen to their dictates when they come in competition with their interest. An unprotected commerce will have to enter foreign ports under restrictions which will, sometimes, amount to actual prohibition. Interest being the only rule to which power will deign to submit, where that can be promoted, no regard will be paid to reciprocal obligation. Beside the motives to restrict or prohibit an unprotected trade, which are common to all nations, there are some who, avowedly, subsist by plunder. It will not be declamation to assert on the authority of the most respectable writer on the law of nations, that the piratical states of Barbary, are even employed, by the powerful nations of Europe, to distress the commerce of their weaker rivals. Insecure is that commerce, which, when the world is at peace, relies for its freedom on the wisdom of the cabinets of the princes, which has in so few instances been capable of discerning, or willing to promote the happiness of mankind. War, however, which changes the pre-existing, and establishes new relations between states and empires, naturally produces a policy unfavourable to the freedom of commercial intercourse. Laws, oppressive on the commerce of neutral nations, become here the obvious interest of the belligerent powers. Neutrality is even odious to nations at war. They will court its secret aid by intrigue, or they will fret it into open violence by unwarrantable insults. An enraged competitor would destroy that sun which shines with equal fervour on his rival as on himself. Fear alone will compel a nation, calmly to permit its enemy to receive, through the commerce of a neutral state, the sinews of war. Unless we possess the means of exciting this fear, in vain may we desire to retain our navigation. A powerful state will tell us, *these* ports you may enter, *those* you shall not. Disregarding the rights of neutrality, while she dispatches her squadrons to another quarter, she will proclaim a whole country to be blockaded, in order to starve its inhabitants into terms. Where there is no plausible pretext for actual blockade, she will, by fraudulent constructions of the law of nations, a law which is made, at once, every thing and nothing, as the authority of force may please to interpret it, or by more fraudulent evasions of existing compacts, extend the list of contraband articles. She will finally tell us, "with this nation you are permitted to trade, but with that you shall hold no commercial intercourse. You shall not import the manufactures of this state, to that you shall not export your own commodities." She will specify, not only the channels of our commerce, but the burthen of the vessels which we shall employ, and the articles that shall compose their cargoes. Do we submit to the encroachments of one nation, our submission will not only invite the rapacity, but will be conceived to justify, or be

urged to excuse, the spoliation of all. To redress our wrongs, should we withhold our favours from the nation who has commenced the injury, she will plunder us to the full amount of her wants. The only alternative then left us, is, by a *general embargo*, to blend our friends with our enemies. To seek through a miserable retirement within our *shell*, to repair one loss by incurring a greater, and punish the plunderer of three or twenty millions of our property, by an annual sacrifice of sixty. And shall the expense which would attend the preservation of our independence, be deemed a sufficient reason for abandoning it altogether. Had such been the policy of seventy-six, we should have continued the humble instrument of foreign greatness, as we now are the sport of foreign cupidity.

But may not this argument, the strongest that has been advanced by the enemies of our navy, and the most frequently adduced because the most popular, be turned against them on a liberal and comprehensive view of political economy. I trust it can. It has, already, been adverted to. Permit me, for a moment, to direct your attention more particularly to it. When the hazard to be encountered in commercial intercourse, is increased, whatever be the cause, whether the wars of other nations, or our own, the price of insurance is proportionably augmented. The risk of capture is added to the ordinary accidents of the sea, and forms a part of the standard by which the insurer regulates his premium. And by whom is this premium paid? Certainly by the consumer of the articles insured. Is it conceived that the merchant pays it? He must make a certain profit on his capital proportionate to its amount. Where a duty is imposed on any commodity imported, its price is enhanced to the consumer. The merchant advances the duty, but the consumer ultimately pays it. In like manner, where the losses sustained at sea are increased, or the danger* of incurring them is magnified, an additional charge is laid upon every commodity by the merchant, in order to repay himself the price of its insurance, together with a profit on its advancement. And as, in the first instance, it is immaterial whether the consumer pays the duty as a tax, or as a part of the price of the commodity, so is it, in the last, as immaterial on the score of expense, though all important on every other, whether

---

* What may be hereafter the consequence of insecurity arising from the wars of other nations may be ascertained by a recurrence to past experience.

In 1793, insurance from Philadelpha to the West-Indies was from two and an half to three and an half per cent.—To the West-Indies and back five and an half per cent.—From Philadelpha to New Orleans and back six per cent.—Philadelphia to Europe generally three and an half, sometimes two, seldom four, per cent.

In June 1794—To the West-Indies five per cent.—West-Indies and back eight and an half per cent.—To New Orleans five per cent.—To London and back ten per cent.

In June 1795 and 6—nearly the same to the West-Indies—To Europe rather less.

In June 1797—To the West-Indies and back twelve and an half, fifteen, and twenty per cent.—To Europe ten, seldom nine or eight per cent.

In June 1798—To the West-Indies twelve and an half to seventeen and an half per cent.—To Europe twenty per cent.

In June 1799—To Europe and back seventeen and an half to twenty—To Europe ten to twelve and an half—To the West-Indies ten per cent.

The above was copied from the books of one of the first houses in Philadelphia. I annex to it a list of premiums established in the Insurance Company of North America, on the 7th of March 1794.

To Great-Britain and Ireland	12½
Holland and Ostend	15
Ports in France out of the Streights	20
Spain in the Bay of Biscay.....	20
- - - - - - Ocean, Portugal and Gibraltar	30
Sweden and Denmark.....	15
Russia	17½
Hamburg and Bremen.....	12½
All Western and Canary Islands	20
All British, Spanish, and Dutch Isles and Ports in the West-Indies	out 12½ home 12½
Swedish and Danish Islands....	7½ 7½
French Islands.....	20 30
New Orleans	12½
East-Indies and China, to one Port	20
Home, to sail before the 1st of Mar.	15
The Isle of France & the Mauritius	25 25

The two following lists are from the speeches of Mr. Gallatin on the 7th of February 1799. The report of the committee from which they were taken is not in my possession.

"The committee stated, that about the time of the sailing of our ships of war, the rate of insurance in Philadelphia, stood as followeth,

	Out	Home	In 1799. Out	Home
To Russia.....	22½	22½	12½	12½
Sweden.....	20	12½	12½	12½
Denmark & Hanse Towns.....	17½	17½	10	10
Holland.....	20	17½	15	12½
Great-Britain....	17½	17½	10	10
Spain.....	17½	17½	12½	12½
France.....	—	—	—	—
Portugal.....	15	15	10	10
Morocco.....	20	20	12½	12½
Italy.....	27½	27½	17½	17
China and the East-Indies...	20	15	10	10
West-Indies	17½	17½	12½	12½
Africa.....	20	20	12½	12½

The foregoing facts are not adduced for the purpose to which the select committee applied the last of them, and the inferences I shall draw from them will not be affected by the reasoning opposed to that of the committee. I mean to exhibit, not a particular effect produced by our present armament in any period of its existence, but the general effect of a state of insecurity, arising from wars in which we either bore no part, or confined our efforts to repel aggression. The greatest expense of this insecurity, whether incurred in insuring against real or imagined danger, is the difference between the insurance against the risk of the sea, and the risk of the sea together with that of capture. Assuming the insurance of 1793 as the first, we have about 6 per cent. for insurance out and in, to and from Europe and the West-Indies, and nearly 36 per cent. for the highest insurance before 1799, for the last. Consequently 30 per cent. is the amount of the extraordi-

he pays a certain sum when he purchases an article as its insurance against the danger of capture, or contributes that amount through a direct tax or an additional duty on consumption towards the maintenance of a navy that will remove the danger. The instrument * of commercial intercourse is also rendered more expensive by the risk to which a defenceless commerce is exposed. The freight of a vessel may be resolved into a profit upon the sum which she has cost her owner, and the expenses of the voyage. And the first is regulated by the profit of stock in other directions of industry, with the additional consideration of the perishable nature of the subject in which it is here invested, or the danger of losing the capital itself. In peace, this is great from the casualties of the sea, and the rapid decay of the materials of which the vessel is constructed. In war, it may be yet greater, from the frequency of capture. The owner insures against this new risk, and charges the premium on the use of his vessel; the merchant returns it, and charges it on the commodities. Both, the consumer eventually pays *. Of the second constituent of freight, or the expenses of the voyage, which may be subdivided into various items, I select only the wages of the seamen, because the only one affected by the risk of capture. The wages of the crew of a vessel are affected, not only by the price of labour in other avocations, but by the peculiar hazard accompanying this. War adds to this hazard, painful detentions in foreign ports, the loss of liberty, or death from the hand of an enemy. And the compensation for it constitutes a part of the augmented price of freight *. Moreover, the owner of the vessel insures his freight, and charges the insurance as a part † of the freight itself. The captain

---

nary premium paid, in consequence of the real or apprehended danger of a voyage out and in, to and from the West-Indies or Europe. About one half of that, or 15 per cent. must be charged on our exports, and the other half, or 15 per cent. on our imports. Since the report of the select committee, the former have been augmented to more than 70,000,000 of dollars. From an increase of population, the latter must also have increased. As a part of our exports consists of articles imported from abroad, and afterwards exported to pay for other imports, in what is called an indirect trade of foreign consumption (a trade not as advantageous as the direct, though not a mere carrying trade, as it has been represented to be:) I will assume 100,000,000, the amount proposed by the select committee in 1799, as the basis of calculation. I am, therefore, warranted in stating 15,000,000 of dollars, as the loss which we should annually sustain in the present circumstances of our commerce, from an insecurity, either real or imaginary, equal to that of 1799, when we were provided with some defence (however incompetent) for our trade, when the only depredator upon it was not deemed to be at open war with us, and his means of injury were, moreover, controlled by a superior force.

* On this part of the calculation I have proposed to pursue, I am very sensible of a defect of materials. Having made this assurance, I offer the following:

	Tons.
Present amount of American tonnage ..	950,000
Internal trade which I except as not equally exposed.....	150,000
Foreign trade and fisheries.....	800,000

Value according to Mr. Coxe (View of the United States, page 184) at 34 dollars per ton, 27,200,000.

According to Lord Sheffield (On American Commerce, page 87) at about 40 dollars per ton, 32,000,000.

According to respectable private information of the rates during the war, at 45 dollars per ton, 36,000,000.

A medium of the two first will be 29,600,000, and of the two last 34,000,000, and of the two averaged values 31,800,000.

The first exceeds but 200,000, the value assumed by the select committee in 1799. Deducting from the last averaged value 1,800,000, for the sake of round numbers and to avoid objections, and we have 30,000,000 for the value of our foreign tonnage. At the premium established in the last note for a voyage out and in, viz. 30 per cent. we have nine millions of dollars as the annual expense of insecurity, added to the freight of our vessels, and borne by the American consumer. The risk, it must be observed, is that of 1799.

* Assuming 800,000,000 tons, as before, for our foreign trade, and allowing 100 tons to each vessel, we have eight thousand vessels. Allowing a master, or captain, and a mate, and an average of four sailors to every vessel, and we have eight thousand captains, eight thousand mates, and thirty-two thousand sailors, for the whole number, whose wages were affected by the risk of 1799, or would be hereafter affected by a similar hazard.

The wages of a captain or master before 1793 were from twenty to twenty-five dollars per month. In 1799, sixty dollars.

The greatest difference of wages per month before and during the war, forty dollars; the least, thirty-five dollars; average thirty-seven and an half dollars: ×8000 the whole number of captains, or masters, gives a monthly expense of 30,000 dollars, incurred, in consequence of insecurity, for the wages of the captains, or masters.

The wages of a mate before 1793 were from fourteen to sixteen dollars per month: in 1799 from thirty-six to forty dollors: one half of 14+16=15; one half of 36+40=38; difference 23, which multiplied by 8000, the whole number of mates, gives a monthly expense of 184,000 dollars incurred, in consequence of insecurity, for the wages of mates.

The wages of common sailors before 1793 were from eight to twelve dollars per month; during 1799 from twenty to twenty-six dollars: one half of 8+12 =10; and one half of 20+26=23, the difference is 13, which multiplied by 32,000, the whole number of common sailors, gives a monthly expense of 416,000 dollars incurred, in consequence of insecurity, for the wages of seamen.

These three items added together make 900,000 dollars, which multiplied by 12 for the annual wages, gives the sum of 10,800,000 dollars for the annual augmentation of the wages of seamen, or the second item of freight, by the hazard of capture in 1799.

† I shall not pretend to estimate this amount, or those arising from the additional primage, which is a commercial term for the sum which the merchant allows the captain on the whole freight of the vessel which he commands, and which is about 5 per cent.—and the additional brokerage, which is a sum paid by the underwriter to the broker who negotiates a policy for him, and which is about one per cent. on the premium. It will be sufficient to state, that

receives a primage proportionate to the whole amount of the freight. The broker for negotiating the several policies, a profit upon all the premiums. And, inasmuch as all those expenses together render it necessary to employ a greater capital in a certain number of vessels, they limit the extension of navigation, and by destroying a former, or preventing a new competition, augment the price of freight. The instrument by which commercial intercourse is maintained, is thus rendered more expensive by various causes resulting from a state of insecurity. But the whole expense is borne by the consumer. By the merchant, no farther than as he himself holds this character. In fine, the cultivator of the soil disposes of his productions at a price reduced by the accumulated expense of exportation abroad, their nominal value is depressed. He purchases manufactures at a price enhanced by the additional charge on the food which supports the manufacturer, and the rude materials of which they are wrought, as well as the extraordinary risk attending their importation. The real value of his productions, which is to be estimated by the wants which they will enable him to gratify, is sunk yet lower. The possibility of transporting our commodities to a foreign market, where, according to their general character, they comprize a small value in a great bulk, is rendered precarious.

It is not, let me add, our own wealth alone which we put in jeopardy by this absurd system of economy. We are, under certain circumstances, responsible for that of our allies. A belligerent power is bound, by the law of nations, to hold sacred the property of his enemy, provided it be within the territorial jurisdiction of a neutral state, this jurisdiction extends to the distance of one league from the sea-shore; and over all bays, rivers, and harbours within her territory. And the same law declares, that if a belligerent power capture the vessels of his enemy within these limits, the neutral state shall indemnify her ally for the loss which she sustains. What, let me ask, avails the acknowledgment of a law where it can be violated with impunity?

But, if the risk arising from the wars of other nations; if the depredations which belligerent powers are prone to commit on the unprotected commerce of a neutral state; if the spoliations, I speak not, here, of the indignities, to which we have so patiently submitted for more than six years, are to be deprecated, on an extensive view of political economy, when contrasted with the price of commercial security, and I insist that they are, yet more deplorable would be the calamities of a commercial war, to which, without the means of defence, we should be ourselves a party. Let them not be estimated by the events of a period when the world contributed, by the most destructive havoc, to encourage our industry, and the misfortunes of other nations, gave to our seamen, the navigation of the richest commerce. Nor should they be measured by the feeble efforts of the crippled marine of France during the last three years of that period. It had been previously humbled by the naval power of Great-Britain. Her numerous squadrons deterred its shattered remnant from tempting the ocean. It will not be deemed candid by those who differ from me in opinion to estimate them from the transactions of the revolutionary war, mingled, as they then were, with peculiar and complicated misfortunes. Let it be recollected, however, that our population has since progressed more rapidly than our arts: that our tonnage has been trippled; our exports quadrupled. That vast forests have been opened to the light of cultivation by an industry which is cheered by the prospect of distant markets. That the arts which we possess, are intimately connected with, have in some instances grown out of, our foreign commerce, which supplies their basis, or furnishes a demand for their products. That our hardy and enterprising countrymen of the north, have converted the Banks of Newfoundland into a mine of wealth, of population, and, if rightly used, a formidable safeguard of independence. That we have, moreover, incurred an immense debt, the price of the political blessings procured by that war, and which all these resources are to discharge. On these fountains of opulence, of enjoyment, of independence, what would be the operation of a commercial war, in which we should oppose our imbecility to the naval strength of a powerful enemy? How are our harbours, our maritime cities, defended? Many of our rivers present no other obstacle to a foe, from their mouths to their sources, than the rocks which terminate their navigation. A fleet of twenty sail properly distributed, would block up every harbour in the United States. Half that number would shut up the Narrows of New-York, the entrance of the Sound, the ports of Boston and Charleston, and the mouths of the Delaware and Chesapeake. A single armed ship would intercept every bark that is carried down the Mississippi. A stroke is aimed at our industry, whose parylitic power would be felt through every department of the community. The sinews of labour are withered. The husbandman neglects the harvest field, his ploughshare rusts in the furrow. The disconsolate mariner beholds the sails of his vessel idly flapping in the wind, or indignantly sees her led away by a rapacious enemy. The fisherman of the north no longer frequents the Banks of Newfoundland, or courses the whale in the southern ocean. He turns to the Atlantic, and with hopeless dejection, beholds the avenues of an employment, to which nature had conducted him in childhood, which she had made the honour and support of his maturity, closed up. The silence of desolation reigns in our cities. Perhaps even the flames of war fill them with the cries of their defenceless inhabitants*. Flying from their paternal abode, they curse the wealth which

---

the hazard of 1799, (whether real or imaginary, I must, contrary to a respectable authority, deem altogether immaterial as to the immediate loss) applied to our present circumstances, would produce an annual expense of 15,000,000 of dollars, for the insurance of the articles of commerce, 9,000,000 for the insurance of the vessels engaged in it, and 10,800,000 for the augmentation of seamens' wages beyond the peace rates. In all nearly 35,000,000 of dollars for the annual expense which would be incurred by the United States of America, in consequence of the commission of depredations as extensive as those of 1798, 1799, and 1800, on their commerce.

I ask if this sum would support a navy powerful enough to command respect from other nations while we are engaged in a lawful commerce? For the motives which those nations must ever feel to respect us, motives which must however be unavailing while we are unarmed, I refer to Jefferson's Notes, pages 255, 259, and 260, new edition of 1801.

* Will such a calamity be deemed impossible, after the recent bombardment of the capital of a brave people by a British squadron? One of the strongest cities in the world!

invited the rapacity of their enemy, and their government which surrenders them a helpless prey to his power. Public credit calls in vain upon the empty treasury for the sums destined for the national debt. The necessary violation of private contracts, undermines the morals of society. The government itself, hitherto accustomed to rely, almost exclusively, upon the duties on imports for revenue to fulfil its engagements, sees the public confidence deserting it, and all its operations delayed or defeated. Before the loss of its old can be supplied by a new revenue, it institutes expensive loans without funds to pledge as a security for their redemption. Perhaps, at this awful crisis, it swells its expenditures by appropriations for defence, for that very navy which it recently spurned. It establishes a new system of taxation, not only more expensive in collection, but from its drawing directly on the purse of the citizen, and from its necessary or fancied inequality, calculated to excite the clamour of the turbulent and the discontented. A clamour, the more alarming, from the period at which this new system is called into operation. At the moment when an enemy is on the coast, when the channel of commerce is obstructed, and the capacity of the citizen for discharging even the ordinary expenses of the government is restricted or utterly destroyed. Gold and silver disappear. The banks are shut up. A circulating medium consisting of their protested securities, of the depreciated certificates of the public debt, of a new paper currency issued on the verge of national bankruptcy, generate, in its perpetual and rapid fluctuations, swarms of speculators who intercept the blood of the nation before it has performed its natural office, and glitter amidst her ruins. And shall we hazard a situation so deplorable and trust our security, I had almost said, our existence, to the mercy of every nation capable of equipping a fleet of twenty sail. Can we expect succour from abroad, when we cease to confide in ourselves. It has been often urged, that those nations, from whom we have the greatest danger to apprehend, are most dependent on us for the employment of their artists and the subsistence of their distant colonies; and that to this necessary dependence we may safely trust the protection of our trade. It is not the first time it has been discovered, that if nations would consult their true interest, the world would no longer be disturbed by their broils. Were the policy of European governments founded always upon a virtuous concern for the happiness of their respective subjects alone, were they always capable of discerning the means of promoting that happiness, we might venture to rely for security on the nature of our commerce. But I will select the most commercial of those states and pursue this reasoning. Great-Britain, together with her dependencies, receives from the United States a greater quantity of food and materials than any other power in Europe. From the superior excellence of her government, public interest must be more frequently respected in her councils than in those of any other foreign nation. The dependence so much relied on must therefore operate here with peculiar force. When plundered by her cruizers or by those of other nations turn here then, Americans, and address her interest or supplicate her humanity. Your addresses to her interest will be opposed by her pride. She possesses the most powerful navy in Europe. Her painters, poets, and orators have leagued her with Neptune, and together with his trident have transferred to her the empire of the waves. Supplicate her humanity! Whom do you supplicate? Not the people of Britain, but a committee of her peers. They regulate the spirit of British commerce and the voice of the nation is that of the merchants of Bristol, Liverpool, and London, of the Board of East-India directors: the philanthropists who have dragged from Africa to a miserable servitude thousands of helpless wretches, whose only crimes were a capacity for labour and the complexion of a burning climate. Behold their humane policy deluging the plains of Indostan with the blood of her children and with a rapacity equally capricious and unrelenting, desolating the most populous region of the globe. Will you judge of the protection which you are to derive from their humanity? They have avowed, that it will be good policy in the nations of Europe to let loose on you the rovers of Salee and the corsairs of Algiers. Infernal policy! It is but a few years since two hundred Americans returned from a cruel servitude. On the southern shores of the Mediterranean I behold a land fertilized with the blood of my countrymen. I behold the chains which bound them to the instruments of labour and the bloody scourge just fallen from the hands of their inhuman tyrants. Their cries still vibrate in my ears. I hear them in the agony of despair abjure their country and their God. Americans, extend your protecting arms to the adventurous mariner. Do not, I conjure you, add to the thousand hidden dangers of the deep, to the howling tempest, and the desert coast, the horrors of an Algerine captivity. Had you yourselves witnessed the scoffs of the infidels and the tortures they inflicted on your countrymen, your cannon would long since have thundered on the coast of Africa. Told of their sufferings, your infant navy struggled for life. Faction however stifled her early efforts and you were content to purchase a shameful treaty stipulating a price for the freedom of American citizens. It is unfortunate, indeed, for republican governments that they are too prone to act from the impulse of the moment, and too seldom pursue the most important objects with firmness. We are plundered by the states of Barbary, and order six frigates to be built for the protection of our trade. We buy a treaty and determine to build but three. Could we tell how long this faithless people would *think it convenient to* fulfil their contract? Again, our commerce is plundered by the greatest naval powers of Europe, and its chief spoiler adds insult to injury, proudly spurns our proffered reconciliation, and turns a deaf ear to our remonstrances. All parties at length concur in ascribing these outrages and indignities to the same cause, the want of a navy sufficiently powerful to protect our rights.*

---

* In two speeches delivered in Congress by the present Secretary of the Treasury on the 7th and 11th of February, 1799, our permanent resources (including internal duties, land and stamp taxes, which he there estimates at 2,600,000 dollars) are rated at 10,000,000 of dollars. In a report lately issued from the same quarter, they are estimated, without the land or stamp tax, at 10,600,000! Such is the difference between our resources under the management of O. W. and A. G.!

To serve a particular purpose, our expenditures for 1801, and 1802, were in 1799, calculated at 15,450,000, and 16,750,000 dollars respectively. In 1801, to serve another purpose, they are shrunk to about 7,000,000, including the expenditures for our persecuted navy, and the interest on our public debt!

Adam Smith tells us, that the high interest of

money in the United States (then British provinces) is a proof of their rapid progress to opulence. The public prints teemed with abuse of the government for borrowing at 8 per cent. Six per cent. stock was then selling at 16s. The new eight per cent. stock did not rise above par till a twelvemonth after it was issued! Profound financiers, wise statesmen!

Debate in the House of Representatives, March 29th, on the State of the Union.

Mr. Giles said "that when he found the law for "building the frigates would pass, he stated it as his "consolation, that the trees from which the frigates "were to be built were still growing." Again, "Perhaps, Gentlemen may say, what will you do if "France carries her injuries farther? I would, said "he, draw ourselves within our shell."

In his last speech, on that day, in reply to Mr. Harper, he concluded with the following remarkable declaration. "As to the frigates, he gloried in his "vote against them; but with respect to the use of "them, the gentleman (Mr. H.) was mistaken. "They were intended to be sent against the Alge-"rines only."

In a committee of the whole, on the State of the Union, April the 17th, 1798, Mr. Nicholas owned "it would be a painful thing to see our com-"merce carried on by other nations; but we have "no choice, if it is not in our power to give equal "protection. The southern states, he said, had "acted very liberally in this respect when they had "any thing in their power. They have consented "to lay a burthen upon themselves to increase the "navigation of the United States; but when they "were called upon to support additional burdens, "they would expect to see that the expense must "conduce to some public advantage."

Mr. Baldwin, in a debate on Thursday, Jan. 17, 1799. "The operation of building the frigates had "been the subject of more particular inquiry, and "more pointed censure from all parts of the house, "than any other: it had always been his opinion "that it was less exposed to such censure than "most of the other measures."

Peter the Great, Montesquieu informs us, produced an insurrection in his empire by an edict to shave the beards of the Russians. He was obliged to desist. The Tartars succeeded although not without blood-shed, in shaving the heads of the Chinese. Is it supposed that men prize their hair more than their liberty?

I am not disposed to decry what is the natural defence of every country, and the safest defence of a free state. But under the present militia system of the United States, or any which has been contemplated, there is little ground for the hope that it will ever be able to cope with the veteran armies of Europe. May I be allowed, here, to ask a question which would not have been deemed fanciful among the wisest nations of antiquity; it is, whether our militia system can ever be improved, while its offices are unconnected with those of the civil administration? Where the military character of a people is lost in the civil, in habits necessarily pacific, how can military duties be made respectable, but by associating them with the civil, and by making a military office the necessary avenue to the highest honours which the nation can confer. When the road to glory is conducted through this department, by the laws, the military character will be dignified. The civil offices which terminate it will reflect a lustre on the military from which it leads. The only remaining alternative, to pay the citizen for discharging his duty as a soldier, is not congenial to the spirit of our constitution, nor as likely to produce the end intended.

VICE PRESIDENT BURR.

*Extract from a Narrative of the Suppression (by Mr. Burr) of the History of the Administration of John Adams**. Published at New York, May, 1802.

The period is arrived, when it is no longer necessary to conceal the fact, that the history of the administration of Mr. Adams was suppressed by the vice president of the United States. What the motives and objects of Mr. Burr were for the suppression, we are left principally to conjecture and inference to determine. In such a transaction, however, those who know the vice president, will readily allow that positive proof of the motives of the suppression is not to be exhibited. There is about his actions a cunning, a sort of legerdemain, which, while it defies conclusive proof, eludes the most acute research. In every thing therefore, which relates to this gentleman, no higher a species of testimony ought to be expected, than that of a circumstantial or presumptive nature. All the three kinds of proof indeed, are in their nature nothing more than comparative, and pursuing degrees of comparison to the extent of their applicability, and no further, it may be truly affirmed, that presumptive proof of whatever bears relation to Mr. Burr, is as positive as the most absolute evidence against plain, honest citizens. Habituated to intrigue, and distinguished by the secrecy and celerity of his movements, it is problematical whether even his confidential friends could bring home to him a single act of his of moment. It is said, and I believe with truth, that one of his primary political maxims is, never to converse on an important subject in the presence of two men! Nor is it, it is believed, less a maxim with him, to avoid communicating, even to his confidants, his ideas in writing on political subjects. Oral communication is his element, and even this is regulated by a rule of secrecy so nice, as to forbid his conversing on material affairs in the presence of more than one man! Thus fortified by subtle rules, from which he never departs, it will not be expected that I can so far enter his cabinet of curious secrets as to adduce that sort of testimony concerning the suppression of the history, as will impose conviction on every mind, that it was suppressed with views unfriendly to the adminis-

* This narrative throws great light on the character and political views of the vice president.

tration of Mr. Jefferson. Nor indeed will this be strenuously insisted on. I shall content myself in the present publication, with offering a few remarks in addition to what has been said, and with laying the facts I possess before the public, who are most competent to form a correct opinion of the subject.

Habituated to secret movements and dark consultations, it may be said, that the covert manner in which Mr. Burr carried on the negociation for the suppression of the history, was nothing out of the ordinary way in which he conducts his political affairs. But let it not be forgotten, that Mr. Burr possessess sufficient powers of mind to distinguish between what requires concealment and what does not; and that both the one and the other are by him regulated by his inordinate views of personal ambition. In matters in which the public are concerned, secrecy which abhors disclosure and shuns the light of day, ill comports with the general welfare. Nor is it to be presumed that the public can with safety, repose confidence in him who appears solicitous only to wrap his actions in profound mystery. Such conduct is calculated to inspire jealousy and distrust. A state juggler, who, retiring from the public eye, spreads mischief by his puppets, may astonish with his ropes and pullies the satellites by whom he is surrounded; but a sensible public knowing their rights and valuing their liberty, will abandon him as they would flee from a destructive pestilence.

Thus Mr. Burr is conducting his political affairs, and mounting step by step to the summit of political authority. Versed in the art of hocus-pocus, while sitting in his state room waiting the entrance of his political tools into the antichamber, the wretched heralds of his will, his mandates fly through the union and extend to its extremities. Hence his invisible spirit insinuates itself into every circle, and with its deleterious qualities corrupts whatever it touches. Operating upon the public by numerous agents, confidence must sometimes be misplaced; and from necessity he is reluctantly constrained to employ men who are either incompetent to carry into execution his secret designs, or who, vainly proud of their menial and dishonourable offices, proclaim their business by unfolding their connexion. Hence, to know the mind of the principal, it is only necessary to sound the opinion of the agent. To ascertain the views of the former, nothing more is requisite than to hear the latter speak. These agents differ however in degrees of taciturnity and circumspection. Some, perhaps from long habit, are little inferior in subtilty, in assimulation and dissimulation to the prime mover. But there is one, who, unfortunately for Mr. Burr, divulges secrets confided to him with great indiscretion. He is young, impetuous, and loquacious: And, if general report be true, nature (sometimes sportive) placed in his head the tongue of a woman. It is probable that this young man, without intending it, has injured Mr. Burr much. This, no doubt, is the effect of an over-zeal, at all hazards and by all means, to lift him to the pinnacle of political glory. Whether this ardency of zeal arises from expectancy or disappointment is not precisely known; it is however believed that both these ingredients are mingled with those motives which impel the youth to move with the velocity of Mercury, and to chatter with the fluency of a Magpye!

The suppression of the history, is one of those items in the catalogue of Mr. Burr's intrigues, which required, from a variety of considerations, unusual care to hide it from the public. But here the danger to which he was exposed, was equal to the novelty and magnitude of the undertaking. The suppression could not be effected by the ordinary agents, not even by the subtlest class. It was necessary to call in, in in some respects, extraneous aid. In this there was danger. For in proportion to the multiplication of agents, the craft with its artifices were liable to exposure. Of this no one could be more sensible than the vice-president. The suppression was however a favourite point; to effect it was an essential part of his general system of finesse; and something must therefore be risked.

Mr. Wood, the writer of the suppressed history, and Mr. Burr, have long been intimate. When the latter first heard that the former was about to write a history of the administration of Mr, Adams, he expressed a desire to see him on the subject. Accordingly an interview was had, but for what particular purpose is not precisely ascertained It is, however, known, and asserted as true, that Mr. Burr furnished Mr. Wood with materials for writing his own biography, which is a master piece of the hyperbolic, and exhibits in Mr. Burr, to whom the biography of himself was submitted by Mr. Wood for inspection, no common degree of vanity. His revolutionary services, which were so trifling as to escape the notice of the writers of the different histories of the revolution now extant, were so represented by Mr. Wood as to dazzle the reader with the brilliancy of his exploits. The painting was undoubtedly fine, but it bears no characteristic resemblance of the original. For this I am not disposed to censure Mr. Wood, who drew the martial character and revolutionary achievments of the vice-president from materials with which he was furnished by him. He had no public documents to which he could have recourse. History is silent as the grave concerning the revolutionary services of Mr. Burr. Ramsay never mentions him once in his two volumes, and it is believed that the same may be said of Gordon and others. This is sufficiently excusatory of Mr. Wood. He was to write a biography of Mr. Burr; he could not write it without materials; these could only be furnished by him who was to form the subject of the biographic eulogium; and if they were improper ones, the fault was attributable, not to Mr. Wood, but to Mr. Burr who supplied him with them. But while I censure misrepresentation in others, it is peculiarly incumbent on me to avoid being guilty of it myself. I am

equally concerned with other men in doing justice to all, and, following her pleasing dictates, I sincerely declare it as my opinion, that, although Mr. Burr has no good title to the martial character of Buonaparté, he is not altogether destitute of military merit. Nature may have formed him for an Anthony, but may it not be asked whether she has endued him with the just and magnanimous soul of Aristides?

Proceeding in this strain of exaggeration, the character given of Mr. Burr in other respects in the suppressed history, is liable to censure. This was, however, no doubt done by Mr. Wood as an additional recommendation of the vice-president to the favour of his fellow-citizens. When it was written, Mr. Wood could have had no idea of Burr's subtle machinations to supplant Mr. Jefferson, nor of his agents employed in this dishonourable work.

The 7th number of Hardie's "New Biogra-
"phical Dictionary," pages 406-7, contains an elegantly drawn portrait of the vice president's father by governor Livingston. Aaron Burr (the father of the vice president) was undoubtedly a man of amiable manners, of good erudition, and of a sublime genius. He has left behind him a character honourable to his memory, honourable to his country, and which will command esteem, if not reverence, while learning, and piety, and patriotism shall have a friend. Although governor Livingston's character, therefore, of this worthy man, may be a little overstrained, we view without reluctance the exuberant fancy of the limner, and readily pardon trifling aberrations from exactitude. The character given by governor Livingston of the father, Mr. Wood asserts in the suppressed history, which contains the extract, is exactly applicable to the son. How far this is correct, I leave the reader to judge for himself.

Governor Livingston, in speaking of his (the father of the vice president,) assiduity and usefulness, thus expresses himself. "Though
"a person of a slender and delicate make, to
"encounter fatigue, he had a heart of steel;
"and for the dispatch of business, the most
"amazing talents joined to a constancy of mind,
"that ensured success in spite of every obsta-
"cle. As long as an enterprize appeared not
"absolutely impossible, he knew no discourage-
"ment; but in proportion to its difficulty aug-
"mented his diligence: and by an insuperable
"fortitude, frequently accomplished what his
"friends and acquaintance conceived utterly
"impracticable."

This passage is extracted verbatim from the suppressed history; it is however to be found, as I before stated, and as Mr. Wood has himself also stated, in "Hardie's Biographical Dic-
"tionary."

Thus deified Mr. Burr could not but be pleased with the transcendent character given of him by his new biographer. He little imagined it would ever be publicly known, that the outlines of it were drawn by himself. Charmed with the notion of being transformed into a celestial being he was solicitous to view his likeness in print before the history was issued to the public.

In November 1801, Mr. Burr visited Philadelphia to project with others a new Manhattan bank. As usual, in passing through the state of New-Jersey, it is believed on credible information, he waited on the honourable Jonathan Dayton. Between this gentleman and Col. Burr an uninterrupted and cordial intercourse has taken place ever since the celebrated struggle in the house of representatives for a federal executive. Whether Mr. Wood's history formed a subject of their colloquies on national affairs, is not known; but from a variety of circumstances it is deemed probable. For although Mr. Burr had not seen the whole of the sheets as they were issued from the press, he was sufficiently acquainted with the contents of the history to form a pretty accurate notion of its tenor. He had reason to believe, for instance, that the characters who acted conspicuous parts in the federal drama of 1798-9, were severely lashed by Mr. Wood.

On the 4th or 5th of December, 1801, Mr. Burr, after the project of the new Philadelphia bank was completed, returned to New-York. The history was then ready for sale, and was to have been issued to the public the following week. One of his first enquiries was about it, and Mr. Wood was requested by Mr. Burr to bring a copy of it to his house, that he might peruse the character given of himself, previous to the publication of the history. This request was complied with, and Mr. Burr either discovered or pretended to have discovered some errors in his biography respecting dates. He very sagaciously felicitated himself on the discovery before the history was given to the public; desired Mr. Wood to leave the copy with him, and promised (after the errors of date were corrected) to defray the expense of printing a new sheet of his own life and exploits. These errors would have made Mr. Burr about fifty, whereas he stated he was not more than forty-five years of age. Viewing matters prospectively, it was deemed of some consequence to correct the mis-dates. To one who is looking forward to the presidency; to gain, at the age of fifty, five years on the side of youth, is no inconsiderable acquisition!

According to promise, Mr. Wood waited on Mr. Burr the following morning to receive the copy with the corrections; some evil genius, however, had prompted Mr. Burr to read the volume throughout, and more errors were discovered. These were enumerated to Mr. Wood with great apparent candor and sincerity*. It was objected that the character of Mr Hamilton, Charles C. Pinckney, Jonathan Dayton, and General Washington were not accurately delineated; and it was added with great ten-

* The reader may rely, if he pleases, implicitly on the following facts. They are indubitable. They can be proved in a court of law if necessary.

derness that the book contained many libellous passages. He therefore enquired whether an agreement could not be made with Barlass and Ward to suppress it? He conceived that the character of Mr. Hamilton was misrepresented, meaning, that where encomium was bestowed upon him it was unmerited—that Mr. Charles C. Pinckney, who was represented by Mr. Wood as a person of less integrity than Mr. Hamilton, was a man of purer principle than any other in the union. Upon general Washington, undeserved eulogiums he said had been lavished; and that during his presidency he had evinced himself a person possessed of unbounded vanity, without talents either as a soldier or scholar. Continuing his criticisms, Mr. Wood he observed had wholly mistaken the character of the honourable Jonathan Dayton. Referring to his connection with Francis Childs, which Mr. Wood had noticed in his history to the disgrace of Mr. Dayton, he declared that Childs was a scoundrel, and indebted to Mr. Dayton in the sum of one hundred thousand dollars. The character given by Mr. Wood of Mr. Adams, he liked; it was a bad one, and he thought it representative of the ex-president. Mr. Burr reserved his critical remarks on the character given by Mr. Wood of Mr. Jefferson to the last. This he did not think exactly descriptive of that illustrious person. He observed that Mr. Jefferson was not a man of genius; he was a plodding, mechanical person, of little activity of mind, and possessed of a judgment not very discriminative. Mr. Jefferson he said had also another great failing; he courted and was fond of popularity! He suggested to Mr. Wood the propriety of writing his character anew, and promised to furnish him with facts relative to Mr. Jefferson which were little known to the public, and which would be found exceedingly interesting. Respecting the libellous passages contained in the history, Mr. Burr was mute; he did not even condescend to mention one of them. His whole soul seemed absorbed in disposing of certain characters as Buonaparté disposes of petty nations, to gratify his ambition and to exalt his own.

These were the reasons assigned by Mr. Burr for his solicitude to suppress the whole edition of the history of the administration, to have "a "new history written under his immediate in- "spection, and to be made up of materials to "be furnished principally by himself." These he promised to supply in abundance, and dilated on the value of such a production would be of to the union. By way of superinducement, he stated that facts would transpire in congress in the course of ten or twelve days which would astonish the nation, and convince Mr. Wood that the notions he had entertained of the various characters just enumerated were erroneous. But over the history Mr. Wood had no controul; he had written it by contract for Barlass and Ward, who were the sole owners of it. Being however the writer of the history, he was thought by Mr. Burr the most eligible person to negotiate its suppression. He therefore requested Mr. Wood to wait on Barlass and Ward to make an agreement with them to suppress it, and promised that he and his friends would bear the expense which might be agreed upon. Not clearly perceiving Mr. Burr's views for wishing it to be suppressed, and being anxious, as every author necessarily is, to make his work as perfect as possible, Mr. Wood accepted the office of agent of Mr. Burr, and, receiving suitable instructions, commenced the negotiation.

There was one difficulty in the suppression which it was necessary immediately to remove. In the preceding week a copy of the history had been sent to London by the Juliana, for publication. It was necessary to countermand the order of publication immediately. Had the history been published in London, the suppression of it here would not have answered the intended end. The suppression was to be universal and entire. After its publication in London, it would soon have reached America. To this point therefore, the talents and address of the negotiator were early directed.

[Here the Narrator gives an account of the progress of the negotiation, which, after much higgling and shuffling on the part of Mr. Burr, finally closed with a suppression of the book.]

Such is the character of the man who, "Fit "to disturb the peace of the world," is endeavouring, by little arts, to supplant the chief-magistrate, and to estrange the affections of the people from him. This indeed has been his uniform practice from the very moment the republicans agreed to support Mr. Jefferson as President and himself as Vice-President. To effect this he had agents in the different states during the Presidential election. This shall hereafter be proved.

It is matter of extreme felicity that the improper intrigues of the vice-president are well known by those men in different states who are most competent to guard against them; men whose attachment to Mr. Jefferson increases with his days; who view with mingled emotions of regret and indignation those acts of Mr. Burr which can only tend to make him odious to the people, and blast his once flattering prospects. Had the vice-president consulted his true interest, he would have accompanied the wishes and expectations of the people. Predicated on an unaccountable ignorance of their character, his calculations of them have been erroneous. The American nation will neither be surprised by artifice, nor subjugated by splendid deception. Duly appreciating their rights, their affections are to be one only by good offices. They love their executive for the good he has done and still does them. They repose confidence in him because he has never deceived them. Meriting and possessing their affections to an extent rarely equalled, he is invincible to the stratagems of the vice-president. The majesty of the people shines resplendently in the executive; that people who burst the chains of Mr. Adams, and who will rend the silken cord of Mr. Burr.

A STATISTICAL TABLE *for the* UNITED STATES *of* AMERICA, *for a Succession of Years, compiled chiefly from Official Documents.*

Length of the United States, 1,250 miles—Breadth, 1,040 miles—Containing more than one million of square miles, or 640 millions of acres.

Years.	Population.	Improved Lands, Part of 640 Millions Acres.	Militia.	Navy United States.	Seamen.	EXPORTS.		Tonnage Merchant Vessels.	Receipts, Revenue, &c.	Expenditure.	MONEY.		*Deduct from the Debt.*		*Dormant and active Sinking Fund.*
						Domestic Produce.	Total.				Metallic Medium.	Nominal Public Debt.	Active Sinking Fund.	Custom-House Bonds receivable and Cash in the Treasury.	
							Dollars.		Dollars.			Paper Money.		*Note.*	Specie by law of congress of Aug.
1774	2,486,000	20,860,000	421,300	— —	15,000	6,100,000	6,100,000	198,000	— —	— —	4,000,000	200,000,000	— —	The Bonds	1790 dollars 2,000,000.
1784	3,250,000	21,500,000	541,666	— —	18,000	9,000,000	10,150,000	250,000	— —	— —	10,000,000	Funded.	— —	are under-	Ditto, surplus of duties per ditto.
1790	3,930,000	30,000,000	654,000	— —	25,000	14,200,900	16,000,000	486,890	— —	— —	9,000,000	72,237,301	— —	rated per	Ditto of May, 1792.
1791	4,047,900	31,000,000	677,650	— —	28,000	14,600,000	18,399,202	502,698	4,771,200	3,797,436	16,000,000	76,781,953	— —	Valuation.	Proceeds sale Lake Erie land.
1792	4,169,337	32,000,000	694,889	— —	30,090	15,060,500	21,005,568	567,698	8,771,600	8,962,920	18,000,000	77,124,300	— —	2,596,356	4500 lots in the city of Washington.
1793	4,294,417	33,500,000	715,736		33,060	15,420,000	26,011,788	627,570	6,450,195	6,479 977	20,000,000	78,402,246	2,019,194	— —	235 millions acres lands limited by
1794	4,423,249	34,000,000	737,208	Vessels.	39,900	16,200,100	33,043,725	628,617	9,439,855	9,041,593	21,500,000	79,424,668	2,265,022	6,000,000	law at no less than 2 dlls. per acre,
1795	4,555,946	34,550,000	759,324		45,000	18,064,050	47,855,556	747,964	9,515,758	10,151,240	19,000,000	84,989,438	3,254,235	8,000,000	Dollars, 470,000,000.
1796	4,692,624	35,100,000	782,104	Guns.	51,500	20,021,021	67,064,097	831,900	8,740,329	8,367,776	16,500,000	83,404,139	3,900 344	10,000,000	N.B. *Part of the above lands have*
1797	4,833,402	35,600,000	805,567	3	124	60,200	24,052,671	51,294,710	876,912	8,758,780	8,625.877	16,000,000	81,824,139	4,549,627	13,000,000	*sold for more than the above price. It*
1798	4,978,404	36,100,000	829,734	13	350	62,300	27,991,418	61,327,411	893,329	8,179,170	8,583,618	14,000,000	81,244,139	5,233,174	12,500,000	*is proposed that part of the residue*
1799	5,127,756	36,360,000	854,626	42	950	63,500	33,142,187	78,665,522	920,000	12,549,381	11,004,965	17,000,000	88,456,038	9,052,232	13,000,000	*should be rented, and also the lots in Washington.*

To account for the fluctuation of the metallic medium it must be observed, that funding the debt, and establishing the national bank, occasioned the great influx from 1790 to 1795; after which the spoliations on commerce occasioned the decline till the loan of five millions, 1799, when specie again returned for the purchase of stock.

N.B. For an account of the progressive increase *since* 1799, see the parts Register referred to in the Index under the words *America* and *American*. See also the words, *Finance, Export, Import.*

AFFAIRS OF INDIA.

PAPERS RESPECTING THE TRADE BETWEEN INDIA AND EUROPE. PRINTED IN APRIL, 1802.

Letter from the Right Hon. Henry Dundas to the Chairman of the East India Company. Dated the 2d April, 1800.

SIR, *Somerset Place, 2d April, 1800.*

THE ſubject of this letter is the queſtion of private trade and India-built ſhipping, on which I am anxious to lay my ſentiments before the Court, in order to attract their early attention to a deciſion upon it; believing that from the ſtate in which the queſtion is now left, much miſchief reſults to the intereſts, both of the East India Company, and of the public at large.—I feel the more anxious to come forward on this ſubject, becauſe it is impoſſible for me not to obſerve a ſhyneſs on all hands to come to the diſcuſſion: and I am not ſurpriſed at it; becauſe, ſo far as my reading or obſervation goes, there never was any queſtion where thoſe who differ upon it went into ſuch oppoſite extremes, as thoſe have done who have taken an active part in the agitation of it. This very circumſtance emboldens me to ſtep forward in the manner I am now doing; becauſe it being my lot to agree in the extreme of none of the opinions which have been held out to the public conſideration, I am the more likely to ſuggeſt ſome proper medium between thoſe extremes, which may bring together the diſcordant ſentiments which are entertained upon it.—In the firſt place, I ſet out with diſclaiming being a party to thoſe opinions which reſt upon any general attack of the monopoly of the East India Company, either as to the government or commerce of India. My ſentiments, in that reſpect, remain exactly the ſame as they were when I moved the renewal of the charter in 1793; and, if any thing, I am ſtill more confirmed in the principles I brought forward at that time. That a direct interference by Government in the affairs of India is neceſſary for their ſtability and uniformity, I am more and more convinced; but that the oſtenſible form of government, with all its conſequent extent and detail of patronage, muſt remain as it now is, I am perſuaded will never be called in queſtion by any but thoſe who may be diſpoſed to ſacrifice the freedom and ſecurity of our conſtitution to their own perſonal aggrandizement, and ill-directed ambition. I remain equally ſatisfied as to the propriety of continuing a monopoly of the trade in the hands of the East India Company. Thoſe who maintain the reverſe, appear to me to be miſled by general theories, without attending to the peculiar circumſtances of the trade they are treating of. Viewing it even as a mere commercial queſtion, I believe this propoſition to be a found one; and if the trade were laid open, the ſuppoſed advantages thence ariſing are at beſt very problematical, and would certainly be very precarious and ſhort-lived. It is, however, totally to forget the queſtion to treat it is a mere commercial one. The ſame principles which prove the neceſſity of the preſent form and mode of Indian government, evince the neceſſity of the monopoly of trade. The government and the trade are interwoven together, and we have only to recur to a very recent experience to learn the immenſe advantages which have flowed from that connexion of government and trade. By the commercial capital of the Company at home, acting in connexion with the public revenues under their adminiſtration abroad, they have mutually aided and adminiſtered to the wants of each other; and the reſult has been the fortunate achievement of thoſe brilliant events, upon the ſucceſs of which depended the exiſtence of the government, the territorial wealth, and the trade of India.—You will obſerve, Sir, that it is not my intention at preſent, to argue thoſe topics at large; but merely to ſtate the principles I hold upon ſuch topics, as may appear to be connected with the ſubject I wiſh to bring more particularly under your conſideration.—With the ſame view, it is, that I find it neceſſary to ſay a few words upon the ſubject of what is called the ſhipping intereſt of the East India Company. Upon that ſubject there ſeems to be a greater abuſe of terms, and a more palpable confuſion of ideas, than upon almoſt any other part of this complicated queſtion, in ſo far as any perſon is loud in declaiming againſt the abuſe of that great intereſt being confined excluſively to a few hands, who, by ſuch monopoly, might have it in their power to dictate ſuch terms as they pleaſed to the East India Company. On the ſubject of freights, I am as prepared as any man to join in crying down that abuſe. But I am equally adverſe to the ſentiments of thoſe who contend, that the great intereſt of the Company's trade is to be left to the chance of the market at large; and that the extent of the freight is either wholly, or primarily, to be the excluſive object of the Company's attention. I am deciſively of opinion, that both on views of public policy and commercial ſecurity, the ſame deſcription of ſhips ſhould be continued in the Company's ſervice, built under the ſame inſpection and regulations, fitted and found in every circumſtance, in the ſame reſpectable way they have hitherto been. And though every partiality and laviſh extravagance is to be avoided, a freight fully adequate to ſecure thoſe advantages, ought not to be churliſhly withheld. To what extent of ſhipping of this deſcription the Company ought to go, will be the ſubject of more minute diſcuſſion in a ſubſequent part of this letter.—Having, I truſt, made myſelf diſtinctly underſtood on thoſe leading points, I proceed next to ſtate, what I hold to be equally uncontrovertible, that although the Legiſlature has, for the wiſeſt purpoſes, given a monopoly of trade to the

East India Company, it is a monopoly attended with these two material circumstances:---1st, That the exportable produce of India exceeds what at present the capital of the East India Company is capable of embracing.---2d, That the monopoly of the East India Company does not rest on principles of colonial exclusion: for the trade to and from India is open to the subjects of other countries in amity with Great Britain. We must therefore accurately attend to the considerations which naturally result from those last-mentioned circumstances.---If it be true, that the trade to be carried on by the East India Company must, of necessity, be limited by the extent of their capital, the natural question is, What is to become of the remainder of it? Is it to be left exclusively to foreign nations, or is the monopoly of the Company to be so modified in the exercise of it, as to open this surplus market to the capital of British subjects? This is a mere question of policy, to be decided on principles of expediency and sound discretion, upon a due attention to all the considerations which enter into the discussion of it. And although nothing could be more invidious and impolitic, than to attempt to apply the principles of colonial exclusion to other independent nations; nothing certainly can be more just or natural than that those nations who trade to India, should trade there on their own capitals; and that the capital of the British subjects, resident in India, should be brought home to this country, in the manner most beneficial to their own interests, and to that of the mother country, where it is desirable all that capital should ultimately settle. This proposition then clearly points out the true appropriation of the surplus produce of India. When I state this, I am at the same time free to declare, that I totally disapprove of attempting to accomplish this by penal restrictive statutes. All such ever have been, and ever will be nugatory, when resorted to for such a purpose. Trade never can be regulated or directed by any other certain rule than the interest of those concerned in it. But it is so much the interest and natural bent of a British subject to send his fortune to that country which gave him birth, and where he means to close his days, that nothing but the most unnatural and impolitic restraints can suggest to him a desire to do otherwise.---But obvious as this principle may appear to be, it requires accurate attention in the application of it to the subject in question. If I am asked, whether, in stating this principle, I mean that the trade to and from India, in the common use of the terms, ought to be free and open to all his Majesty's subjects in India? I answer distinctly in the negative. The nature of the Indian manufacture, and the immemorial habits of the manufacturers, exclude the practical application of so indefinite a principle to the export trade from India. The manufacture of the finer and more valuable fabrics of India, has always been produced by advances from the Government, or individuals, for whose behoof those fabrics are manufactured; and if the dealing with those manufacturers was to be laid open to the uncontrolled competition of every individual, the consequence would be a boundless scene of confusion and fraud; and, ultimately, the ruin of the manufacturers themselves. It is unnecessary for me to detail this part of the subject at any length, because it is so clearly and ably explained in a letter from Lord Cornwallis to the Court of Directors, dated 1st November, 1788, that I have only to refer you and the Court to the careful perusal of it. The whole of it is worthy of your serious attention, but paragraphs 24 to 31 inclusive, are those to which I particularly refer, as bearing on the present question. It is not the purpose of the present letter to point out what the precise regulations ought to be; but it is obvious, that those employed in the agency of such a trade should be controlled by such regulations as may be requisite to secure both to the Company itself, and to other individuals, the full benefit of those advances they have made to the manufacturers of Indian fabrics.—It is immediately connected with the observations last offered, to consider by what agency is the trade of individuals in India to be carried on? If this question was to be decided on the principles of an open and free trade, the answer to the question would be, that every individual should send out or employ any agent he thought best to manage his own business. But from what I have already stated on the former point, you will anticipate my opinion on this, namely, that no agent should be employed in India, or permitted to reside there, except with the license of the East India Company, and subject to the control of such regulations as the habits, prejudices, and trade of the country may render expedient. In addition to every other consideration, arising out of the peculiar nature of the trade and manners of the country, there is one decisive circumstance against the tolerance of every unlicensed adventurer in India. It would rapidly, though insensibly, lead to the settlement and colonization of the worst kind of adventurers taking root in that country, than which there could not be a more fatal blow to the permanence of the British power and pre-eminence in India. No principle ought ever to be tolerated or acted upon, that does not proceed on the basis of India being considered as the temporary residence of a great British establishment for the good government of the country, upon steady and uniform principles; and of a large British factory, for the beneficial management of its trade, upon rules applicable to the state and manners of the country.—From these premises, the conclusion I draw is, that the surplus produce of India, beyond what the appropriated capital of the East India Company can bring home, should be considered as the means of transferring the fortunes of the servants in India

to Great Britain; and that the commerce ſhould be managed there, either by the parties themſelves intereſted in it, or by their agents acting under the licenſe, and ſubject to the control and regulations of the Eaſt India Company.—The queſtion which naturally follows is, By what mode of conveyance is that trade to be brought home? I anſwer, By the India-built ſhipping. Upon the policy and beneficial tendency of this meaſure, I have only to refer you to the unanimous opinion of all your ableſt ſervants in India, who have, from time to time, and in the moſt explicit terms, pointed out to you the expediency of this indulgence, both with a view to a juſt attention to the intereſts of your ſervants in India, and with a view to make Britain the great emporium of the trade of Aſia. Indeed nothing has hindered your ſervants abroad, ſanctioned by the expreſs advice of your Board of Trade, from acting upon theſe principles at different times, but the great quantity of unemployed ſhipping ſent out by the Eaſt India Company. I truſt henceforward you will ſee the wiſdom of deſiſting from ſuch a waſteful ſyſtem. If you fix the capital you mean to apply to inveſtment, and accurately direct your ſervants to provide that inveſtment, there can be no occaſion for any extra ſhipping. Your inveſtment and ſhipping will correſpond accurately together, and your commerce be ſyſtematically conducted. I mean, in a ſeparate letter, to treat of what the amount of that inveſtment ought to be, and what are the means by which it is to be provided. At preſent I mean only to ſtate, that, whatever the regular inveſtment is, it ought to be brought home in the regular home-built ſhips, to which I have referred in the beginning of this letter. If any accident ſhall befall any of thoſe ſhips in their outward paſſage, or if any circumſtances exiſt to render it expedient for you to bring home gruff goods, or any other articles of commerce from India, a diſcretion ſhould be left with your governments abroad to ſupply that deficiency from the ſhipping to be found in India. But it ought to be adopted and adhered to as an invariable rule, that the regular ſhipping to be ſent from this country, ſhould be in exact proportion to the amount of the inveſtment expected home.—When I am thus adding the concurrence of my opinion to the weight of authority which the propoſition derives from the unanimous ſentiments of your moſt intelligent ſervants in India, I am only adhering to the principles I detailed when I moved the renewal of your charter in 1793. It was upon an application of thoſe principles that the proviſion was made in the act of Parliament, directing the Eaſt India Company to appropriate 3000 tons annually to the private trade to and from India. Although I propoſed that meaſure, I ſhould be uncandid if I did not fairly acknowledge that experience has proved it to be inadequate to the purpoſes for which it was intended. If the object had been only to try an experiment how far individuals were not more competent to the export of Britiſh produce and manufactures than the Eaſt India Company, no other objection would lie againſt the meaſure, except what may be ſuppoſed to ariſe from the dearneſs of freight, at which the Eaſt India Company could afford to give ſhipping of that deſcription. But in ſo far as the proviſion went to ſecure the transfer of the capital of our ſervants in India to this country through the medium of trade, it is clearly aſcertained that the meaſure was a nugatory one. I need not enter into an explanation of the reaſons, for they are ſo diſtinctly and unanſwerably ſtated, both in the correſpondence of your Board of Trade at Bengal, and the memorials preſented by the merchants at Calcutta to your Supreme Government in India, that I have only to refer you to the peruſal of theſe documents, in proof of the inutility of that proviſion in the act of 1793.—I am therefore clear, that clauſe in the act ought to be repealed, and the Company relieved from the obligation it impoſes upon them: and in place thereof, a power given to your Governments abroad to allow the Britiſh ſubjects, reſident in India, to bring home their funds to Britain in the ſhipping of the country. I ſee in the records of the Company abroad, it is ſuggeſted, that thoſe ſhips ſhould be contracted for by the Government, and refreighted to the individuals. I do not exactly perceive what benefit ariſes from the Government having that kind of interference in the buſineſs; but if there is any good reaſon for it, there is not certainly any material objection againſt it. But it is material to attend to, and of courſe regulations will be made as to the time of ſailing and other circumſtances of detail connected with the ſafe execution of the meaſure.—It may, perhaps, be objected, that this propoſition is injurious to the regular ſhipping of the Eaſt India Company, for the preſervation of which ſyſtem I have already given ſo decided an opinion.—The anſwer to this objection is two-fold. Firſt, in point of fact, it will not diminiſh their ſhipping a ſingle ton; for the Eaſt India Company would not, if the meaſure was not adopted, ſend out a ſingle ſhip more. They ought and will ſend out as much of the regular Britiſh-built India ſhipping as is neceſſary to bring home the whole of their inveſtment, and they will act improvidently if they ſend out one ton more. The only effect of this meaſure not being adopted, would be to extend the trade and ſhipping of other nations, but in no reſpect to add to the regular ſhipping of the Eaſt India Company.—In the next place, thoſe intereſted in the regular ſhipping of the Eaſt India Company would do well to conſider the benefits they already enjoy, in place of endeavouring to

cramp and check the juſt pretenſions of others. They ought to recollect the rapid progreſs they have made from the time of the Commutation Act; and, above all, they ought to recollect that it has always been conſidered as a very problematical queſtion, how far, conſiſtent with the national intereſts, ſo much of the ſhip timber of the country ought to be appropriated to its commercial concerns, in the manner practiſed by the builders of India ſhipping. I am one of thoſe who think there are reaſons of public expediency, connected with the very intereſt on which the objection is founded, which ought to prevent any principle of that kind being inconſiderately acted upon. But one of the material grounds, upon which I am diſpoſed to think that the objection I have referred to ought to be well weighed before it is given way to, ariſes from the reflection, that we have a national reſource in India, which ought to lead to the reverſe of any invidious or unjuſt diſcouragement being given to the ſhip-building of India.---In ſome of the many ſpeculations I have heard, and the publications I have peruſed on this ſubject, it is uſual to aſk, in a tone of complaint, if it is not unjuſt and unfair that the merchants and ſhipping of this country, other than the ſhipping of the Eaſt India Company, ſhould be excluded from a participation of that trade which is allowed to the ſubjects of foreign nations?---The ſtatement, at firſt ſight, may appear plauſible; but when examined to the bottom, it has no ſolidity. In truth, it is only another mode of objecting to the monopoly of the Eaſt India Company. If there are reaſons of ſound policy, why the Legiſlature has decided that the Indian trade ſhould be carried on by a monopoly, it is becauſe, viewing the intereſts of the public as one aggregate, it is of opinion, that thoſe intereſts are beſt carried for, by that mode of conducting the trade. Thoſe, therefore, who ſtate this objection, being themſelves part of that whole, are, in common with the reſt of his Majeſty's ſubjects, reaping the benefit of that influx of national wealth and capital, which the Eaſt India trade, ſo conducted, brings into the national ſtock. They cannot, therefore, more than others, becauſe their occupation happens to be that of merchants or ſhip-owners, complain of being injured by the means which the wiſdom of Parliament has deviſed, for introducing that flow of wealth into the kingdom.—The caſe is totally different with regard to the ſubjects of foreign nations. They are not the objects of the care of the Britiſh Legiſlature; neither are their intereſts at all in the view of its proviſions. They reap no benefit, but the reverſe, from the growing wealth and proſperity of the Britiſh empire; and therefore are, in no reſpect, on a footing of compariſon with any of the ſubjects of this country, to whom the reſtraints of the Company's charter, for the reaſons already aſſigned, do with perfect propriety apply.—It is quite a ſeparate queſtion, how far it would be right to hold our Indian poſſeſſions upon principles of colonial monopoly? and it would be deviating from the ſtrict matter of the objection, to enter into that diſcuſſion in this place. It is ſufficient, in point of fact, to obſerve, in anſwer to the merchants and ſhip-owners, that it is thought expedient for the intereſts of the empire at large, that the Eaſt India poſſeſſions ſhould not be regulated on the principles of colonial excluſion; and, therefore, no part of the ſubjects of Great Britain can be permitted to ſet up a ſeparate intereſt of their own, againſt that general policy. If the colonial principle was to be applied to the Indian territories, it would not advance, by one ſtep, that ſeparate intereſt ſet up by the merchants and ſhip-owners, to whom I now refer.—Another turn is given to this objection, in the mouth of the ſame objectors; and it is aſked, why, at leaſt, ſhould not the merchants and ſhip-owners, ſubjects of his Majeſty, reſident in Britain, have the ſame indulgences which are contended for by his Majeſty's ſubjects reſident in India? The anſwer is plain and concluſive, that, in contending for this indulgence to the Britiſh ſubjects reſident in India, I am contending for a material national intereſt, which is no other than this, that their fortunes, capitals created in India, ſhould be transferred from that country to this, in a manner moſt beneficial for themſelves, and the kingdom at large, in place of being transferred through the medium of commerce by foreigners, and thereby adding to the wealth, capital, and navigation of foreign countries.---There is not a ſingle circumſtance in which this applies to the caſe of merchants in this country. It might be proved, if neceſſary, that the only effect of giving ſuch an indulgence to the merchants reſident in this country would be a temptation to withdraw a part of the capital of the country from a more profitable trade, and more beneficial application of it, in order to divert it to another trade, leſs profitable to themſelves, and leſs beneficial to the public. Without, therefore, one ſingle reaſon, either of private juſtice or public policy, it would be introducing a rival capital in India againſt the remittance-trade of the Eaſt India Company, and in competition likewiſe with thoſe individuals, whoſe capitals, by the propoſed indulgence, it is wiſhed to transfer to Great Britain.---It is argued, that the extenſion of this indulgence of the Britiſh merchants would be an additional encouragement to the export of Britiſh manufactures. I need only obſerve, that the argument proceeds on an erroneous view of the ſubject. The export trade to India can never be extended in any degree proportionate to the

wealth and population of the Indian empire; neither can the returns upon it be very profitable to individuals. Thoſe who attend to the manners, the manufactures, the food, the raiment, the moral and religious prejudices of that country, can be at no loſs to trace the cauſes, why this propoſition muſt be a true one. The importance of that immenſe empire to this country is rather to be eſtimated by the great annual addition it makes to the wealth and capital of the kingdom, than by any eminent advantages which the manufactures of the country can derive from the conſumption of the natives of India. I do not mean to ſay, that the exports from this country to India have not been very conſiderably increaſed of late years; and I make no doubt, that, from recent circumſtances, they may be ſtill conſiderably increaſed. But the proſpect, from the cauſes I have already referred to, muſt always be a limited one; and I am poſitive, that the ſhipping and exertions of the Eaſt India Company, joined to the returned cargoes of thoſe ſhips, who bring home the private trade of India, is more than adequate to any preſent or future increaſe of export trade, that this country can look to upon any rational ground of hope.—In this view, therefore, the Britiſh merchants are equally miſtaken, in ſuppoſing that there is any national intereſt implicated in their attempt to break in upon the monopoly of the Company, as they are in ſuppoſing that any material benefit would accrue to themſelves individually.—In ſome of the collections of papers I have read upon the ſubject of private trade, I have obſerved a difference of opinion entertained, to what places in India it has been or ought to be allowed. I am at a loſs to diſcover the grounds of this controverſy. If individuals are to be allowed to bring goods from India in India ſhipping, and to carry back goods to India in the ſame ſhipping, I cannot ſee the ground for reſtraining them in coming from, or returning to any part in India.—In like manner, with regard to agents, provided they are licenſed by the Company, and ſubject themſelves to the control of the regulations which the Company may ſee cauſe to eſtabliſh for the conduct of agents in India, I ſee no reaſons why thoſe agents may not be permitted to exerciſe their agency for behoof of their conſtituents in any of the territories of India. I ſtate this with regard even to agency exerciſed for behoof of foreigners trading to India. It is clearly beneficial for the intereſts of India, in every point of view, that foreigners ſhould rather employ Britiſh agents reſiding under the protection of the Company in India, than that theſe foreign nations ſhould eſtabliſh agents of their own in any part of India. In the former caſe, they are under the control of the Company, and bound to adhere to ſuch rules as the Company may think proper to lay down for the conduct of agency; but there can exiſt no ſuch control or reſtraint over the agents of the other deſcription.—With regard to the agents to be employed at home to manage the private trade of individuals from India, and to take care of their intereſt in the cargoes of the returning ſhips, I do not ſee the uſe of any interference by the Company. The great intereſt to be attended to on the part of the Company is, that no goods come from India that are not depoſited in the Company's warehouſes, and that the goods ſo imported are expoſed at the Company's ſales, agreeable to the rules preſcribed for that purpoſe.—This letter has extended to a length far beyond what I intended or expected; but I was deſirous to have my opinion, on all the points connected with the ſubject, diſtinctly underſtood: and I ſhall leſs regret the trouble I have given you in the peruſal of ſo long a letter, if I ſhall be ſucceſsful in calling your attention to a ſpeedy and final deciſion of the queſtion, which has been too long in diſcuſſion, from the very diſcordant opinions and oppoſite extremes which have appeared in the agitation of it.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HENRY DUNDAS.

Firſt Report of the Special Committee, to whoſe Conſideration the preceding Letter from Mr. Dundas, and the Subject in general of enlarging the Private Trade from India, were referred.

I. Your Committee have proceeded to the diſcuſſion of the ſubject referred to their conſideration, under a deep impreſſion of its great importance, not only in itſelf, but as involving a variety of important intereſts and relations. The preceding agitation of it had led the individuals, now forming your Committee, in common with the other members of the Court, to regard it with very ſerious attention; and they have ſince endeavoured, in ſome meaſure, to qualify themſelves for the performance of the taſk aſſigned to them, by diligent inquiry and reflection; ſeeking to obtain from all the ſources of information within their reach, a comprehenſive knowledge of facts and opinions relating to this ſubject, and fairly to appreciate their nature and import, that thus they might be aſſiſted in forming intelligent and juſt concluſions.—With this deſign, your Committee have peruſed a great variety of writings, which they will beg leave to claſs under diſtinct heads, referring to the margin * for a more particular

* PAPERS REFERRED TO ABOVE.

Extracts from the Bengal Correſpondence, &c. collected into one large Folio; relative to the Queſtion of extending the Trade between Great Britain and India, from 1785 *to* 1799, *containing the following Particulars, viz.*

Sir J. Macpherſon's Minute, 9th April, 1785.

Letter from Bengal to the Court, 9th ditto.

Letter from Sir J. Macpherſon to ditto, 10th January, 1786.

Extract from Mr. Haſtings' State of Bengal, 1786.

Mr. Bebb to the Board of Trade, 22d Auguſt and 17th November, 1788, and

Minute of Board of Trade thereon.

enumeration of them.---*1ſt. A voluminous collection of records of the Government General of Bengal, from the year* 1785 *to the year* 1799, *which contain numerous applications and propoſals from the free merchants of that preſidency, and the other Britiſh ſettlements, for indulgences and enlargements in the private trade between India and Britain; with the ſentiments and proceedings of the Company's commercial ſervants and the Supreme Board, in relation to that and other ſubjects of commercial policy.---2d. Applications made directly to the Court here, in behalf of the free merchants of India, and of the merchants of London, for a ſyſtematic admiſſion, with ſhips of their own, into the commerce and navigation between India and Great Britain, and for the indefinite extenſion of that commerce; under which head may be ranked the motion brought forward laſt year, in a General Court of Proprietors, on this ſubject; without adverting particularly to works not immediately addreſſed to the Court, but calculated to influence the public mind reſpecting the conduct of the Company, and the extent and appropriation of the Indian commerce; points which they profeſs to diſcuſs.---3d. A letter from the Right Honourable Henry Dundas to the Court of Directors, dated 2d April,* 1800, *wherein he delineates the leading principles and views, by which the trade of the Company and of individuals from India, and the intercourſe between that country and Great Britain, ought to be regulated.* ---Another letter, which the ſame Right Honourable Gentleman was pleaſed to addreſs to one of the Members of the Court, and now of your Committee, in conſequence of ſome obſervations which that Member had made, on the queſtion of enlarging the private trade from India.---In this great diverſity of materials, your Committee have before them the mer-

Mr. Bebb to the Board of Trade, 14th April and 30th November, 1789.

Earl Cornwallis to the Court of Directors, 1ſt November, 1788.

Letter from the Court to Bengal, 11th March, 1791.

Letter from Bengal to the Court, 15th May, 1795.

Letter from the Court to Bengal, 27th July, 1796.

Proceedings of the Board of Trade, 21ſt October, 20th December, and 23d December, 1796.

Letter from the Court to Bengal, 17th February, 1797.

Bengal Commercial Conſultations, 13th March, 1797.

Bengal Public Conſultations, 3d April, 1797.

Public letter from Bengal, 30th April, 1797.

Commercial letter from the Court to Bengal, 4th October, 1797.

Proceedings of the Board of Trade, 26th December, 1797.

Proceedings of the Governor General in Council (Commercial Department), 8th May, 1798.

Commercial letter from the Court to Bengal, 23d May, 1798.

Public ditto, 25th May, 1798.

Proceedings of the Governor General in Council (Commercial Department), 28th May, 16th and 26th July, 1ſt and 15th October, 1798.

Letter from Bengal (Commercial Department), 31ſt July, 1798.

Letter from Bombay (Public Department), 7th December, 1798.

Letter from Bengal (Commercial Department), 1ſt January, 1799.

Proceedings of the Governor General in Council (Commercial Department), 1ſt and 15th April; 3d, 17th, and 28th June, 1799.

Commercial letter from Bengal, 2d September, 1799.

Letter from the Board of Trade to the Governor General in Council, 26th November, 1799.

Lord Mornington to the Chairman, 29th November, 1799.

Ditto to the Court, 9th March, 1800.

Commercial letter from Bengal, 11ſt March, 1800.

Proceedings of the Board of Trade, 1ſt and 12th November; 10th and 24th December, 1799.

Mr. Buckley to the Board of Trade, 11th and 30th December, 1799.

Letters from the Board of Trade to the Governor General in Council, 7th February and 4th March, 1800.

Arrivals and departures of foreign ſhips at Calcutta, for thirteen months.

Mr. Browne's report of the external commerce of Bengal by ſea, for four years.

Ditto, of the internal commerce of Bengal for 1796-7.

Extracts relative to the cuſtoms levied on the foreign trade in Bengal.

Proceedings of the Marine Committee at Calcutta, 1793, on India ſhip-building.

A letter from Meſſrs. William and Horſley Palmer, and other mercantile houſes, requeſting permiſſion for their own ſhips to proceed to India, laden as therein mentioned, read in Court the 2d April, 1800.

A letter from John Prinſep, Eſq. to the Chairman, detailing his ideas on the commerce between Britain and India: read in Court the 2d April, 1800.

Enclofures in the Governor General's letter, dated the 30th September, 1800.

Extracts minutes of Court of the under-mentioned dates, viz.

2d April, 1800; ordering the letter from Mr. Prinſep, and the letter from Meſſrs. William and Horſley Palmer, &c. to lie for conſideration.

18th April, 1800; ordering Mr. Dundas's letter of the 2d of that month to lie for conſideration.

2d July, 1800; ordering Mr. Dundas's letters of the 2d April and 28th June, to be taken into conſideration on the 10th July.

9th, 16th, 23d, and 30th July, 1800; poſtponing the conſideration of thoſe letters.

14th Auguſt; appointing the Special Committee.

20th Auguſt; referring the letters from Mr. Prinſep, Meſſrs. Palmers, and others, to the Special Committee.

27th January, 1801; ordering the Special Committee's report, and reſolutions, to lie for conſideration.

4th February, 1801; approving the report and reſolutions.

24th March, 1801; referring Mr. Dundas's letter of the 21ſt of that month, and the letter from the Governor General, to the Special Committee.

26th March; ordering certain papers to be printed.

2d April; approving the Special Committee's ſecond report, and ordering it to be printed.

chants of India propoſing their own objects, and the arguments which ſupport them: they ſee alſo how far, and with what views for the public advantage, thoſe objects were favoured by the Company's governments abroad. The writings with which the cauſe of the free merchants has been ſeconded in this country, and the propoſal which another ſet of merchants in London have grafted upon it, diſplay the vaſt conſequences to which the principles and reaſonings, whereon commercial enlargements in India have been urged, may be puſhed, both in theory and practice; the obſervation of which has ſuggeſted to your Committee the neceſſity of previouſly examining, with care and foreſight, the nature and tendency of every propoſed innovation of the nature in queſtion; ſince innovation once admitted cannot eaſily be ſet aſide, but rather has the property of acquiring, in every ſtep it proceeds, an increaſed impulſe towards further advancement. —In the letters from the Preſident of the Board of Control, your Committee have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the main outlines of Indian policy, traced with (as they conceive) equal energy and juſtneſs, and with a liberality which muſt command reſpect and applauſe. The propoſitions theſe letters contain, for adjuſting the objects and the limits of private trade, will, both on account of the authority and the public views from which they proceed, eminently engage the attention of your Committee; though it may previouſly be neceſſary to review diſtinctly the principles and opinions maintained in other quarters, reſpecting the commerce and connexion between India and Britain.---In availing themſelves of all theſe materials for the aſſiſtance of their judgment, it will be the duty of your Committee to aim at aſcertaining what, on the whole, will be for the true intereſt of the Company and that of the nation, which, in their opinion, are not at variance with each other, but indeed the ſame; and as ſuch they will be regarded in this Report.---Beſides theſe numerous documents, your Committee have received written opinions on the preſent ſubject from ſeveral of their own members; for though in the meetings of your Committee the prominent parts of the queſtion before them were diſcuſſed *viva voce*, and, it may be hoped, with general elucidation, yet as in a ſubject of ſo much perplexity it was not eaſy thus to introduce and keep in view every pertinent topic, with its due relation to the whole, it was agreed that thoſe gentlemen who might be diſpoſed to treat of the queſtion at length, with its bearings and dependencies, ſhould deliver their ſentiments upon it in writing. The minutes, noted in the margin, were in conſequence brought forward; and your Committee muſt beg leave to refer to them, as containing much ſupplementary detail, and larger illuſtrations of a variety of relative topics than will well conſiſt with the proper ſtructure of ſuch a Report as, in their opinion, they ought to ſubmit to the Court.

II. To avoid the confuſion and indiſtinctneſs that might enſue from a diffuſive treatment of all particulars, your Committee conceive it ſhould be their buſineſs, and it will accordingly be their endeavour, to preſent with clearneſs a ſuccinct view of the great points on which the juſt deciſion of the preſent queſtion depends, and of the concluſions which reſult from a fair conſideration of them.---In order to execute this deſign, it will be expedient, as a preliminary, to take a ſhort retroſpect of the privileges which have been already conceded to individuals in the trade of India, with the reaſons for which they were accorded; then to ſtate the claims now advanced, and the grounds and principles, profeſſed or implied, on which they ſtand; after which your Committee will proceed to examine thoſe grounds and principles, with the conſequences to which they lead; and under this head, will conſider, among other things, what relates to the commerce of Britiſh India with Europe and America, the amount of that commerce, and its diſtribution to different countries; the Indian capital applicable to it; the ſhare of it which Great Britain ought to attract to her own ports; the nature of the ability which Britiſh India poſſeſſes for extending its produce and exports, and the policy of promoting, indefinitely, ſuch an extenſion; which laſt point will lead to the conſideration of the true principles of policy by which the dependency of India on Great Britain ſhould be maintained, and the commerce and intercourſe between the two countries carried on.---The *facts* which, it is hoped, will thus be aſcertained, reſpecting the actual ſtate of the foreign commerce of Britiſh India, and the manner in which any large augmentation of it is practicable, with the *principles*, political and commercial, which ſhould regulate our Indian ſyſtem, will, in the opinion of your Committee, conſtitute thoſe great points, by which the extent and the mode of any farther enlargements in favour of individuals ſhould be governed and determined.

III. It may be proper to recollect, that the original ſource of the intereſt which Britiſh reſidents in India have obtained in the trade between that country and Europe, is to be traced to the Company's acquiſition of territorial dominion in the Eaſt. Before that æra, the number of thoſe reſidents was ſmall; they were confined ſolely to commercial purſuits; and the few moderate fortunes which, in a ſlow courſe of years, were to be remitted home, eaſily found a conveyance by the bills of the Company. The vaſt wealth which poured into the coffers of individuals, upon the aſcendancy of the Engliſh power in India, at the ſame time that their number, in conſequence of this great change, rapidly increaſed there, ſoon overflowed the uſual channel of remittance

through the Company, who not having immediately adjuſted their meaſures to the policy which this new ſituation of things ought to have dictated, had it been regarded as permanent, nor indeed being well able, at firſt, to inveſt in goods even the great revenues which came into their own hands, many of the fortunes acquired by individuals found their way into Europe by foreign channels; and theſe channels being once opened for the remittance of Britiſh property, have ever ſince continued to ſerve, in a greater or leſs degree, for the ſame end, though the modes have varied. Foreigners, at firſt, gave bills on Europe for the money advanced them in India, with which money they purchaſed the inveſtments that carried on their Indian trade, and provided the funds for the payment of thoſe bills; but in proceſs of time, Britiſh reſident merchants, not confining themſelves ſolely to the original object of paper remittance, became, clandeſtinely and unlawfully, parties in the trade carried on to foreign Europe, and at length, as is ſuppoſed, in many adventures, the real though concealed principals; in which caſes remittance was rather the medium of trade than the primary motive: ſo that they, in fact, came to ſtand in the place where foreigners, who firſt received the fortunes of Britiſh ſubjects for bills on Europe, had ſtood; and thus was the monopoly of the Company groſsly invaded, and the trade of foreign Europe from India greatly carried on with Britiſh capital, which was an iſſue ſo little conſonant to the protection and proſperity enjoyed by Britiſh reſidents through the government of the Company, that to trace it to its remote cauſe, is certainly not to make any ſufficient apology for it. Prohibitions were enacted, but they did not prevent the continuance of it; and the example of laws, inefficient and diſregarded, became a new evil. To remedy both theſe abuſes, was one profeſſed object of the act of 1793, which renewed the Company's charter; and it propoſed to do this by abrogating the former prohibitory laws, and permitting Britiſh reſidents in India not only to act for foreigners, but to export from thence, annually, a certain quantity of goods in the Company's ſhips. It was intended by this laſt new privilege to furniſh a legal and patriotic channel for the trade which the fortunes of Britiſh reſidents carried on from India to foreign Europe, by admitting that trade directly into the Thames. It is true, that, at the period here ſpoken of, large channels of remittance, by bills on the Company, were open; and it was ſufficiently obvious that Britiſh reſidents, who had been carrying on a traffic in violation of the laws and their engagements with the Company, had not thereby merited new privileges; but this conſideration was abſorbed in the national object of bringing a trade, which it was found difficult to ſuppreſs, immediately to our own ports. Yet even in the way of eſtabliſhing this privilege, the free merchants of India were regarded rather as ſecondary than as principal objects; for it was primarily conceded to the manufacturers of Britain, who were allowed to ſend their productions in the Company's ſhips to India for ſale, and to bring back the proceeds in Indian goods; and the permiſſion to lade home ſuch goods was then alſo extended to Britiſh ſubjects reſiding in India. But the manufacturers have made ſo little uſe of it to the preſent day, that they need not be further conſidered in this privilege, which reſts, therefore, almoſt wholly with the reſidents abroad. The extent of it was 3000 tons annually, with a proviſo for the augmentation of this quantity, if ſuch augmentation ſhould be found neceſſary. Thus, for the firſt time, individuals were admitted by law into a participation of the trading privileges of the Company, by being allowed to ſend goods for ſale in the Company's ſhips.

IV. In proceeding to an account of what the free merchants now demand, it is fair to ſtate, that they do not appear ever to have been ſatisfied with the conceſſions of the act of 1793. The cauſes of their diſcontent will preſently be ſeen; and the meaſures they require in the way of remedy are, that they be allowed to ſend their own goods, on their own ſhips, from India to this country, and, in like manner, to carry returns from this country to India; in both caſes taking a licenſe from the Company, dealing in the aſſortments of goods permitted by the act of 1793, and paſſing all their imports here through the Company's warehouſes, to be ſold at their ſales; alſo to ſubject their ſhips to the general regulations of the Company, in reſpect to diſcipline on board, and the conduct of the navigation between India and Europe; but thoſe ſhips to be diſpatched at the periods choſen by the owners, without let or hindrance; to be allowed to trade from port to port in India; and even, inſtead of being freighted to the Company, and relet on the ſame terms to the individuals chooſing to lade goods on them, as has hitherto been uſual in any caſes of permiſſion to private ſhips, to be left in this reſpect entirely between the owners and the ſhippers.—Some advocates here for the free merchants explicitly advance views of enlargement, which if they may be ſaid to be virtually educible from the propoſitions of the merchants, are nevertheleſs not avowed, and probably not intended by them. Theſe advocates urge, in terms that ſeem to have no limit or qualification, the encouragement of Britiſh enterpriſe and capital in the trade of the Eaſt; and that Britiſh ſubjects, as ſuch, and the natives of our poſſeſſions, ſhall have ſuch a freedom in the trade of India as foreign Europeans enjoy; that is, be permitted to ſend at pleaſure to their own country, through the channel of the Company, their own goods and their own ſhips. They propoſe, moreover, that a regular conveyance over-land, for the ſpeedieſt tranſmiſſion of the correſpondence of both, be furniſhed; and

that the new ſyſtem of enlargement, with every facility and encouragement on the part of the Company and the ſtate, be eſtabliſhed by law. The merchants in London have in more general terms propoſed that their ſhips ſhall, in like manner, be allowed to navigate to and from Britiſh India, carrying all ſuch goods as the Company do not excluſively reſerve for themſelves.

V. The grounds and reaſons on which the free merchants prefer the claims which have now been ſtated, are in ſubſtance theſe: Firſt, in reſpect to the Company's ſhips, that the tonnage accorded to them in thoſe ſhips does not anſwer the deſign of the Legiſlature in granting it, and defeats the objects they muſt neceſſarily have in view as merchants, becauſe the rate of freight in the Company's ſhips is ſo extremely high, that many ſpecies of goods cannot bear it. Thoſe ſhips alſo are, in conſequence of the warlike and political operations which make a part of the Company's ſyſtem, ſo uncertain in the times of their arrival and departure, and ſubject to ſo many deviations in their voyages; the times, too, at which private goods are required to be ready for them are ſo inconvenient, and the whole quantity of tonnage ſo limited, and ſo little adequate to the wants which may occaſionally ariſe, that merchants are exceedingly diſconcerted and diſcouraged in forming their ſpeculations, neither knowing what quantity of tonnage they may depend on, nor when it will arrive, nor when the ſhips that do arrive may again ſail, nor whither they may be intermediately deſtined; and if extra ſhips are allotted for the tranſport of their goods, though the rate of freight be leſs, the coſt of inſurance is higher, and the other diſadvantages nearly the ſame: from all which circumſtances they are rendered quite uncertain what proviſion to make of goods, or how to form their arrangements in taking up money and drawing bills on Europe, and regulating their inſurances with moſt ſafety and advantage; whence, in concluſion, it happens that they are frequently left, at the end of a ſeaſon, with goods on their hands, which either muſt remain in their warehouſes till another ſeaſon, or be ſold to foreigners (at leaſt ſhipped to foreign ports), to the manifeſt loſs of this country.—Another head of complaint among them, though leſs explicitly ſtated, is, that foreign Europeans enjoy greater privileges in Britiſh India than they do, who are natives of the governing ſtate. "Foreigners," ſay they, "come into "the Britiſh territories without reſtraint, and "they export ſhips and goods at pleaſure to "their own country, and even to all the ſtates "of foreign Europe and America; whilſt we, "ſubjects of Britain, are deſtitute of ſuch "privileges, reſtrained from ſending our ſhips "to our own country, deprived of freedom "in our commercial ſpeculations, and in ter- "ritories belonging to that country are de- "graded below the ſtate of aliens."—It is repreſented by the free merchants, in the third place, that the objects they propoſe are calculated, directly and greatly, to promote the benefit of Britiſh India and of the ſovereign ſtate, by increaſing the produce and exports of the one, the imports, duties, exports, and profits of the other, the ſhipping and navigation of both. That the Company cannot take off all the export produce of their territories, much of which, alſo, is now carried away by foreigners, whereas nearly the whole, both of theſe exports, and of the ſurplus not wanted by the Company, might be brought by the ſhips of Britiſh reſidents, if licenſed, into the Thames, to the entire extinction of the clandeſtine trade: That, moreover, the productions of thoſe territories, particularly in indigo, ſugar, cotton, and other bulky articles, are capable of being exceedingly extended and improved, if ſufficient encouragement were given to that end; and in proof of theſe poſitions, the merchants adduce the rapid increaſe in the exports from India to this country, ſince the liberty given by the act of 1793, notwithſtanding all the diſadvantages which have cramped the freedom of commercial enterpriſe; whence it is inferred, that the trade is, in its own nature, progreſſive, and, if permitted to expand freely, would ſoon become highly important to the nation.—Some of the advocates for the ſame cauſe on this ſide, have gone much farther in their reaſoning, as well as in their views, than the free merchants themſelves. Thoſe advocates charge the Company with having deſignedly obſtructed the operation of the act of 1793; with having followed a narrow jealous policy, which by preventing the capital and enterpriſe of Britiſh reſidents from being freely employed in the direct trade of England, has thrown it into foreign channels, whereby a fatal rivalſhip againſt ourſelves has been nouriſhed, the clandeſtine and neutral trade from India, in particular the trade of America with that country, has been moſt alarmingly increaſed; and even the Indian trade of our enemies, the French and Dutch, which a contrary conduct might have extinguiſhed, has been upholden; ſo that Great Britain is thus, by the prepoſterous policy of the Company, in danger of loſing the carrying trade of India, and the maritime aſcendancy ſhe has obtained over the nations: whereas, ſay theſe advocates, if free ſcope were given to the enterpriſe of Britiſh merchants, if they were allowed to employ their reſources in the direct trade from India to Britain, nearly the whole commerce of the Eaſt might centre in, or paſs through, the Thames; and they add, that it was the ſpirit and deſign of the proviſions of 1793, to produce theſe effects. The privileges thus propoſed are ſaid to be the *natural right* of Britiſh ſubjects, and of the natives of our Indian poſſeſſions. The capital which may be employed in the export trade of that country is aſſerted

to be immenſe, and the capabilities of the country for exportable produce of many valuable ſorts unbounded.

VI. Your Committee having thus exhibited what they conceive to be, in ſubſtance, the requiſitions of the free merchants, with the arguments urged in ſupport of them, and alſo the more extenſive ſpeculations with which they have been followed up here, will proceed to make their obſervations on the whole.—And firſt, with reſpect to the Company's ſhips. During war, a ſtate in which we have been ever ſince the act of 1793 paſſed, the regular courſe of commercial operations muſt every where be more or leſs interrupted, whilſt the expenſe of freight and demorage will be greatly enhanced; and the ſafety of the Company's fleets, as well as the military expeditions, and political objects that occur in ſuch a period, doubtleſs expoſe the voyages of their ſhips to delays, changes, and uncertainties. The commerce of the Company has greatly ſuffered from theſe cauſes, and individuals who have embarked property in their ſhips, have no doubt ſhared in their inconveniences: but the Company have gone upon no deſign of obſtructing the fair operation of the act of 1793, as their proceedings will teſtify; nor could they make the greater objects of their complex ſyſtem bend to private intereſts; yet in the article of freight they have generally favoured thoſe intereſts, charging individuals conſiderably leſs than they have themſelves ſpecifically paid for the goods of thoſe individuals to the ſhip-owners. And if the merchants were, during war, to lade on ſhips entirely in their own management, thoſe ſhips muſt be ſubject to detentions for convoy, both out and home, or incur a proportionably higher charge for inſurance, and greater hazard of capture, by which the expeditions would be fruſtrated.—Nevertheleſs, after making theſe proper diſtinctions, your Committee are ready to allow that much uncertainty, in the times of arrival and departure of ſhips, and in reſpect of procuring freight on them, with long detention and circuitous routes, may naturally and juſtly be a ground of objection with individuals who are required to depend on them for freight; and that it is fit all inconveniences of this kind ſhould be remedied, though it will not follow that there is no other remedy but that which the merchants propoſe. And here your Committee feel themſelves obliged, in juſtice to the ſubject before them, to ſtate what they find from the proceedings of the Bengal government, that the propoſal of the merchants to employ their own ſhips in the tranſport of their goods from India, did not originate merely from experience of the inconveniences reſulting from their being confined to the Company's ſhips, nor had for its ſole object a better mode of conveying their goods; but proceeded, in part, from a deſire which ſeems to have been cheriſhed as early as the laſt renewal of the charter, of introducing Indian ſhips into the navigation to Britain, with a diſtinct view to the profit to be obtained by employing ſuch ſhipping in that new channel: for various applications appear on the Bengal records from owners of Indian ſhips therein ſpecified, admitting that thoſe ſhips were built on the ſpeculation of their being employed in the trade to Europe, ſtating the loſs to which diſappointment would expoſe the owners, and requeſting either that the ſhips may be taken up by the Company, or that individuals may be allowed to freight goods on them to Britain; and in other places, the wiſh of thoſe exporters of goods, who are alſo ſhip-owners, to prefer their own ſhips, although freight might be had on the Company's, is acknowledged, and acknowledged to ariſe from the profit and advantage expected by them as owners. Thus the ſcheme of employing private ſhips is not, on the part of the merchants, purely an auxiliary expedient for facilitating the transfer of Britiſh property in goods to this country. The tranſfer of goods is, indeed, the object originally and principally inſiſted on: it is the ſtrongeſt ground on which the Court could be required to relinquiſh part of their privileges; but the merchants of London, who have lately claimed a ſhare in any new enlargement that may be conceded to individuals, do not even place their application on this ground; and though the merchants of India ſo often urge the policy of bringing the produce of the Eaſt into the Thames, this transfer is not the *ſole end*, and the employment of Indian ſhips merely the *means*; but in part the transfer is the *means*, and the ſhips the *end*.

VII. With reſpect to the alleged inferiority of the condition of Britiſh ſubjects in our territories, compared with that of foreign Europeans, it is an objection which a brief explanation will anſwer; but the implied principle on which it reſts may deſerve ſerious attention.—The rights of ſeveral European nations to commercial eſtabliſhments in thoſe countries of Hindoſtan now ſubject to our government, exiſted and were enjoyed long before we acquired territorial power there, and have ever ſince been exerciſed by the ſubjects and the flags of thoſe nations, except as the fate of war has, in particular inſtances, ſuſpended or extinguiſhed them. Our acquiſition of territorial power, though we did not employ it to diveſt foreigners of their privileges, brought them, however, gradually into more dependance upon us for the proviſion of their inveſtments; ſo that at length finding, in Bengal particularly, a greater facility in tranſacting their buſineſs at our ſettlements than at their own, ſome of them began to bring their ſhips directly to our ports; and as thus their dependance on us would be increaſed, and the duties on their goods, with their expenditures whilſt in harbour, centre with us, it was evidently good policy to encourage them in this practice, which therefore received the ſanction of the Supreme Government, and of the autho-

rities at home. It was about that time (ſome years after the peace of 1782) that the ſhips of ſeveral ſtates which had no ſettlements in India, as the American, Tuſcan, and Genoeſe, began to reſort thither, particularly to Bengal; and as they might, if refuſed entrance into our ports, have proceeded to thoſe of the French, Dutch, Danes, or Portugueſe, it was but an extenſion of the ſame principle of policy which recommended our admitting the flags of theſe powers, to admit alſo the flags of other countries in amity with us; and the French and Dutch poſſeſſions on the continent having ſince fallen into our hands, beſides an increaſed foreign reſort at our other ports, Calcutta has become the ſeat of almoſt the whole export trade of Bengal.—Theſe changes, with the greater ſecurity derived from our Government, have indeed increaſed the number of foreigners in the trade; for ſingle ſhips of countries holding no footing of their own in India, now viſit its ſhores, with a confidence and ſafety which the protection of joint companies and factories could never give in the time of the Moguls. But ſtill theſe changes are only other forms of exerciſing rights which exiſted under the native government; and Britiſh merchants, far from ſuffering injury by them, find in the transfer of the buſineſs of foreigners to our ports, one of the cauſes of the elevation at which they have arrived ſince our acceſſion to territorial power: for they are the mean agents in the tranſaction of all that buſineſs: and inſtead of being now, in *any* reſpect, worſe, their condition is, in *every* reſpect, raiſed: they poſſeſs far the greater part of the trade of the Indian ſeas; they carry on extenſive manufactures in the interior of our provinces; they have in their hands the trade formed by the remittance of Britiſh fortunes from India. Many who were in that country, under the diſcredit of entering into it irregularly, and the ſuſpicion of forwarding an illicit traffic, have been relieved from thoſe depreſſing circumſtances, by receiving licenſes of reſidence, and by the indulgences of the act of 1793. That act, beſides its other benefits, inveſted them with a valuable privilege in the trade to England through the Company's ſhips, which was a new and very important conceſſion. They now deſire to ſend their own ſhips and their own goods to England, without any other material limitation except that of paſſing them through the channel of the Company: and this is, in effect, to deſire the opening of the trade altogether; for it is not to be imagined, that if ſuch a conceſſion were made in favour of one claſs of ſubjects, the reſt would not claim it likewiſe. Nay, the advocates of the free merchants already contend, that it is the right of Britiſh ſubjects as ſuch. The merchants of London, in their application to participate in any intended enlargements, follow up this argument practically; and the queſtion, therefore, thus brought forward, is not merely whether the Company, in its commercial capacity, ſhall, though remaining a corporate body, be diveſted of its moſt valuable excluſive privileges, but whether this country ſhall carry on its trade to India on the ſame principle it trades to its American colonies, and by multiplying communications and intercourſes open the way to the gradual colonization of Europeans in its eaſtern poſſeſſions, contrary to the policy hitherto adopted by the Legiſlature?—Of the wiſdom of this policy, there will be occaſion to ſay ſomething hereafter; but it will be proper to note here, why the danger apprehended from the unreſtrained intercourſe of our own ſubjects is not to be dreaded from the permiſſion which foreigners have to viſit the country. *It is becauſe we are the governing power.* We have already great eſtabliſhments of Europeans there, civil and military; our flouriſhing ſettlements attract multitudes not in the ſervice; the connexions, public and individual, already ſubſiſting between that country and this, ſend continually freſh ſupplies thither; the number of uncovenanted Britiſh ſubjects has very conſiderably increaſed there in the laſt twenty years; new enlargements of the intercourſe, it is obvious, would exceedingly augment their number; the vaſt capital and ſhipping of this country, with the natural relations ſubſiſting between it and India, all peculiar to itſelf, could at once pour in tides of men and money there; the ſanction of any public acts at home would, of courſe, diſpoſe the governments abroad to afford the commercial encouragements there, which would correſpond with the ſpirit of enlargement adopted here; the public opinion of a great European ſociety, formed in this ſpirit, would have an influence on the ſentiments of thoſe governments; through the medium of natives, alſo, lands might be extenſively occupied by Europeans; and the *genius* of this ſyſtem, without any formed plan, would gradually and inſenſibly antiquate the preſent one, and become impatient for all the rights of the Britiſh colonies; to give or to refuſe which would then be a moſt momentous queſtion. With reſpect to all theſe points, the circumſtances of foreign Europeans are very different. In the territories ruled by us, they have only circumſcribed factories; they are not allowed to ſpread themſelves in the country; they can have none of its honours or internal advantages; the numbers, capital, and influence of our own people, keep them from much ſhare in the maritime trade of India; their numbers and their actions are watched with jealouſy by our Governments; their capitals are ſmall; they are not one body moved by one mind, but detached and fluctuating parties, iſſuing from nations diſtant and diſcordant from each other; they form not themſelves into diſtinct ſocieties, but come, as already obſerved, chiefly to our ports; and in a word, whilſt common care is obſerved on our part, they can have

neither numbers, nor concert, nor means, nor, above all, any *growing principle of ſtrength*, that can become formidable to us.

VIII. The trade of foreigners to our Indian poſſeſſions, is a topic naturally connected with that which has juſt been diſcuſſed. Some late writings, in inſiſting ſtrongly on the dangerous growth and tendency of that trade (a point which will be examined hereafter), ſeem to imply, that it ſhould be the policy of this country, as much as poſſible, to draw the whole commerce of India to its own ports. A propoſition of this import, looſely taken up, may lead to very erroneous concluſions. Certainly we ought to obſerve the nature and progreſs of the intercourſe of foreigners with our poſſeſſions with vigilant attention; but we cannot, without ſome adequate provocation on their part, in juſtice, ſeek to deprive them of the rights they have acquired to a ſhare in the Indian trade; and if we had the power of accompliſhing ſuch an object, it would not be our true intereſt to uſe that power; for, were we to exclude them from the ſhores of India, it is obvious, that, in return, they would prohibit the entrance of the productions of that country into their ports; and thus the trade which we had ſought to engroſs, would, in fact, be loſt both to Britain and to the Britiſh poſſeſſions. The true and fair line of policy, with reſpect to foreigners, ſeems to be, to allow them to ſupply their own wants of Indian commodities, purchaſing them with their own funds; but to prevent them, as much as poſſible, from trading upon Britiſh capital; and always to exact from them due order and ſubmiſſion, in the countries belonging to us, where they come to traffic.---With reſpect to an idea lately advanced, that the Company might, and ought to have attracted the productions of the Indian poſſeſſions, ſtill in the hands of our enemies, into the channel of our own trade to this country, it is ſo unſupported by fact, probability, or policy, that your Committee deem it unneceſſary to go into any ſerious diſcuſſion of it. There appears no reaſon for believing the aſſertion on which this idea proceeds, that the trade carried on with Europe, from the Indian ſettlements in the hands of the French, Dutch, and Spaniards, has increaſed during the war, and has been nouriſhed by the impolicy of the Company. That trade, as every one knows, flouriſhed long before the preſent times: it flouriſhed in a greater degree than it does now, as it naturally would, when the mother-countries were far more commercial than they are at preſent, and when our fleets did not render the navigation of the world nearly impracticable to our enemies. No conceivable meaſures of commercial policy within the power of the Company, could have farther depreſſed that trade; and to bring that trade to our ports, had the thing been practicable, would, indeed, have been to nouriſh it moſt unwiſely.---Your Committee will next proceed to ſtate what they find reſpecting the nature and amount of the trade of foreigners with Britiſh India, concerning which ſuch alarming repreſentations have been made. And as, in order to judge more intelligently of this article, the extent of the private trade carried on directly between our own country and our Indian poſſeſſions ſhould alſo be known, this, which is ſeparately a neceſſary head of inquiry, will be introduced at the ſame time. Theſe together, will furniſh, as far as informations go, a view of the whole trade carried on, both by foreigners and Britiſh individuals (that is, excluding the Company's commerce), between Britiſh India on one ſide, and Europe and America on the other; and the view to be thus given will, in the opinion of your Committee, form a very material part of this Report.---The view will not, indeed, be complete, becauſe no authenticated accounts are obtainable of the private and foreign trade, which has been carried on from the preſidencies of Madras and Bombay; but in Bengal, on the contrary, a luminous and correct regiſter has of late years been kept, by order of Government, of all the exports and imports of Calcutta, the great emporium of that country, and, indeed (excepting the Daniſh ſettlement of Serampore, where ſome buſineſs is ſtill done, of which there are alſo particulars from equal authority), the ſole port: and as Bengal, with the adjacent allied provinces, far tranſcends the other preſidencies in population and wealth, in rich productions for commerce, and is the attractive centre of our power in the Eaſt, it may be concluded, that an accurate account of its foreign trade will go far to furniſh us with all the grounds of reaſoning, neceſſary for political purpoſes in the preſent caſe. In this opinion, your Committee, without reſorting to any informations of inferior authority, ſubmit to the Court the following collective views, formed from the public regiſter above mentioned.

ABSTRACT ACCOUNTS *of the* IMPORTS *and* EXPORTS, *in Foreign and Private Trade (that is, exclusive of the Trade of the English East India Company) to and from all Parts of Europe, and America, from the Years* 1795-6 *to* 1798-9, *both inclusive, being the latest Accounts received.*

IMPORTS,—CALCUTTA.

	Total in Four Years.			Annual Average.		
	Goods.	Bullion.	Total.	Goods.	Bullion.	Total.
London - - - - - - - - - Rs.	55,42,677	17,91,019	73,33,696	13,85,669	4,47,755	18,33,424
Hamburgh - - - - - - - -	9,40,550	1,18,036	10,58,586	2,35,137	29,509	2,64,646
Copenhagen - - - - - - -	16,59,735	3,25,692	19,85,427	4,14,933	81,423	4,96,356
Lifbon - - - - - - - -	3,33,084	21,08,386	24,41,470	83,271	5,27,096	6,10,367
Leghorn - - - - - - - -	74,190	—	74,190	18,547	—	18,547
America - - - - - - - -	13,96,368	33,77,203	47,73,571	3,49,092	8,44,301	11,93,393
Rs.	99,46,604	77,20,336	1,76,66,940	24,86,649	19,30,084	44,16,735
Deduct London,	55,42,677	17,91,019	73,33,696	13,85,669	4,47,755	18,33,424
Rs.	44,03,927	59,29,317	1,03,33,244	11,00,980	14,82,329	25,83,311
Add Serampore *, from the authority of the Reporter of External Commerce - - - -	9,03,720	12,15,480	21,19,200	2,25,930	3,03,870	6,29,800
Rs.	53,07,647	71,44,797	1,24,52,444	13,26,910	17,86,199	32,13,111

EXPORTS,—CALCUTTA.

Total in Four Years.	Medium per Annum.	Balance each, deduct. Imports
Rs. 2,45,67,473	61,41,868	43,08,444
31,64,456	7,91,114	5,26,468
30,55,002	7,63,750	2,67,394
46,18,772	11,54,693	5,44,326
97,781	24,445	5,898
77,24,730	19,31,182	7,37,789
Rs. 4,32,28,214	1,08,07,052	63,90,319
2,45,67,473	61,41,868	43,08,444
1,86,60,741	46,65,184	20,81,875
38,28,000	9,57,000	4,27,200
Rs. 2,24,88,741	56,22,184	25,09,075

* Which may be fuppofed to have been conſigned chiefly to Copenhagen.

IMPORTS *into* CALCUTTA, *in Private and Foreign Trade.*

	From London.	From For. Europe and America.	Total Imports.
1795-6 - - - - - - - - - Rs.	22,73,161	32,95,628	55,68,789
1796-7 - - - - - - - - -	17,83,002	26,72,725	44,55,727
1797-8 - - - - - - - - -	15,34,219	19,86,142	35,20,361
1798-9 - - - - - - - - -	17,43,314	23,78,749	41,22,063

EXPORTS *from* CALCUTTA, *in Private and Foreign Trade.*

To London.	To Foreign Europe and America.	Total Exports.
84,08,800	66,81,864	1,50,90,664
50,79,310	57,62,458	1,08,41,768
69,71,529	38,83,737	1,08,55,266
41,07,834	23,32,682	64,40,516

Balance of Exports above Imports.

London.	Foreign Parts.
61,35,639	33,86,236
32,96,308	30,89,733
54,37,310	18,97,595
23,64,520	over imported. 46,067

ABSTRACT ACCOUNT, *to ſhew the Amount of the Private and Foreign Trade in each of the above Years.*

	IMPORTS.			EXPORTS.		
	London.	Europe and America.	Total.	London.	Europe and America.	Total.
1795-6 - - - - - Lacks,	22	33	55	84	66	150
1796-7 - - - - -	18	26	44	50	57	108
1797-8 - - - - -	15	20	35	69	38	108
1798-9 - - - - -	17	24	41	41	23	64

Theſe accounts will be found, on attentive inſpection, to afford detailed information of the private and foreign exports and imports, in the whole, and in reſpect to each of the heads, namely, the ports of London, foreign Europe, and America, diſtinguiſhing their ſeveral proportions; alſo ſhewing the proportion of imports brought in bullion by each, the exceſs of the exports to each place above its imports; and the total exceſs of the exports above the imports; likewiſe the variations in exports and imports in *each* of the *four* years, which ſhew their annual *increaſe* or *decreaſe*.---From all theſe particulars the following facts are derived:

The total medium of foreign and private exports of Bengal, per annum, to London direct, is Rs. - - -	61,00,000
To foreign Europe and America, whether on neutral or clandeſtine account - - - -	56,00,000
	1,17,00,000
If, to this ſum of private and foreign exports be added the Engliſh Eaſt India Company's, which is about per annum - - - - - - -	1,00,00,000
The total exports of Bengal, public and private, will be - Rupees	2,17,00,000

And it will hence reſult;---*Firſt*. That the Company's export trade to Europe is *nearly one half* of all the foreign exports of Bengal to Britain, foreign Europe, and America.---*Second*. That the direct *legal trade* of individuals to London exceeds all the *neutral and clandeſtine trade* taken together.---*Third*. That foreign Europeans and Americans, whether trading on their own account, or covering the clandeſtine trade of Britiſh ſubjects to their ports, have very little more than *one fourth* of the foreign export trade of Bengal, the *other three fourths* centring, as juſt ſtated, on public or private account, in London.---*Fourth*. The exports from Bengal, on private and foreign account, to Europe and America, exceed the imports on the ſame accounts from theſe places, in the ſum of rupees 68,17,519. Of this exceſs, London receives on

private account - - - - -	43,08,444
Foreign Europe and America -	25,09,075
Rupees	68,17,519

Theſe ſums, which Bengal pays on the balance to individuals and foreigners, muſt be preſumed to be the acquiſitions of Britiſh reſidents, becauſe the natives neither adventure themſelves in foreign trade, nor lend to others for this purpoſe, to any extent; and reſident foreigners have little property to remit. According to this fair concluſion, therefore, the fortunes remitted by Britiſh reſidents in goods, directly to London, on an average of theſe four years amount, in round numbers, to Rupees - - - - - - - - - - - 43,00,000

And the fortunes they have either remitted through foreigners, or lent to them, appear to be, per annum 25,00,000

Fifth. London does not pay a *third* of the amount it receives from Bengal on private account, by the amount it carries thither, the bullion included, in which it does not exceed a tenth of what it receives. Foreigners pay to Bengal *above half* of the amount they carry away, and of this half, the *greater part* is bullion; that is, *more than a fourth of their exports* is paid in bullion. London, however, carries *more goods* to Bengal, than all foreign Europe and America; and it carries more *goods* than *ſpecie*. Foreigners carry more ſpecie than goods.---*Sixth*. The ancient practice of exporting ſilver from the Weſt to India, appears of late years to have conſiderably revived.---The imports into Bengal in the laſt four years, appear to have been about eighty-nine lacks of rupees, of which ſeventy-one lacks were from foreign Europe and America.---*Seventh*. That in the courſe of the four years of which the accounts are here exhibited, there has been a *progreſſive decreaſe* in the exports from Bengal to foreign Europe and America. This may be more conciſely repreſented in the following view:

	London.	Europe and America.	Total.
IMPORTS.			
1795-6	Lacks 22	33	55
1796-7	- - 18	26	44
1797-8	- - 15	20	35
1798-9	- - 17	24	41
EXPORTS.			
1795-6	Lacks 84	66	150
1796-7	- - 50	57	108
1797-8	- - 69	38	108
1798-9	- - 41	23	64

Eighth. It will alſo be ſeen from the larger accounts above abſtracted, that America, and the foreign ports of Europe, have not maintained the ſame relative proportion of this trade in each year; but that the proportions of their exports have varied in the following manner:

		1795-6	1796-7	1797-8	1798-9
The American exports were	Lacks	19	25	20	11
Which leaves for foreign Europe	- -	47	32	18	12
		66	57	38	23

Theſe well-authenticated facts diſprove and diſcredit all the aſſertions which have been ſo long and confidently advanced, of the great extent of the *foreign and clandeſtine trade of India*, and of the *progreſſive increaſe* of that trade. Both poſitions appear to be alike groundleſs, ſince of the total exports of Bengal to Europe and America, amounting to Rs.

2,17,00,000, only 56,00,000 go to foreign parts. Of that ſum, the really neutral trade appears to be 31,00,000, and the clandeſtine trade carried on under foreign colours, 25,00,000. This is upon an average of four years, of which the latter years are in amount of exports the leaſt.---That the exports of Bengal to foreign Europe and America, taken together, have not, on the whole, increaſed in the laſt thirty years, there is alſo reaſon to believe, from a compariſon of its foreign trade at the preſent and at former periods; and that the clandeſtine trade has greatly decreaſed, there is poſitive evidence, both from the vaſt increaſe of remittances in bills and goods, directly to this country, whilſt the ſtandard of Britiſh acquiſitions in India has had no increaſe, but rather the contrary; and from the preſent little amount of that trade.---Thus the main argument, on which extenſive enlargements of the privileges of Britiſh individuals have been preſſed, namely, the alarming increaſe of foreign and clandeſtine trade, completely fails.

IX. Another argument urged to the ſame end remains now to be conſidered; the improvement of the productive powers, and the export commerce of our Indian poſſeſſions. Theſe objects, the free merchants believe, will be promoted by the meaſures they propoſe. More than one opinion which has come before your Committee, repreſents the capabilities of thoſe territories as prodigiouſly great, and nothing to be wanting for turning them to the happieſt purpoſes, but the removal of reſtraints. This is a ſubject that particularly merits attention: for to the intereſts of our Indian dominions, with which the intereſts of the ſovereign ſtate are now ſo much united, hardly any thing can be more important than a proper ſyſtem of political economy. It may, however, be obſerved, in proceeding to this head, that the merchants, in reſorting to it, loſt ſight of the ground upon which the privilege of ſending goods to this country was conceded to them by the act of 1793, namely, the remittance of Britiſh fortunes, and thereby the annihilation of the clandeſtine trade. They propoſe now objects of much greater magnitude. In the reaſonings uſed by ſome of the free merchants, it has been ſaid, *that the ſurplus produce of Britiſh India, which the Company's commerce cannot take off, ſhould be left to the induſtry of other traders.* Such a poſition may be underſtood to imply, that the Company wiſh to prevent the exportation of what they do not themſelves require, or that the produce of that country remains on hand for want of ſale; and when applied more particularly to infer, that the ſurplus produce ſhould be brought immediately to Britain, it does not diſcriminate the *bona fide* foreign trade with India, which ought to be permitted. But as the produce of every country muſt, in the courſe of things, bear a certain proportion or relation to the demand made for it, ſo there appears no reaſon to doubt, that the productions of Britiſh India, fit for the European market, whether raiſed by its own native ſtock of capital, or occaſionally quickened by importations of bullion from foreign Europe and America (which is a precarious thing, and quite diſtinct in its nature and conſequences, from the transfer of private capitals from the ſovereign Britiſh ſtate, to the dependant Aſiatic ſtate), have uſually had a current vent into one or other of the channels of trade now open with that country; that hence the alleged difficulties of conveying goods by the Company's ſhips, have not prevented the diſpoſal of all the produce which the capital of the country raiſed.---But if this poſition were to convey any ſuch idea, as that the Company deſired to limit the productions and exports of their poſſeſſions to what they themſelves can inveſt, it would be moſt unjuſt. The admiſſion of the ſhips of all friendly nations to their ports, the indulgences given to Britiſh ſubjects before the act of 1793, the privileges of that act, and the large importations theſe ſubjects have made here ſince, all ſerve to confute ſuch a notion. It is the principle of the Company, to give free ſcope to the internal powers of their territories, in agriculture and manufactures, and a free vent, by exportation, to the commodities thus raiſed. They therefore, long before the act of 1793, encouraged the culture of indigo, which from being no article of export, is now produced in ſuch quantity, and of ſuch excellence, as to ſupply nearly the demands of all Europe. They alſo gave various encouragements to the culture of ſugar, and other articles, new as imports from India into this country. Indigo is become one of the grand ſtaples of the Indian trade, and, with ſugar, has been the chief cauſe of the increaſe in the ſale amount of privileged goods for ſome late years. But the indefinite terms in which the improvement of Britiſh India is now urged in ſome writings, will comprehend principles of a very different kind from that which has juſt been ſtated; and a clear underſtanding on this head, as well as reſpecting the means which Britiſh India poſſeſſes for foreign commerce, is become neceſſary: for the whole of the ſyſtem by which the commerce and the government of India ſhould be regulated, is involved in this inquiry.---It is ſufficiently known, that India, under Aſiatic ſovereigns, never had any capital of its own, applied to the European commerce. The great body of the people of that country have always been, and ſtill continue, averſe to diſtant and hazardous enterpriſes, eſpecially by ſea. Their genius and their means have ever mainly turned into the channels of domeſtic induſtry, little adventuring even upon coaſting voyages. From the remoteſt times of which we have account, down to our own days, the manufactures of India, fit for the European market, were ſet on foot by money imported into that country. Since the period of Britiſh acquiſitions there, this order has been reverſed. The tribute of India and the gains of Britiſh individuals, have

furniſhed the capital of the exports to Europe, from at leaſt all the territories poſſeſſed by this country; but beſides that tribute and thoſe gains, there is, at this day, no capital in thoſe territories, applicable to an extenſion of their exports to Europe: and the vent of European manufactures there is limited by phyſical and moral cauſes. If it were practicable for us to take off, and India to ſupply ten times the quantity of produce we now receive from it, that country would not increaſe its conſumption of our manufactures in any proportion. After, then, India has paid by her commodities for her limited purchaſes of European manufactures, there remains with her no other means of an export trade to Europe, but the public and private Britiſh funds above mentioned: for thoſe which reſident foreigners may acquire by trade hardly merit any attention. The public funds, or the tribute by which chiefly the Company's commerce is carried on, need not be further noticed, ſince the inquiry is about enlarging the trading privileges of private merchants. It is evident, that there are no means of doing this upon any great ſcale, conſonant to the ideas held out of improving our poſſeſſions, but by capital transferred thither in bullion from this country. The firſt queſtion then to be determined is, whether it would be good policy thus to employ any large portion of the commercial capital of Great Britain, either in addition to all that it has already laid out in its plantations and colonies in the American States and in Europe, or by withdrawing ſuch portion from ſome other branch of trade nearer home, in which it muſt be now engaged; for it cannot be ſuppoſed that any conſiderable part of the national ſtock lies dormant and uſeleſs.—It is to be obſerved, that with regard to old ſtaple articles of import from India, ſuch as piece goods and raw ſilk, which are of great value in proportion to their bulk, the preſent ſcale of importation into Europe ſeems nearly equal to the vent for them; and as, from the largeneſs of that importation, and other cauſes, the profit on theſe articles is very moderate, there could be no encouragement on that ſcore to increaſe the importation; nor as the law has left it optional with the Company to permit individuals to trade in piece goods to this country, could the Court be expected to extend the participation they now give to private merchants in that article, becauſe a great increaſe in the importation would only make it a loſing one to both parties. And, indeed, the merchants themſelves, in their plans of enlargement, profeſs to look chiefly to articles new, or lately introduced in the imports from India, moſt of which are generally bulky, in proportion to their value. Theſe articles are *indigo*, *cotton*, *ſugar*, and *coffee*.—Upon the probability of advantage, from largely ſpeculating in any of thoſe articles, your Committee will beg leave to make ſome remarks.—*Indigo*, as has been obſerved above, is already carried to an extent that nearly ſuffices for the conſumption of all Europe. The Company, after advancing their funds to give a ſolid eſtabliſhment to this manufacture, left the whole trade in it to individuals, for whom it is brought home in the Company's ſhips, uſually at a war freight of only 22*l.* 10*s.* per ton, which is leſs than they pay the ſhip-owners; and being comparatively of ſmall bulk for its value, can no great way enhance the occaſion for private tonnage. The undertakers in it have actually ſuffered ſeverely from too rapid an increaſe in the manufacture and too eager a competition: to puſh this article, therefore, further at preſent, by encouraging new adventurers in it, would be unjuſt to thoſe who are yet hardly emerging from their difficulties; and on the general principles of trade, it would be evidently impolitic: but if, on fair inveſtigation, any further reaſonable encouragement ſhall be found neceſſary for the culture of this article, or for bringing it to Europe, there can be no difficulty in according it.—The article of *cotton* is liable to ſuch ſudden and great variations in the price, that it is natural the home manufacturers ſhould turn their thoughts occaſionally towards India for a ſupply. At one time, theſe manufacturers were clamorous with the Company to import the raw material for their uſe; but the Court of Directors very wiſely declined their requeſt. At the ſame time they manifeſted the deſire, which has always diſtinguiſhed the liberal principles of the Company, to contribute towards the proſperity of every part of the kingdom, by offering to thoſe manufacturers free permiſſion to ſend ſhips to India, to import cotton from thence for their account; but this they declined. The truth is, that in conſequence of the aſtoniſhingly rapid increaſe of the demand for cotton goods, there muſt, at intervals, be a want of the raw material, ariſing from particular circumſtances, chiefly occaſioned by the war; but as the produce of the raw material has increaſed, and is ſtill increaſing in the ſouthern parts of the American States, in the Weſt Indies, in Braſil, and above all, in Dutch Guyana, now ſettled by Britiſh planters, the cotton of India cannot ſucceed, the rate of freight being always too high, except on ſome very extraordinary occaſions. Further, the cotton which has been imported here from the Eaſt, is not the produce of Britiſh India. A conſiderable quantity of that cotton is required to give employment to the manufacturers in the Company's provinces, where enough is not raiſed for the demand; and a large quantity of it alſo is every year ſent to China, as a means of providing the Company's inveſtment of teas. In former times, the cotton was imported from Bombay, where it was collected from the various diſtricts in that quarter, to Bengal, to the coaſt of Coromandel, and ſome part of China. At preſent, and for ſome years, none has been imported into Bengal from the Bombay ſide of India by ſea; but on a reference to the Bengal Regiſter

of Exports, before quoted, your Committee find very large imports into the Company's poſſeſſions in Bengal from the upper provinces; which imports, they have reaſon to believe, may have been produced in thoſe diſtricts that furniſh part of the large export of cotton from Bombay: and your Committee are more confirmed in this opinion, from the very advanced price to which they find this article has riſen in Bengal. On the other hand, if, from the vaſt importation of cotton from ſo many quarters, part of it is again exported, it may deſerve conſideration, whether we ought thus to miniſter to the ſupport of foreign manufactures which affect our own. On the whole, therefore, your Committee muſt ſubmit, whether it would be proper on the part of the Company, eſpecially with the chance of aiding a foreign rivalſhip, to encourage the importation here of an article, not the produce of Britiſh India, eſpecially when attended with injury to the ſubjects of the Company, depending upon them for ſupport; and materially interfering with their China trade, which whether conſidered as profitable to the Company, or yielding a large revenue to the ſtate, muſt be regarded as of the firſt conſequence.—*Sugar* is an article which the Company have been at pains to encourage; but the prices here are known to have been variable and precarious; and from the experience hitherto acquired, in a time of war, indeed, when high freights have prevailed, it does not appear to be a commodity, which, unleſs changes are ſuppoſed in other parts of the world, and in the duties on home conſumption here, promiſes to produce, on any large ſcale of importation, a ſure or adequate profit. On the finer ſorts which the Company have imported they have gained a little, on the coarſer there has been a loſs; and from the preſent ſtate of the trade in this article, in the great European market, and in India, your Committee do not ſee the inducements which the Indian merchants can have to embark largely in it, unleſs the procuring of freight for their ſhips be a leading conſideration, which is a very diſtinct object, that has yet no title to the attention of the Court, as will be ſhewn hereafter.—*Coffee.* The trade of this commodity has been very great, and not much underſtood. The coffee imported here from the Eaſt is almoſt wholly the produce of Java; little, if any, from the Britiſh dominions. In conſequence of the war, the produce of ſeveral years had accumulated. The Dutch India Company, therefore, ſent ſhips under the Daniſh flag for a conſiderable part; but the larger proportion was brought to Europe, circuitouſly, by Americans, and of courſe ſold at the Company's ſale. In the Appendix will be found a liſt of the ſhips, with their cargoes, which were ſold by the Company in the preceding ſeaſon, whereby it will appear, that a very ſmall part, if any, is the produce of Britiſh India.—Your Committee have obſerved, among the articles imported by individuals, that of ſaltpetre, as forming one of the commodities, without which there cannot well be an aſſorted cargo. This being both of high political importance, and eſſentially neceſſary in various manufactures in this country, the ſupply ſhould, in no degree, be permitted to individuals. The Company have always taken care to provide for every demand; but if the private traders are allowed to deal in it as an article which is bulky, and of little value; and they, from the fall of price in Europe, or other cauſes, ſhould ceaſe to provide the requiſite quantity for properly loading their ſhips; the Company might not only ſuffer loſs in the firſt inſtance, but the public be materially diſappointed.

X. Your Committee having made theſe ſpecific remarks on the principal articles, which it is underſtood would ſupply the new enlargements propoſed in the Indian trade, will beg leave to proceed to ſome further obſervations, which have relation to the influence thoſe enlargements, though they ſhould be far ſhort of what ſanguine ſpeculation has conceived, may have on the inveſtment of the Company. And firſt, with reſpect to the ſupply of funds. From the heavy expenſes incurred by the Company in the courſe of the preſent war, there remains in effect, at preſent, little or no ſurplus revenue, to aid the proviſion of inveſtment; therefore the requiſite funds muſt be furniſhed by the proceeds of the exports from this country, and by money received for bills on the Court of Directors. Thoſe exports, it is ſufficiently known, ſupply but a ſmall proportion of the advance which the inveſtment demands; eſpecially at the preſent juncture, when bullion is not procurable at any price, and a bar is put to the exportation of copper, beyond a ſmall limited quantity. On the money, therefore, of individuals abroad, in exchange for bills on the Court, the Company muſt depend for the proviſion of the greateſt part of the inveſtment; and when it is conſidered, that the fortunes of moſt of thoſe individuals have been accumulated from the very ample allowances granted by the Company, and that every fortune has been acquired under their protection, it cannot be deemed an unreaſonable hope, that they ſhould have a preference over perſons, who now come forward as rivals to that very body, whoſe protection and foſtering care has enabled them to become what they are. It is from their competition for money, that the Company's difficulties to borrow in time of war, and the rate of intereſt on their loans, have been aggravated. The higher terms on the other hand, which the Company have thus been obliged to give, have raiſed the price of money to individuals, who complained hereof in their turn; but ſurely, if the preference commercially due to the Company were out of queſtion, the ſafety of the whole, which is intimately connected with

the Company's ability to raiſe ſupplies for the exigences of neceſſary war, has a better right to be conſidered, than the conveniency of a part.—Secondly, with reſpect to the freedom and extent of the Company's purchaſes. It ſeems to be an idea entertained by ſome, that the exceſſive freight and charges of the Company's commerce, incapacitate them from attempting any profitable ſpeculations on mercantile principles, eſpecially where competition is to be encountered; that they loſe on various articles of the Indian trade, and that their main uſe, in a commercial view, is to ſerve as the channel of the eaſtern tribute; and therefore, that all new attempts will be beſt conducted by the enterpriſe and economy of individuals. Theſe ideas go to deprive the Company of all commercial freedom, and may even be extended to a formal partition of the Indian trade; the old ſtaples to be left to the Company, and the new articles to private merchants; but your Committee feel themſelves warranted to maintain, that the Company ſhip their goods in India at a leſs aggregate of coſt and charges than individuals do, and realize the proceeds here at a leſs expenſe, ſaving only in the article of freight on the regular ſhips, which may be reduced, with reſpect to coarſe articles, by hiring ſhips of inferior equipment; and though, amidſt the fluctuations of war, the Company may occaſionally loſe by ſome articles, there are various reaſons why they ſhould not immediately ſtrike ſuch articles out of their inveſtment; and it will ſtill be true, that by their reſources and numerous eſtabliſhments, they have great advantages over private perſons, in all attempts, either to introduce new articles, or extend the proviſion of them; for they have only to avail themſelves of inſtitutions already exiſting, whereas private merchants muſt for theſe ends, in many caſes, form new eſtabliſhments. It is without ſufficient foundation, therefore, that the ſuperior capabilities of individuals for ſtriking out new branches of trade have been inſiſted on; and whilſt ſo many arguments have been induſtriouſly uſed, to obtain new privileges for private traders, that there has been ſuch a tendency ſhewn to reduce the Company to a mere routine of bringing home the tribute in a few old ſtaples, it is fit they ſhould poſſeſs full as much freedom as private merchants have, in managing and ordering their commercial affairs, to the extent of the funds and the credit which they may fairly apply to commercial purpoſes, without increaſing the preſent high ſcale of Indian debt. And if it ſhould be occaſionally found expedient for them, either with a view of profit, which in particular junctures may accrue, or to furniſh a ſaving tonnage for their ſhips, to make an extraordinary proviſion of new articles, it will not only be their duty to do ſo, but they may do it with greater advantage than individuals can; for if there be any new methods, by which they can increaſe their commercial gains, the vaſt expenſes incurred in warlike operations, require they ſhould be adopted; and at a time when the Company have ſtraitened themſelves in achieving conqueſts, highly beneficial to the nation, they have leaſt reaſon to conclude, that they ſhall be expected to make any undue ſacrifices of their privileges.---Thirdly, with regard to the competition which a great enlargement of private trade may occaſion in the Indian commerce. That the law of every market ſhould be a free permiſſion to thoſe who enter into it to buy and ſell, need not be diſputed; but it is a queſtion not of commercial principle, but of the policy of ſtates, whether their ſubjects ſhall be encouraged to enter into competition with each other, at any particular foreign market. There can be no doubt, that a great increaſe in demand and of purchaſes in India would enhance the coſt of commodities there; and that a like increaſe in the quantities ſold here, though this mart ſhould be the largeſt, would, on the whole, lower the proceeds. The conſequence from both branches of competition, would, therefore, be evident and direct diſadvantage to this country, and diſadvantage not to be compenſated, in this caſe, by the extent of the trade.---Upon the whole, then, of this part of the ſubject, there is not, in the opinion of your Committee, ſuch a rational certainty of mercantile profit to individuals, from largely increaſing the importation of theſe new articles (for the hope of profit by freight is not an admitted plea) as ought to induce them to embark in ſuch ſpeculations, in the face of a ſtrong rivalſhip to moſt of the articles from the produce of other countries: and where there is little appearance of benefit, the inconveniences of diſturbing the eſtabliſhed order of things ſhould not be encountered.

XI. But the grand objection, of a commercial nature, to this new trade is, that a conſiderable capital muſt be transferred from Great Britain to carry it on. In one of the papers from Bengal it is hypothetically ſtated, that in a few years the export of ſugar from that country might be raiſed to 100,000 tons. Doubtleſs, in a vaſt extent of fertile ſoil, ſtretching from the ſea almoſt to Delhi, it may be poſſible to carry the culture of ſugar, and various other articles, to very great length; and perſons unacquainted with the circumſtances of that country might imagine, from reading ſuch a ſtatement, that the main thing to be done was only to open the doors wide enough for exportation. The fact, however, is, that four or five millions ſterling from this country muſt be furniſhed, to pay for the firſt coſt, and the tranſportation of that quantity of ſugar; for Bengal has no ſuch fund of its own, applicable to any purpoſe of that kind; and the ſame obſervation muſt be applied to any large extenſion of other new articles.—The firſt point to be decided here, therefore, is, Whether the nation ought to embark its capital in ſuch a trade? This is

a queſtion of commercial policy, intereſting to the public, who ought to know the concern they have in it; and a queſtion on which it belongs to the Legiſlature to determine. If there are reaſons for withdrawing part of the capital employed in raiſing produce in ſome other dependencies of the Empire, and for encouraging preferably the productions of India, theſe reaſons, doubtleſs, ought to be heard; but this new buſineſs ſhould not be plunged into, without examining and underſtanding its nature and conſequences; and in the opinion of your Committee, unleſs there are ſome ſpecial motives for the preference juſt mentioned, or unleſs where ſome imperious exigency ariſes, it would be utterly impolitic to tranſplant much of the capital of Great Britain, to carry on the agriculture and manufactures of that remote region.

XII. But your Committee muſt believe, that the propoſed enlargements would involve a conſequence ſtill more ſerious, on which they have already touched, in conſidering the claim of Britiſh ſubjects to a like freedom with foreigners in the Indian trade. This claim is, in other words, the preſent queſtion. If, inſtead of carrying on the intercourſe, commercial and political, of this country and its Indian dependencies through one great channel, the Eaſt India Company, which has ſo much contributed to preſerve a vaſt people in their original habits of ſubmiſſion, the ſhips of Britiſh individuals were permitted to go and come at pleaſure, a great change in the political circumſtances of Britiſh India muſt, from the nature of things, be expected. Hitherto the want of an unexpenſive legal channel to India, and the difficulties of getting into employment in our dominions (for native governments invite only deſperate military adventurers), have prevented a great influx of Britiſh ſubjects into them, though foreign ſhips have been open to thoſe who could afford to pay them, and our Governments have choſen rather to licenſe perſons who had found means to ſettle themſelves there, than to force them from all their concerns. But the propoſed ſyſtem would, at once, confer both right and employment on multitudes; and it is from an inſtitution communicating theſe encouragements, that, in the opinion of your Committee, danger is to be apprehended. The reſidence of a limited number of Europeans in our provinces, as things at preſent are, is not a ground of any alarm, provided that number can be kept from increaſing; but in the propoſed ſyſtem, there would be a principle of progreſſive increaſe, and this, your Committee fear, might juſtly be conſidered as the firſt principle of a colonial ſyſtem.---A continual courſe of detached commercial adventurers would entail the reſidence of greater numbers of Europeans abroad; many others would be tempted to reſort thither, in the hope of eſtabliſhing themſelves; gradually, in conſequence of theſe changes, they would be enabled to ſtrike out new modes of employment, and ſpread themſelves in the country. Even now, the ſociety of merchants in India diſcover a wiſh to be emancipated from every material reſtraint: that ſpirit would live and be more powerful in the larger ſociety. Governments, then, would find it a new and arduous taſk, to maintain order and ſubordination. Every port in India would be accuſtomed to the viſits of adventuring Europeans; connexions between them and the country powers could hardly be prevented; part might go into the ſervice of thoſe powers; all could not expect fortunes to return; and thoſe who ſaw no proſpect of this kind, would naturally commence colonization. That the rights and uſages of our native ſubjects might not be encroached upon in this progreſs; that theſe people, though paſſive, might not be at length exaſperated, and that they might not, from example, gradually loſe their habits of ſubmiſſion to Government, no man can be warranted to deny: nor is it leſs probable, that a vaſt maſs of native ſubjects, thus put into a new ſtate of agitation, a numerous European community progreſſively enlarging its views with its importance, and the combinations of India politics influenced by, and influencing theſe circumſtances, might render it extremely difficult for this country to maintain in that remote quarter, a government ſufficiently ſtrong and energetic to contain all theſe intereſts within their due bounds.

XIII. For theſe reaſons, the inquiry concerning the principle by which our Indian poſſeſſions may be beſt preſerved, though it appertain to the preſent ſubject, need not be a long one. That ſyſtem cannot be beſt, which, by the adoption of colonial principles of free ingreſs and reſidence, would expoſe us to all the hazards juſt deſcribed, and through them, to the loſs of the Indian empire. The Legiſlature has already determined to maintain the independency of that empire, not on colonial principles, but through the medium of that body by which it was acquired, the Eaſt India Company, who are therefore conſtituted the ſole national organ for its local government, and its communication with this country. The rights of that Company, who through a long ſucceſſion of years ſuſtained alone the expenſes and perils which ended in the acquiſition of territorial dominion, have not been ſacrificed to the unfounded claims ſet up for every Britiſh ſubject as ſuch, to enter into the free enjoyment of what had coſt them ſo much. The advantages of a ſure and great commerce, of a large tribute, of a dominion maintained by its own reſources, have not been ſtaked, in the following uncertain theories, which could only be tried at the riſk of loſing what was poſſeſſed: and experience, as well as ſound reaſon, demonſtrates the wiſdom of this ſyſtem.

XIV. If then, in reſpect of *facts*, it be true, that the foreign trade of India, either carried on by our enemies or by neutral nations, or clandeſtinely under their colours by our own

ſubjects, is not progreſſively increaſing: that nations in amity with us, and already trading to India, ought to be allowed to continue to trade on their own account, for the ſupply of their own wants; and that India has no capital within itſelf, for effecting the great enlargements of its exports now propoſed: if it be alſo true, in reſpect of *principles*, that it would be impolitic in this country to tranſplant any conſiderable portion of its capital to India, for extending the agriculture and manufactures of that diſtant dependency, and yet more impolitic to open the way for Britiſh colonization there; the concluſion reſulting from the whole is, that the only object for which the Company, or the nation, can now juſtly be called on to make new proviſions in favour of individuals, is that of bringing directly into this country the remainder of the trade yet carried on clandeſtinely by Britiſh ſubjects, with the removal of any inconveniences which now obſtruct the ready and eaſy tranſportation of the whole trade, which can be carried on by the fortunes of Britiſh reſidents in India, directly to the port of London.—Thoſe individuals, who thriving under the protection of the Company ſtill abet that clandeſtine trade, certainly act neither worthily nor gratefully; nor do they entitle themſelves to new privileges. The Company, however, deſirous to ſecure to the nation all the trade carried on from India by the capital of Britiſh reſidents, are willing to adopt ſuch meaſures as depend on them, for bringing directly to the Thames the merchandiſe which that capital yet conveys, in any form, to foreign ports; but as the comparative rates of duties payable at their ports and in our own, will always be regarded by the proprietors of Indian goods in the direction of their conſignments, it ſeems requiſite, in order to ſecure the object in queſtion, that the duties on the exports of goods from India, or the duties on Indian goods imported into this country, undergo ſtill further modification.

XV. Your Committee, reflecting on the various poſitions which have of late years been advanced, to impugn either the conduct of the Company or the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of Indian policy, were induced to take the preſent occaſion, to point out the errors by which thoſe poſitions, had they ſtill remained uncontradicted, might have miſled the public mind.—Of this labour, which they hope will not be unacceptable to the Court, a great part would have been needleſs, if they had confined themſelves to the letter of the 2d April laſt, from the Right Honourable the Preſident of the Board of Control, which chiefly fixed the attention of the Court in relation to the preſent ſubject, as it has been all along firſt in the conſideration of the Committee: for between the opinions which are therein delivered and thoſe they entertained, as well reſpecting the leading principles of Indian government and commerce, as the concluſions to be formed from them, they found, on the whole, ſo much agreement, as greatly limited the neceſſity of particular diſcuſſion.—On thoſe leading principles your Committee have reaſoned; and the ſame general views which are preſented by the longer inveſtigation into which the motive juſt aſſigned has led them, are with brevity and force exhibited in that letter. It infers from the whole two practical propoſitions; one concerning the object and meaſure of the privilege to be given to individuals in the trade from India, the other concerning the mode in which that trade ſhould be brought to this country.----The firſt is ſubſtantially the ſame which your Committee have had in view through the whole of this diſcuſſion, and have, they truſt, here eſtabliſhed, that to bring the fortunes of Britiſh reſidents, not inveſted in the bills of the Company, directly through the medium of merchandiſe into the Thames, ſhould be the main object of the privilege to be conceded to individuals; and that this privilege ought not, in reaſon, to extend beyond the total amount of thoſe fortunes, allowance being always made for returns of Britiſh manufactures, ſent from hence, according to the act of 1793.----The ſecond propoſition recommends, that the trade thus conſtituted ſhall be permitted to be carried on by Indian ſhips.---- Your Committee are aware of the public motives which diſpoſe Mr. Dundas to make the reſources of India ſerviceable to the naval intereſts of this country; and are, at the ſame time, perſuaded, that the meaſure which thoſe motives may have more eaſily inclined him to favour, he means to be perfectly compatible with his own principle of continuing the Company as the one great national organ for the government and commerce of India.----Your Committee regard thoſe motives with reſpect; and in as far as the Court can, conſiſtently with the great intereſts intruſted to them, ſafely afford the aid of the Company to well-digeſted views of that kind, the diſpoſition they have ever manifeſted to benefit the nation may, in ſuch a caſe, be expected to appear.----Your Committee are further ready to grant, that if the occaſional admiſſion of Indian ſhips into this country, or an admiſſion continuing ſolely in the diſcretion, and changeable at the option of the Company, were the thing here in queſtion, it would be a matter of comparatively ſmall import, in reſpect to which the indulgences allowed at different times by the Company, in the courſe of the laſt ſeven years, ſhew, that they can, at fit ſeaſons, exerciſe with liberality, privileges which ſtill remain entire to them; but after a very mature and anxious conſideration of the preſent ſubject, your Committee are conſtrained to ſtate, that they regard the admiſſion of Indian ſhips, or any claſs of ſhips, Britiſh or foreign, into a formal ſyſtematic participation in the commerce and navigation between Britain and India, with moſt ſerious apprehenſion. They conſider it as involving a latent principle, that may eventually ſuperſede that very ſyſtem of

regulated intercourſe with India, which both Mr. Dundas and the Court are ſolicitous to preſerve. They are of opinion, moreover, that for the ends propoſed the meaſure is unneceſſary, and that the Company can themſelves provide, as your Committee will hereafter ſhew, all the ſhipping which that end requires, free of every fair objection hitherto made to the occupancy of tonnage provided by them. Impreſſed with theſe ſentiments, the duty impoſed on your Committee requires they ſhould declare them; but in doing this, and in proceeding to explain farther the grounds on which they entertain thoſe ſentiments, they deſire to act in the ſpirit of men, looking only to a public object, and canvaſſing a meaſure propoſed in a like ſpirit.

XVI. A ſyſtematic admiſſion of any claſs of ſhips into the trade between this country and India, would, in the opinion of your Committee, virtually form a new ſociety, which having one intereſt, would, in effect, act with much of the ſpirit and unity of a joint company, and a company whoſe intereſts would not perfectly coaleſce with thoſe of the preſent one: ſtanding upon a legal foundation, and poſſeſſing a privilege enjoyed by none but the Eaſt India Company, it muſt at once be inveſted with a certain degree of importance. The principles common to individuals and ſocieties, ſelf-preſervation and advancement, would naturally lead the members of this body into thoſe views and meaſures, which would be moſt likely to give it permanence and power. The continuance of its exertions would not depend, altogether, nor perhaps chiefly, on the gain of the commodities carried to and from India. If commodities brought only prime coſt and charges, and yet the ſhip-owners could make out a profitable employment for their ſhips, which is avowed to be a leading motive for the preſent requiſitions of the merchants, it might ſtill be their intereſt to carry on the trade; and the private commerce, now ſupported by a remittance capital, would thus owe its enlargement to a ſhipping intereſt, though a trade which maintained only the ſhips engaged in it, would be one of the leaſt beneficial; and if thoſe ſhips were Indian, the benefit of it to this country would be indeed ſmall. In bringing to Europe Indian commodities, in which the trade mainly conſiſts, Indian ſhips would have a clear advantage over others, becauſe the equipment of them could be adjuſted with certainty to the number and times of the cargoes procurable, and therefore the comparative probability of the permanence of ſuch a ſet of ſhips is the greater.---It would be eaſy to employ capital belonging to the mother-country in building and repairing thoſe ſhips: thus Engliſh merchants might become parties in the concern, and this would, in a certain degree, be the ſame as if Britiſh ſhips were licenſed directly from this country. The neceſſity of employing ſhips once built is obvious. The channels of trade in Europe, in a time of peace eſpecially, would not be likely to afford ſpace for this new claſs; the owners muſt therefore continue, as long as poſſible, in a line into which they have once entered, even if difficulties ſhould occur in it; and difficulties would be likely to put the adventurers on ſeeking whatever further indulgences remained to be granted them. To further indulgences the recogniſed enjoyment of the firſt privilege would more eaſily lead; and in this and other views, the probable effects of *uſage* deſerve to be conſidered. What is once eſtabliſhed obtains authority in the public mind; and new claims may, with leſs danger of ſhocking opinions, be raiſed upon it. From theſe cauſes, the exerciſe of this new privilege would be likely to be durable, and its operation progreſſive. One certain effect hereof would be to force a trade from India with a capital not its own. As the numbers concerned in this complex trade of ſhips and goods increaſed, ſo would their power, influence, and connexions, in both countries. If inconveniences ſhould be found to reſult from this inſtitution, great intereſts, formed under the ſanction of it, would plead againſt a ſuppreſſion of it; and it ſeems entirely probable, that as ſoon as the privilege to Indian ſhips were thought to have acquired ſufficient ſolidity, if not before, the merchants of this country would become clamorous for admiſſion into it: nor is it eaſy to conceive how, after preſcription had ſmoothed the way, and Engliſh merchants were known to have become, though unallowedly, partners in the Indian ſhips, their claim could be long reſiſted, for it could never be maintained, that one Britiſh ſubject, reſiding in London, might carry on a trade with India, becauſe his ſhip was built there, whilſt another Britiſh ſubject, in the ſame place, ſhould be interdicted, becauſe his ſhip was built in the Thames. And indeed, whenever the trade from India came to be any other than a trade of remittance for the fortunes of Britiſh reſidents, the reaſon on which Indian merchants only were permitted to carry it on would ceaſe. In a commercial view, the ſyſtematic introduction of any claſs of private ſhips appears, from what has been already ſaid, to be unneceſſary. As the true intereſt of the country does not require that it ſhould transfer capital to India to raiſe a trade there, ſo it is ſufficiently obvious, that there is in India no great capital which wants to exert itſelf in the European trade; no ſuch general ſwell in the tide of Indian commerce as ſeeks a new channel. Far the greater part of the Europeans there have nothing to do with the export trade, which reſts chiefly with the houſes of agency, in whoſe hands much of the remittable property of Europeans centres, by which means they are enabled to enter into great ſpeculations; neither is there any ſurplus of Britiſh property there, which the Company cannot convey in ſhips furniſhed by themſelves, as cheaply and expeditiouſly as it could be conveyed in private ſhips: therefore, to privilege

a claſs of ſhips for the trade of individuals, when the ſcale of that trade does not require it, would be to introduce an innovation, which your Committee cannot but regard as a hazardous one, without any adequate cauſe. Conſidering, then, that there is no neceſſity for the propoſed meaſure; that it would be the genius of the new trade, as of all others, to ſeek its own enlargement; that ſo many cauſes would, probably, concur, to render it permanent and progreſſive; that, above all, a conſtant intercourſe, by private detached ſhips, with every part of India, familiarizing European adventurers with that country, Indian ſailors with this, would gradually and indefinitely widen the channel of that intercourſe, extremely multiply the relations between the two countries, and tend to diſturb and ſhake our government there, to which danger is more likely to ariſe from our domeſtic commerce than from the foreign one; conſidering all theſe circumſtances, your Committee cannot but deprecate the ſyſtematic eſtabliſhment of any claſs of ſhips in the trade between India and Britain, as what, in their moſt ſerious judgment, would, in its nature and conſequences, tend, however the contrary might be meant, to ſuperſede the Company's privileges, and open the way to what all agree ought to be prevented,—the colonization of Europeans in our Indian territories, and the dangers connected with that ſyſtem.

XVII. Beſides theſe objections, which apply to the meaſure generally, there is one that lies peculiarly againſt ſhips whoſe voyages commence from India,—that they will uſually be manned, in great part, with laſcars, or Indian ſailors. Men of that race are not, by their phyſical frame and conſtitution, fitted for the navigation of cold and boiſterous latitudes; their nature and habits are formed to a warm climate, and ſhort and eaſy voyages performed within the ſphere of the periodical winds; they have not ſtrength enough of mind or body, to encounter the hardſhips and perils to which ſhips are liable in the long and various navigation between India and Europe, eſpecially in the winter ſtorms of our northern ſeas; nor have they the courage which can be relied on for ſteady defence againſt an enemy. To have any conſiderable portion of the property and trade of this country, therefore, dependent on the energy of men of this ſtamp, unleſs on the coaſts of India, where they are leſs expoſed to dangers, cannot be adviſable: yet on the employment of Indian ſailors the cheap freight of Indian ſhips ſeems materially to turn; for if theſe ſhips, rigged and fitted out as they are with ſtores chiefly brought from Europe, were manned with Europeans, receiving wages far higher, and proviſioned at much greater coſt than laſcars, it does not appear how they could be afforded at a lower rate of freight than Britiſh bottoms. But this is not all. The native ſailors of India, who are chiefly Mahomedans, are, to the diſgrace of our national morals, on their arrival here, led into ſcenes which ſoon diveſt them of the reſpect and awe they had entertained in India for the European character: they are robbed of their little property, and left to wander, ragged and deſtitute, in the ſtreets; a ſight that, whilſt it wounds peculiarly the feelings of men connected with India and the Company, raiſes both the compaſſion and indignation of the public; the one in favour of thoſe miſerable objects, the other againſt the Company, as if they had drawn the poor creatures into ſuch a ſtate of ſuffering, or neglected them in it; when in fact, though individuals bring them home, the Company are at great pains and expenſe to collect, maintain, and return them! but ſuch are the bad habits they acquire, that they often eſcape from the houſes where the Company have them lodged and provided for, and take to a mendicant ſtate, for the chance of obtaining from the pity of paſſengers new means of vicious indulgence. From cauſes of this nature, and from expoſure to the ſeverity of our winters, not a few have loſt their lives, or become incapable of further ſervice. On the continent of Europe, and even in America, where ſome of theſe laſcars are alſo now carried, they have no protector as here, and their caſe muſt be ſtill more deplorable; ſo that, inſtead of a larger introduction into the Weſtern World of this feeble race, it is very ſeriouſly to be wiſhed, that before their numbers are thinned by fatigue, climate, and diſeaſe, ſome means were deviſed for preventing them from leaving their own ſeas.—The contemptuous reports which they diſſeminate on their return, cannot fail to have a very unfavourable influence upon the minds of our Aſiatic ſubjects, whoſe reverence for our character, which has hitherto contributed to maintain our aſcendency in the Eaſt (a reverence, in part, inſpired by what they have at a diſtance ſeen among a comparatively ſmall ſociety, moſtly of the better ranks in India), will be gradually exchanged for the moſt degrading conceptions; and if an indignant apprehenſion of having hitherto rated us too highly, or reſpected us too much, ſhould once poſſeſs them, the effects of it may prove extremely detrimental.—From the waſte of life, and other loſſes attending the employing of this claſs of ſailors, perhaps it may appear at length neceſſary to reſort to European mariners: theſe, in ſuch caſe, will flock in greater numbers to India; and hence it may be expected, that colonization will be accelerated there. Indeed the return of peace might call for this ſubſtitution of Britiſh ſeamen, many of whom muſt then have to ſeek employment in the merchants' ſervice; and no Britiſh heart would wiſh, that any of the brave men, who had merited ſo much of their country, ſhould be without bread, whilſt the natives of the Eaſt brought ſhips belonging to our own ſubjects into our ports. Conſidered therefore in a commercial, phyſical, moral, and political view, the apparent conſequences of admitting theſe Indian ſailors largely into our

navigation, form a ſtrong additional objection to the conceſſion of the propoſed privilege to any ſhips manned by them.

XVIII. It will be proper, in this place, to advert to the reaſons which induced the Company's governments and ſervants abroad to countenance, and in ſome inſtances to recommend, the applications of the free merchants in India for leave to ſend goods here in their own ſhips. They were chiefly theſe: to direct to this country, in preference to foreign ports, all the merchandiſe which could be ſuppoſed to be in the diſpoſal of Britiſh individuals, and ſo to prevent the growth of foreign trade; to aſſiſt in reducing the freights paid by the Company, immediately before and after the commencement of the preſent war, for their regular ſhips; which reduction, it was hoped, would be forwarded by the introduction of a claſs of cheap ſhips between India and Europe; to promote the induſtry and export trade of India, and thereby to augment the ſources of its revenue, and to increaſe the commerce and government cuſtoms of this country.—With regard to theſe objects, all, doubtleſs, laudable in themſelves, and ſought from public motives, it may be obſerved, that the reduction of the Company's freights has been ſome time accompliſhed; that the Court have been, on their part, alſo deſirous to bring all the property of Britiſh reſidents, inveſted in goods, directly to our ports; and that the meaſures now to be propoſed will, in the opinion of your Committee, amply ſuffice for this end. The other objects of preventing the growth of foreign trade, and promoting the produce of our Indian poſſeſſions, have been diſcuſſed in this Report, and your Committee have endeavoured to diſcriminate the true principles on which they ſhould be followed, and the extent to which they ſhould be ſought. Into theſe inquiries the ſervants abroad do not ſeem to have felt themſelves called to enter deeply and ſyſtematically; nor do they appear to have looked forward to all the probable remote effects, commercial and political, of a progreſſive increaſe in the trade and intercourſe of individuals between India and Britain. They rather ſeem to have acted on the view of exiſting circumſtances, and to have recommended the meaſures which, under thoſe circumſtances, they deemed to be, both for public and for individual intereſts, beneficial and convenient. But as they did not profeſs to inveſtigate remote conſequences, ſo they certainly do not appear to have propoſed or expected that the diſcretion of the Company ſhould be taken away in the admiſſion of Indian ſhips, or that any claſs of ſhips ſhould be inveſted with a permanent ſyſtematic participation in the commerce and navigation between India and Britain: and this, in the opinion of your Committee, is the great point of importance in the whole of the preſent ſubject.—If, therefore, the reaſons which they have thought themſelves obliged to advance againſt this new principle ſhould prove ſatisfactory to the Court, your Committee take the liberty to ſuggeſt, that they may be ſubmitted to the judgment and candour of Mr. Dundas, who, your Committee are perſuaded, will not, when he ſees no imperious neceſſity, wiſh for the adoption of any meaſure which, immediately or in its conſequences, ſhall be found materially to trench on the privileges of the Company.

XIX. Your Committee will now proceed, in the laſt place, to propoſe the means by which, in their opinion, all the property of Britiſh reſidents in India, at any time inveſted in goods, together with the returns of manufactures ſent from hence, may, with every requiſite convenience, be brought directly to this country, without any change in the principles of the preſent ſyſtem. It may be difficult to aſcertain exactly the annual remittable amount of that property; but in the nature of things it muſt have a moderate limit, and a conſiderable part of it is ſent home in bills upon the Company. From a general retroſpective view, carried back for ſeveral of the laſt years, of the goods conſigned from India directly to London, whether on account of Britiſh reſidents or in return for Britiſh manufactures, and of thoſe conſignments to foreign ports, which may be ſuppoſed to have belonged to Britiſh ſubjects, together with the bills drawn on the Company in the ſame period, the total aggregate of theſe different branches will probably be rated fully, if eſtimated about, or ſomewhat beyond, a million and a half ſterling. Of this amount 650,000*l.* may have come in bills; and the whole, therefore, of what has of late been ſent from India in goods, either to our own or foreign ports, on account of Britiſh reſidents or Britiſh manufactures, on an average of ſeveral paſt years, ending with April 1799, may be taken at a little more than 850,000*l.* per annum: and of this ſum about 600,000*l.* comes already into the Thames; the reſt, as ſhewn in a former part of this Report, has gone to foreign Europe and America. To encourage the conſignment of this remainder, alſo, to our own ports, and to provide for the more convenient tranſportation of what already comes here, is, in reality, as your Committee apprehend, all that is now to be performed: but to remove every ground for complaint in future, your Committee are of opinion that the Company may, at once, undertake for the conveyance directly to our ports in goods, of the whole remittable property of Britiſh reſidents in India, and the whole returns of Britiſh manufactures, ſuppoſing that no part of either ſhould be ſent home in bills on the Company, which, however, is at preſent, and likely to be at all times hereafter, utterly improbable.—For this end, your Committee propoſe, that the Company ſhall themſelves furniſh whatever amount of tonnage ſhall be wanted for bringing home the private trade, as here deſcribed; that they ſhall ſupply this tonnage in ſhips either wholly deſtined to bring home

that private trade, or whether ſo deſtined or not, in ſhips which ſhall not be applied to political or warlike purpoſes, but ſail from India directly for the port of London at fixed periods, and thoſe periods moſt convenient for the ſhippers of goods within the fair weather ſeaſon.—That the rate of freight on thoſe ſhips ſhall, during the war, be as low as that at which the Indian ſhips arrived here in the preſent ſeaſon are chartered to the Company; and that, in time of peace, the rate ſhall be proportionably reduced.—That the commodities to be permitted in the private trade, the manner of warehouſing and ſhipping them in India, and receiving and bringing them to the Company's ſales here, ſhall be ſettled in the ſpirit of the exiſting regulations, and with every fair attention to the intereſt of the private trader.—That a particular claſs of ſhips, ſuitable for this ſervice, ſhall be built by the Company, to be manned with Europeans, and armed ſo as to make them equal, in point of defence, to the beſt of the Indian ſhips which have come to this country; and until theſe are built, other proper ſhips to be ſupplied.—That if at any time the tonnage provided by the Company for private exports ſhall not be ſufficient, it ſhall be allowable for the governments abroad, on the part of the Company, to freight Indian ſhips for the conveyance of ſuch goods as cannot be otherwiſe accommodated; care being taken that this conceſſion be not ſtrained into an indirect ſanction to the ordinary ſtated employment of thoſe ſhips, nor as holding forth any expectation of connivance at fictitious pleas for the introduction of them; the ſole object of the Company being the ready tranſportation of private goods, furniſhed by the capital of Britiſh reſidents, as before mentioned, and the removal of every pretence for complaint on this ſcore.—That no perſon ſhall be permitted to embark in this trade, in any form, who has not the licenſe of the Company to reſide in India.—Your Committee truſt, that theſe propoſitions make full proviſion for the removal of all the defects and inconveniences hitherto complained of, in reſpect to the conveyance of private goods; they provide for the certainty of a ſufficient quantity of proper tonnage, for a reaſonable rate of freight, for the failing of the ſhips at the ſeaſons moſt convenient for the merchants, and for the direct performance of the voyages, without detention or deviation on account of political or military objects.—If theſe outlines ſhall be adopted as the baſis of the arrangement to be now made, it will then remain to fill them up with ſuch regulations of detail as ſhall be found requiſite, in order properly to act upon them, of which a few particulars will be found under the head to be preſently mentioned.

XX. Your Committee having now, in performance of the duty with which they were charged, brought the taſk they propoſed to themſelves to a cloſe, will beg leave to wind up the whole with a ſet of reſolutions comprehending the principal matters of this Report. Theſe reſolutions have been agreed upon and paſſed by your Committee; and it will afford them great ſatisfaction if, by the means here propoſed, or any means proceeding on the ſame general principles, the momentous queſtion which, from its intricacy and extent, has engaged their attention and that of the Court ſo long, ſhall be ſettled once for all.

(Signed) HUGH INGLIS,
DAVID SCOTT,
FRANCIS BARING,
STEPHEN LUSHINGTON,
ABRAHAM ROBARTS,
JACOB BOSANQUET,
JOHN ROBERTS,
CHARLES GRANT,
EDWARD PARRY.

East India Houſe,
27th January, 1801.

Minutes of the Court of Directors of the 4th February, 1801, containing the Reſolutions of the Special Committee adopted by the Court.

At a Court of Directors, held on Wedneſday the 4th February, 1801.

The Court proceeded to conſider further the Report from the Special Committee appointed to take into conſideration the letters from the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, of the 2d April and 28th June, 1800, and the reſolutions founded thereon, which were ſubmitted to the Court on the 27th ultimo:—The Report was read, and on the queſtion unanimouſly approved.—The ſaid reſolutions were then read; and the Court approving thereof, it was, on the queſtion, *Firſt*, Reſolved unanimouſly, That in the opinion of this Court, the ſyſtem by which the Britiſh poſſeſſions in the Eaſt are now held and governed, is the ſyſtem beſt adapted to ſecure to the nation the benefits, political and commercial, which are derivable from thoſe poſſeſſions; and that the eſtabliſhment of an open trade between them and Great Britain, would not only be ſubverſive of the rights and privileges of the Eaſt India Company, but without enſuring to this country commercial advantages equal to thoſe it now enjoys from them, pave the way for European colonization, and ultimately hazard the loſs of thoſe invaluable acquiſitions.—*Second.* That it is therefore equally the intereſt of the nation and the duty of the Company, to guard againſt all principles and meaſures which, by an indefinite enlargement of the preſent channel of communication, in their nature tend to the introduction, immediate or gradual, of ſuch an open intercourſe, and its probable conſequent colonization.—*Third.* That the Eaſt India Company, far from entertaining the erroneous policy of limiting the induſtry and trade of their provinces to the demands of their own commerce, have given ſuch encouragement to both as they never received under the native government; ſo that the ſhips of all nations in amity with this country have free admiſſion there, and the

maritime exports from India, exclusive of those for the Company, are now greater than they were at any former period.—*Fourth.* That if it were practicable, it would not be expedient to prevent the other European nations, who, by privilege or conceſſion, now trade with Britiſh India, from enjoying ſuch a ſhare of that commerce as may ſerve to ſupply their own conſumption of Indian commodities, and at the ſame time to bring bullion into our eaſtern territories.—*Fifth.* That the regulations eſtabliſhed by the Legiſlature in 1793, with the profeſſed view of extending the exports of this country to India, and bringing directly to it the trade clandeſtinely carried on by Britiſh capital from India to foreign ports in Europe and America, have not been miſapplied or evaded by the Company; but that the Company have, as far as conſiſted with the neceſſary courſe of their own affairs, political and commercial, given effect to thoſe regulations, though at a conſiderable expenſe to themſelves; and that all allegations of the growth of the trade of foreigners with India, and the extenſion of the clandeſtine trade from India, by means of any ſuch miſapplication on the part of the Company, are unfounded.—*Sixth.* That, according to the moſt authentic information which has appeared on the ſubject of clandeſtine trade, particularly the public regiſter of exports and imports kept in Bengal, that trade has not of late years increaſed, but rather diminiſhed; and that the amount of the clandeſtine trade of Bengal, the centre of our eaſtern power and commerce, whether the ſaid trade has been fed by that part of the capital of Britiſh reſidents which was not ſent directly to this country, or by any other ſource, cannot, on an average of four years, ending with 1798-9, reaſonably be eſtimated to have exceeded twenty-five lacs of rupees per annum.—*Seventh.* That from this important fact, as well as from a variety of other evidence, exiſting in the recent proceedings of the Company's governments abroad, it may ſafely be concluded, that any increaſe which has taken place in the courſe of the war in the trade of foreigners with our ſettlements, is the increaſe of a trade carried on, *bonâ fide*, for their own account, and in a great degree with ſpecie which they import into India, and pay for the goods they export, and that this is a trade which, in ſound policy, ought to be permitted.—*Eighth.* That the trade carried on with Europe from the Indian ſettlements of our enemies, the French, Dutch, and Spaniards, which is ſaid to have greatly increaſed through the late miſmanagement of the Company, flouriſhed long before the preſent times in a greater degree than it does now, and could not have been depreſſed by any meaſures within the Company's power; nor would it be a wiſe policy, under the notion of bringing that trade to our ports, to nouriſh, as in fact we thus ſhould, the ſource whence it proceeds.—*Ninth.* That as it is the wiſh of the Company to give free ſcope to the native powers of their Indian ſubjects in agriculture and manufactures, ſo it is alſo their wiſh to exerciſe the rights and privileges they poſſeſs in the government and commerce of India, not in the narrow ſpirit of rigid monopoly, but liberally to the benefit of the nation at large. They thus, before the laſt renewal of their charter, occaſionally permitted the importation of private goods on their ſhips, and encouraged the culture and importation of ſeveral valuable articles on private account, particularly ſugar and indigo, the latter of which has become one of the grand ſtaples of the Indian trade, as both together conſtitute the chief cauſes of the increaſe in the ſale amount of privileged goods for ſome late years. And the Company are ſtill deſirous to ſecure to the nation all the trade which the capital of Britiſh reſidents in India yet carries on from that country to foreign Europe and America.—*Tenth.* That the only certain conſiderable capital which at preſent exiſts in Britiſh India, for an export trade from that country to Europe, is formed by ſuch part of the ſavings of Britiſh reſidents in India, as is not remitted to England by bills of exchange of one deſcription or another on the Company, who now provide ſo amply in this way for the purpoſe of transferring the fortunes of individuals; and that the amount of ſuch portion of the ſavings of Britiſh reſidents, as is not ſent home by bills on the Company, can never, in the nature of things, exceed a certain moderate limit, which will probably be eſtimated largely if taken at half a million ſterling per annum. Should, indeed, the natives of Britiſh India deſire to inveſt any money, *bonâ fide*, on their own account, in exports from India to Britain (to which it does not appear that they ſhew much diſpoſition at preſent), this may be admitted under proper regulations, as an addition to the capital of Indian export to Europe; and theſe two ſources, with any circulating property poſſeſſed by Britiſh traders and manufacturers in India, not in the ſervice of the Company, which circulating property in the whole, after allowing for the part of it that ought to be employed in the coaſting trade of India, can hardly be imagined to amount to any conſiderable ſum, ſupply the whole aggregate of the capital of Britiſh India, applicable to an export trade in articles, either new or old, from that country to Europe.—*Eleventh.* That if to this aggregate capital, which may be termed the preſent maximum of the native ſtock of Britiſh India for a trade to Europe, it became a practice to add capital belonging to private reſidents in Great Britain, and tranſplanted to India for the purpoſe of forcing the productions of that country beyond the ability of its own means, this would be the introduction of one of the firſt principles of the colonial or Weſt Indian ſyſtem; and if it were ſanctioned, directly or impliedly, by any public regulation, it would tend greatly to extend the relations and intercourſes between thoſe countries

and this, as well as to ſuperſede covertly, if not openly, the prohibition to Europeans not to occupy lands there, which prohibition is already, in a variety of inſtances, diſpenſed with; and thus, without any certainty of ultimate commercial benefit to the Britiſh empire at large, a change would be commenced in the preſent ſyſtem of Indian policy, which is allowed to be the beſt for the maintenance of thoſe diſtant poſſeſſions.---*Twelfth.* That as the produce of every country muſt, in the courſe of things, bear a certain proportion or relation to the demand made for it, ſo there appears no reaſon to doubt that the productions of Britiſh India, fit for the European market, whether raiſed by its own native ſtock of capital as above deſcribed, or occaſionally quickened by importations of bullion from foreign Europe and America, have uſually had a current vent into one or other of the channels of trade now open with that country; that hence the alleged difficulties of conveying goods by the Company's ſhips have not prevented the diſpoſal of all the produce which the capital of the country raiſed, and therefore the plea ſo often urged by perſons intereſted in the private trade, that the Company ſhould permit the *ſurplus produce of the country to be exported*, proceeds upon looſe erroneous implications; becauſe when uſed in theſe general terms, it ſeems to convey what is not the fact, either that the Company wiſh to prevent the exportation of what they do not themſelves require, or that the produce of the country remains on hand for want of ſale; and when applied more particularly, to infer that the ſurplus produce ſhould be brought immediately to Britain, it does not diſcriminate the *bonâ fide* foreign trade to India which ought to be permitted.---*Thirteenth.* That as from an early period of the Company's territorial adminiſtration, the acquiſitions of Britiſh ſubjects in India have, in a greater or leſs degree, unhappily ſupported the trade of foreign Europe from the Eaſt, and notwithſtanding the means which the Company have uſed, by opening channels for the remittance of private fortunes, both in bills and in goods, directly to this country, that medium of conveyance through foreigners, appears to be, in ſome meaſure, ſtill employed; this Court, following the principles before laid down, agree in opinion with the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, as to the expediency of affording to Britiſh reſidents who may chooſe to convey their property to Europe in goods, whatever means, in addition to thoſe already ſubſiſting, may be fairly ſufficient to induce them to conſign thoſe goods immediately to the mother-country. And though the Court conſider the fortunes of Britiſh individuals not remitted by bills on the Company (in which a very large ſum is ſent home annually), together with ſuch conſignments as European manufacturers and the natives of India may furniſh from their own ſtock, to conſtitute the total capital of Britiſh India, at preſent applicable to a trade with Europe (that is, of capital originating in India, contradiſtinguiſhed from capital transferred thither from Europe), yet being of opinion, that to remove all colour for complaint on this ſcore, the Company may afford ample means for conveying in goods even the total remittable property of Britiſh reſidents, they offer the following propoſitions for bringing accordingly the whole trade formed by that aggregate capital, as well as the conſignments of European manufactures, directly to the port of London. 1. That in addition to the quantity of three thouſand tons of ſhipping, now annually allotted to the exports of individuals from India, three, four, or five thouſand tons more, or as much as may be wanted, ſhall be aſſigned. 2. That the ſhipping to be thus annually employed ſhall be wholly applied to the uſe of private traders, and ſhall neither be deſtined nor detained for political or warlike ſervices in India, but ſail from thence directly for the port of London, at fixed periods, within the fair weather ſeaſon. 3. That the rate of freight from India on thoſe ſhips ſhall, during war, be as low as that at which the Indian ſhips, arrived here in the preſent ſeaſon, are chartered to the Company; and in time of peace, the rate of freight ſhall be proportionably reduced. 4. That all commodities of the *produce of the continent, or of the Britiſh territories in India*, ſhall be permitted to be laden on thoſe ſhips; excepting only piece goods, raw ſilk, and ſaltpetre, which ſhall not be laden, unleſs by ſpecial licenſe from the Company or their governments abroad. 5. That the goods to be exported on private account, be, as now, received into the Company's warehouſes in India; and that the ſame care be taken in aſſorting them into cargoes, in due proportions of light and heavy goods, according to the deliveries into the warehouſes, as is obſerved in forming the Company's own cargoes. 6. That theſe goods ſhall be brought to the Company's warehouſes in London, and thence to their ſales, in the regular order, ſubject to the charge of 3 per cent. now allowed to the Company for landing, warehouſing, and ſelling private goods. 7. That the ſhips to be employed in this ſervice ſhall be built for the purpoſe by the Company, and ſhall be of the deſcription beſt calculated for the propoſed trade. In the opinion of this Court, they may be of the burden of five hundred tons builder's meaſurement, or thereabout, and equipped on what is called the diſmantled plan; but be manned with Europeans, and armed ſo as to make them equal, in point of ſafety and defence, to the beſt of the Indian ſhips which have come to this country. The ſize and equipment, however, of theſe ſhips, may be more minutely conſidered hereafter; and until they are built, other ſtout and proper ſhips, or the regular ſhips of the Company, as far as they ſhall be wanted, ſhall be employed in this ſervice on the terms before mentioned. 8. That when the private goods pro-

vided for exportation from India ſhall not ſerve to fill all the ſhips ſent out for them, the Company ſhall put gruff goods into thoſe ſhips on their own account. 9. That if at any time the tonnage provided by the Company for private exports, ſhould not be ſufficient for all the goods prepared for exportation, it ſhall be allowable for the governments abroad, on the part of the Company, to freight Indian ſhips for the conveyance of ſuch goods as cannot be otherwiſe accommodated; care being taken that this conceſſion be not ſtrained beyond its juſt object, the ready and convenient tranſportation of private goods, furniſhed by the capitals of Britiſh reſidents, or ſent as the returns of Britiſh manufactures. 10. That no perſon ſhall be admitted to embark in this trade as principal or agent, who is not licenſed by the Company to reſide in India.—*Fourteenth.* That although this Court is well convinced of the public views with which the Right Hon. Henry Dundas has countenanced the idea of bringing the produce of India, exported thence on account of Britiſh reſidents to this country, on private Indian ſhips, yet the propoſals which have been brought forward by certain deſcriptions of men, both in India and in England, for the admiſſion of their ſhips into the trade and navigation between India and Europe, propoſals which extend to the eſtabliſhment of a regular ſyſtematic privilege in favour of ſuch ſhips, appear to this Court, when maturely weighed, and followed into all their operations, to involve principles and effects dangerous to the intereſts both of the Company and of the nation. In the opinion of this Court, the adoption of thoſe propoſals would immediately and eſſentially affect both the ſyſtem of policy which the Legiſlature has eſtabliſhed for maintaining the connexion and communication between this country and Britiſh India, and the chartered privileges of the Eaſt India Company; and the introduction of any practice of this nature would tend to widen, gradually and indefinitely, the channel of intercourſe between India and Britain; to multiply the relations between individuals in the two countries; to pour Europeans of the lower ſort into India, and Indian ſailors into this country; to leſſen, by both theſe means, the reſpect for the European character, which has hitherto contributed to maintain our aſcendancy in the Eaſt; to diſturb and ſhake our Government there; and, in a word, to lead progreſſively, but ſurely, to colonization.—With reſpect to the Eaſt India Company, the introduction of this practice would ſet up a certain claſs of perſons with peculiar privileges, who would, in effect, conſtitute another Company, having a common intereſt, and that intereſt very likely to be underſtood as oppoſed to the intereſt of the old Company, and hence to generate diſputes and hoſtilities.—With reſpect to Britiſh ſubjects in general, new rights would thus be eſtabliſhed in favour of a few, to which all might think themſelves entitled, which many would endeavour, openly or clandeſtinely, to ſhare (invited by the expected profits of freight as well as of trade), and in the end would unavoidably ſucceed in ſharing; all which, this Court fear, would tend more and more to throw the communication between the two countries quite open, and to remove that great and effectual medium, the Eaſt India Company, by whom the connexion has hitherto been preſerved, ſo much to the benefit of both. And in a commercial view, the introduction of a privilege of this kind is unneceſſary, ſince the true intereſt of this country does not require that it ſhould transfer capital to India to raiſe a trade there, ſince it is ſufficiently evident, that there is in India itſelf no great capital which wants to exert itſelf in the European trade: and ſince, for the conveyance to this country of the property of Britiſh reſidents inveſted in merchandiſe, the Company are willing to make, and this Court now propoſe ample proviſion. The object of acquiring profit by the freight of ſhips, propoſed to be thus introduced, inſtead of being an argument for their admiſſion, is a ſtrong argument againſt it; becauſe that object would excite the employment of private ſhips to and from India, independent of any previous occaſion for them, for the tranſportation of goods, and thus force a trade in which, ſooner or later, merchants in Europe would become parties, and ſuch various competition be introduced, as would neceſſarily tend to antiquate the preſent ſyſtem of regulated monopoly, without any aſſurance of equal advantage and ſafety to the political, financial, and commercial intereſts of this country. And for all theſe reaſons this Court cannot but earneſtly deprecate the ſyſtematic admiſſion of any ſuch privilege as is now required by the above deſcriptions of perſons.—*Fifteenth.* That this Court, perſuaded the view given in theſe reſolutions of the important ſubject referred to their conſideration, will be juſtified by the documents that have been before them, ſome of which, material in themſelves, and others only lately arrived from India, they ſuppoſe have not yet been peruſed by the Right Honourable Mr. Dundas; and perſuaded alſo, that it is the principle of that Right Honourable Gentleman, fairly to maintain the rights and privileges of the Eaſt India Company, as therein conſulting the true intereſt of the nation, beg to propoſe a full diſcuſſion of this important ſubject with Mr. Dundas, in the deliberate manner obſerved at the late renewal of the charter, and do accordingly lay before him the judgment of this Court, with all the reaſons and authorities on which it is founded.

Letter from the Right Honourable Henry Dundas to the Chairman; dated the 21ſt March, 1801.

SIR, *Wimbledon, 21ſt March*, 1801.

I have attentively peruſed and conſidered the reſolutions which the Court of Directors unanimouſly came to on the 4th of February

laſt, reſpecting the correſpondence I have had with them on the ſubject of the private trade between India and Europe; and it will not be neceſſary to trouble you with many additional obſervations on that ſubject. The reſolutions are diſtinctly and clearly ſtated, and the propoſition in the laſt of them, expreſſing a deſire for a free and full diſcuſſion of this important ſubject, is perfectly fair and candid; and the Court of Directors may reſt aſſured, that upon this, and every other ſubject connected with their intereſts, I ſhall be ready and happy, in every ſituation, public or private, to give every aid to their deliberations which they may deſire to obtain from me.—Upon the firſt, ſecond, third, fourth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth reſolutions, I have only to obſerve, that my opinions entirely accord with the general principles detailed therein.—With regard to the fifth, ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth, I only pauſe in giving any opinion, from not having before me the particular documents and materials, eſtabliſhing the facts upon which thoſe reſolutions are founded.—The thirteenth reſolution contains the principles and details of the meaſure upon which the Court of Directors are diſpoſed to act; and if the baſis upon which the reſolution proceeds is admitted to be the beſt which is applicable to the ſubject, the details ſeem aptly deviſed for the due execution of thoſe principles. But it is upon the principle and baſis of the meaſure which I ſtill have the mortification to find myſelf in a difference of opinion from thoſe whoſe integrity and talents I am equally bound to acknowledge; and this radical difference is the more to be regretted, becauſe the great object of ſolicitude which both parties entertain is preciſely the ſame. We are both ſtrenuouſly maintaining, that the preſervation of the monopoly of the Eaſt India Company is eſſentially requiſite for the ſecurity of every important intereſt connected with our Indian empire; and ſo deeply am I impreſſed with the truth of that propoſition, I am prepared explicitly to declare, that although the firſt formation of an Eaſt India Company proceeded upon purely commercial conſiderations, the magnitude and importance to which the Eaſt India Company has progreſſively advanced, is now ſo interwoven with the political intereſts of the empire, as to create upon my mind a firm conviction, that the maintenance of the monopoly of the Eaſt India Company is even more important to the political intereſts of the ſtate, than it is to the commercial intereſts of the Company.—With this conviction ſo ſtrongly impreſſed upon my mind, you will give me credit when I aſſure you, that I have reviewed my own opinions with the moſt jealous attention, and that I have weighed, with the moſt anxious care, the arguments of thoſe who ſuppoſe that the ſyſtem which I have recommended is likely to produce any inconvenience or danger to the rights, privileges, and excluſive intereſts of the Eaſt India Company; but it is my misfortune to view the ſubject in an oppoſite light. If any thing can endanger that monopoly, it is an unneceſſary adherence to points not eſſential for its exiſtence; and on the other hand, if it is ſeen and felt by ſober, thinking, and wiſe men, that every facility is given ſpontaneouſly by the Company, which can be given conſiſtently with their commercial intereſts, and the political welfare of the ſtate, that conſideration will preſent an impregnable rampart againſt any attack, which at any time, either the ſecret or the avowed enemies of the Company may be diſpoſed to make, againſt the ſyſtem of Indian government now eſtabliſhed, in connexion with the excluſive charter of the Eaſt India Company.—It was my intention to have entered more at large into a detailed conſideration of this view of the ſubject; but ſince I began to write, I have received, and carefully peruſed, the letter of the 30th September laſt, recently tranſmitted from the Government General of India: and as that letter has, with clearneſs and perſpicuity, ably detailed, and in my opinion, demonſtrated the grounds of thoſe opinions, which I have from time to time taken the liberty of laying before the Court of Directors, upon the ſubject of Indian trade, I ſhould conſider it as an unneceſſary waſte of time, if I was to trouble you with a repetition of the topics therein ſtated.—It is ſcarcely neceſſary for me to obſerve, that in all the diſcuſſions I have had on this ſubject with the Court of Directors, I have not been entitled to exerciſe any authority in the determination of the ſubject. It is a ſubject over which the Commiſſioners for the Affairs of India have no control; and whatever I have ſtated, or now ſtate, or may hereafter ſtate, muſt be received from me in my individual capacity; and therefore if either my reaſoning and judgment, or the reaſoning of your Government abroad, has not the effect of varying the opinion of the Court of Directors, I truſt you will not delay acting upon the principles detailed in the reſolutions you have done me the honour to communicate to me; for the worſt reſult that can ariſe from the diſcuſſion is, any further delay in coming to a deciſion upon it.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HENRY DUNDAS.

Letter from the Governor General to the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, the 30th September, 1800, and received over-land the 2d March 1801.

Fort William, 30th September, 1800.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

1. Having deemed it to be my duty to revert, during the preſent ſeaſon, to my plan of the 5th of October, 1798, for the encouragement of the private trade between India and the port of London, I now have the honour to ſubmit to your Honourable Court, a view of the urgent conſiderations which have determined me to adopt this temporary arrangement for the

current year; and to add the reaſons which induce me to hope, that your Honourable Court will ſpeedily confirm my proceedings, by a permanent ſyſtem of regulation founded on ſimilar principles.—2. Your orders of the 25th of May, 1798, were not received by the Governor General in Council until the 29th of October in that year, when the arrangement for the private tonnage of the ſeaſon in 1798-9, had already been publiſhed, and ſeveral ſhips and cargoes had been already provided, according to the terms of the advertiſement of the 5th of October, 1798. Under ſuch circumſtances, it would neither have been juſt nor expedient, to have diſturbed that arrangement; but my diſpatches in Council, of the 1ſt of March, and my ſeparate letter of the 9th of March, 1800, will have apprized your Honourable Court, that I had conſidered it to be my duty to adhere ſtrictly, in the year 1799-1800, to your orders of the 25th of May, 1798, and that, in deference to your authority, I had ſuſpended for the ſeaſon 1799-1800, the operation of the plan contained in the advertiſement of the 5th of October, 1798, although my conviction remained unaltered, with regard to the expediency and juſtice of that plan.—3. I entertained a confident expectation, that I ſhould have received, at an early period of the ſeaſon, the ſanction of your Honourable Court, for reverting to the plan of October, 1798, or for adopting ſome arrangement, equally calculated to facilitate and encourage the private trade between India and England; and my letter in Council of the 1ſt March, as well as my ſeparate letter to your Honourable Court, of the 9th of March, 1800, will have ſatisfied you of my diſpoſition to await your final determination on this important ſubject, and to avoid even a temporary departure, without your direct authority, from your orders of the 25th of May, 1798.—4. But I have been diſappointed in my expectation of receiving an early and ſeaſonable notification of your final commands; and the uſual ſeaſon for exportation from this port to Europe is already opening under ſuch circumſtances, as abſolutely compel me to adopt a reſolution, which my duty and inclination would have induced to delay.—5. In the diſpatch * from the Governor General in Council to your Honourable Court, dated the 13th inſtant, I had the honour to ſubmit to you a ſtatement of the intended diſtribution in India of the tonnage provided by you, for conveying the Company's inveſtments of Bengal, Fort St. George, and Bombay, and thoſe of Ceylon and Fort Marlborough, to England, in the ſeaſon of 1800-1.—6. From that ſtatement, your Honourable Court will obſerve, that the expected amount of the tonnage of 1800-1 is inadequate to the demand in India, and that a large proportion of the gruſſ goods belonging to the Company at this preſidency, and nearly † the whole of the private goods, for which the Company is bound by law to furniſh tonnage, cannot be ſhipped during the ſeaſon 1800-1 for England, unleſs ſhips built in India ſhall be employed between this port and that of London.—7. The employment of ſhips built in India between this port and that of London, is therefore no longer merely a queſtion of expediency, or of liberal commercial policy. The deficiency of the tonnage expected from Europe reduces me to the abſolute neceſſity of providing a large proportion of Indian tonnage, for the ſervice of the preſent ſeaſon, in order to ſecure the conveyance of the heavy articles of your inveſtment, and to fulfil your legal obligations. The only queſtion on which I retain the power of exerciſing a free judgment with relation to this ſubject, is confined to the mode of obtaining the neceſſary tonnage for theſe indiſpenſable purpoſes.—8. In forming my deciſion on this queſtion, it was alſo neceſſary to conſider what proviſion ſhould be made for the conveyance to the port of London of ſuch goods as might be provided during the current ſeaſon, by private Britiſh merchants reſident in India, beyond the amount of the ſtatutable tonnage of 3000 tons, and by what regulation the exportation of ſuch goods ſhould be governed. The importance and urgency of both theſe conſiderations were greatly enhanced by the actual ſtate of the foreign trade of this port.—9. The nature of the caſe appeared to me to limit my deciſion to an option between the regulation obſerved in the ſeaſon 1799-1800 (conformably to the orders of your Honourable Court, of the 25th May, 1798) and the plan contained in the advertiſement, publiſhed by the Board of Trade, under my orders, on the 5th of October, 1798.—10. I have carefully compared the principles, objects, policy, and practical operation of both ſyſtems; and I have now the honour to lay before your Honourable Court the reſult of that compariſon.—11. The orders of your Honourable Court, of the 25th May, 1798, were framed with a view of facilitating and encouraging the private trade between India and England. The primary objects of thoſe orders were, to protect the merchants, not being proprietors of ſhips, againſt any undue enhancement of the price of freight by the proprietors of ſhips, and to prevent perſons, being proprietors of ſhips, and alſo merchants, from trading to greater advantage than ſuch merchants as might not unite both capacities.—12. From the diſpatches of the Governor General in Council, dated the 1ſt of March,

* Not received.

† The whole of the private goods of this ſeaſon muſt be ſhipped in Indian ſhipping, with the exception of a ſmall proportion of light goods, which may be employed to aſſort the cargoes of the extra ſhips.

N. B. This and the following notes to this letter (except the note marked * in page 1260) are inſerted by the Governor General himſelf in the original.

1800, and from the correſpondence to which thoſe diſpatches refer, your Honourable Court will have obſerved, that your order, of the 25th May, 1798, was conſidered by the merchants, for whoſe benefit it was intended (particularly by the proprietors of heavy goods), to be extremely prejudicial to their intereſt.---13. Thoſe orders were received with equal diſſatisfaction by the proprietors of ſhips, who manifeſted the greateſt reluctance to let their ſhips unconditionally to the Company, although the rate of freight allowed for the ſhips was comparatively high.---14. The ſame correſpondence affords abundant evidence, that the proprietors of ſhips, and the freighters (poſſeſſing no property in ſhips), conſidered it to be for their mutual advantage, that they ſhould be left to make their arrangements with each other; both parties appearing equally adverſe to the intervention of the Company's agency.---15. Under the plan contained in the advertiſement of the 5th October, 1798, the proprietors of ſhips were enabled to make a more perfect aſſortment of the cargoes, to load their ſhips in the moſt advantageous and expeditious manner, to diſpatch them at the moſt favourable periods of the ſeaſon, and to prevent the loſs which (under the plan adopted in conformity to your orders of the 25th of May, 1798) the proprietors of ſhips ſuſtain, by unavoidable delays in the adjuſtment of accounts, and in the payment of the freight by the Company in England.---16. The proprietors of ſhips were enabled, under the plan of October, 1798, to afford the freight at a reduced rate, at the ſame time that they derived a greater profit on that rate, than on the higher rates of freight fixed by the Governor General in Council in 1799-1800, in conformity to your orders of the 25th May, 1798.---17. To the merchant who is not proprietor of a ſhip, the plan contained in the advertiſement of the 5th of October, 1798, affords the moſt important advantages: he obtains a conſiderable reduction in the rate of freight: he is enabled to ſettle his engagements with the proprietor of the ſhip, previouſly to the purchaſe of goods; to purchaſe ſuch goods as may be advantageouſly inveſted under the exiſting rates of freight; and to regulate every conſignment and draft, according to the quantity of the tonnage engaged, to the period of diſpatching the goods from India, and to that of their expected arrival in England.---18. The merchant is embarraſſed, if compelled, under any modification, to depend on the Company for tonnage, for the arrangement of the rates of freight, or for the diſtribution of the cargo: he can neither be ſecure of the requiſite quantity of tonnage, nor of the time of diſpatching his goods from India, nor of the ſhip on which they may be laden, nor of the mode in which they may be diſtributed; and his trade is burdened with an expenſive rate of freight, which deprives him of all reaſonable expectation of profit.---19. The quantity of tonnage (excluſive of the goods ſent in the privileges of the commanders and officers of ſhips) annually occupied by private goods ſhipped from this preſidency alone, in the ſeveral years elapſed ſubſequent to the act of Parliament in 1793, is ſtated in the following account:

	Tons.		Tons.
1794-5 . .	2,473	1797-8 . .	3,787
1795-6 . .	5,346	1798-9 . .	6,223
1796-7 . .	4,659	1799-1800 .	7,748

20. The correſpondence * of the Board of Trade with the Governor General in Council, on the ſubject of the proviſion of tonnage, has been ſubmitted to the conſideration of your Honourable Court. The reports of that Board, with the documents annexed to them, afford abundant proof, that a much larger quantity of private goods would have been ſhipped for England, during the ſeaſons enumerated in the preceding account (particularly during the year 1799-1800), if adequate encouragement had been extended to the navigation and commerce of your dominions, in ſhips built in the ports of India; and if the Britiſh merchants reſident in India, had been aſſured of permanent indulgence to their trade with the port of London.---21. Upon an average of the ſix years ſpecified in the preceding account, about 5000 tons of private goods from Bengal alone were annually exported to England; the amount, therefore, of the private goods exported from Bengal alone, during that period of time, has exceeded, by 2000 tons annually, the amount of the tonnage allotted by law for all India. It is to be obſerved, that a conſiderable portion of the total amount of theſe 5000 tons was annually furniſhed by ſhips built in India.---22. Excluſively of two ſhips recently engaged and provided with cargoes, to the amount of 1500 tons, the port of Calcutta now contains above 10,000 tons of ſhipping, built in India, of a deſcription calculated for the conveyance of cargoes to England. This tonnage has already been tendered, and is actually at command for that purpoſe.---23. From the preceding ſtatement, and from the correſpondence of the Governor General in Council with the Board of Trade, it is evident, that the wiſe policy which dictated the clauſes of the act of Parliament paſſed in 1793, with reſpect to the trade of private merchants between India and England, has been to a great degree fruſtrated, by the inſufficiency of the tonnage furniſhed from England, and by the unavoidable expenſe and inconvenience attending the terms and manner of its proviſion.---24. From the quantity of private tonnage now at command in the port of Calcutta, from the ſtate of perfection which the art of ſhip-building has already attained in Bengal (promiſing a ſtill more rapid progreſs, and ſupported by abundant and increaſing ſupplies of timber †), it is

* Not received.

† Large and thriving plantations of teek have been made in Bengal, and the cultivation of that timber is ſpreading over the whole province.

certain, that this port will always be able to furniſh tonnage, to whatever extent may be required, for conveying to the port of London the trade of the private Britiſh merchants of Bengal.---25. The conſiderable amount of tonnage occupied by private goods from Bengal in the years 1795-6, 1798-9, and 1799-1800, compared with the amount occupied by goods of a ſimilar deſcription in the years 1794-5, 1796-7, and 1797-8, affords a ſatisfactory proof, that the permiſſion granted to individuals of providing their own tonnage, was equally favourable to the intereſt of the proprietors, and to that of the freighters of the ſhips.---26. This concluſion is not affected by the large quantity of goods ſhipped in 1799-1800, under the arrangement made in conformity to your orders of the 25th of May, 1798; for it is well known, that under a confident expectation of enjoying the continued advantages of the plan of 1798, the merchants had conſiderably extended their proviſion of goods for the European markets. Many from neceſſity, others from motives of reſpect to the laws, ſhipped their goods on the tonnage provided by the Government, while others diſpoſed of their goods to the numerous foreign agents then employed in the port of Calcutta. ---27. The quantity of private goods ſhipped for England in 1799-1800, affords, therefore, an incontrovertible proof of the eagerneſs and alacrity with which the Britiſh merchants, reſident in Bengal, provided goods, with a view to embrace the expected opportunity of conveying their trade to London on terms of advantage; but no argument can juſtly be drawn from the ſame circumſtance, to prove that the continuance of the regulations adopted in 1799-1800, would afford adequate encouragement to the private trade between India and England.----28. The preceding conſiderations ſatisfied me, that the plan of hiring ſhips on the part of the Company, and of reletting them to the proprietors of ſhips, leaving the proprietors of ſhips and the merchants at liberty to ſettle the terms of freight, is more advantageous both to the proprietors and freighters of ſhips, than the arrangement adopted under your orders of the 25th of May, 1798.---29. In your letter of the 25th May, 1798, your Honourable Court appears to have intimated an opinion, that perſons uniting the capacities of proprietors and freighters of ſhips, may trade from Bengal to the port of London, to greater advantage than merchants poſſeſſing no property in ſhips. It appears to me, that the difference between the actual charge incurred by merchants, being proprietors of ſhips, on account of the freight of their goods ſent to England in their own ſhips, and the rate of freight paid by merchants not being proprietors of ſhips, cannot be deemed a profit derived by the proprietor of a ſhip on his goods. No perſon will employ any part of his capital in the purchaſe of property in ſhips, without the proſpect of deriving an adequate profit on the capital ſo inveſted. I am ſatisfied, that it would not be practicable for the proprietors of ſhips in this port to maintain an effectual combination for the eſtabliſhment of enhanced rates of freight. Unleſs ſuch a combination ſhould be maintained, it is to be preſumed, that the profits of the proprietors of ſhips on their capitals inveſted in ſhips, will never exceed, on an average, a reaſonable advantage on the amount of thoſe capitals, after defraying all the expenſes of their ſhips. This profit muſt, therefore, be deemed entirely diſtinct from the profit which the proprietors of ſhips may derive on their goods conveyed to England in their own ſhips, and conſequently, the proprietors of ſhips cannot be ſuppoſed to poſſeſs, in the general courſe and conduct of their trade, in the purchaſe, tranſportation, or ſale of their goods, any material advantage over merchants who are not proprietors of ſhips.---30. Various additional arguments, involving conſequences of a more complicated and comprehenſive deſcription, appeared to me to demand, not only that I ſhould recur, without delay, to the plan of the 5th of October, 1798, but that I ſhould reſpectfully repreſent to your Honourable Court, in the moſt diſtinct terms, my decided and conſcientious conviction, that the permanent eſtabliſhment of a ſyſtematic intercourſe between the ports of India and that of London, regulated by principles ſimilar to thoſe adopted by this Government in October, 1798, is become indiſpenſable to the united and inſeparable intereſts of the Company and of the nation in India.---31. Under the beneficial influence of the Britiſh Government in India, combined with the increaſed demand, both in Europe and in America, for Indian commodities, the produce and manufactures of the Britiſh territories in India have increaſed, to an extent far exceeding the amount which the capital applicable to the purchaſe of the Company's inveſtment can embrace.---32. The wiſe policy, the juſt pretenſions, and the increaſing commercial reſources and political power of Great Britain in India, claim for her ſubjects the largeſt attainable ſhare in the valuable and extenſive commerce of ſuch articles of Indian produce and manufacture, as are neceſſarily excluded from the Company's inveſtment.---33. A large proportion of this valuable trade is already in the poſſeſſion of foreign nations; and unleſs means be immediately adopted for depriving thoſe nations of the undue ſhare which they have obtained in that trade, the moſt ſerious conſequences are to be apprehended, to the combined intereſts of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, and of the Britiſh nation.---34. In the letter of the Governor General in Council, of the 1ſt March, 1800, I ſtated to your Honourable Court, that the Britiſh merchants at this preſidency, not having obtained the expected permiſſion to freight their ſhips to the port of London in the laſt year, agreeably to the plan adopted in October, 1798, goods to a large amount, originally in-

tended for the port of London, had been sold to foreigners in the port of Calcutta, and thus diverted to the channel of the foreign trade. At the same time I transmitted a list of the foreign ships, which either had sailed, or were preparing to sail from the port of Calcutta to Europe and America, in the season 1799-1800. —35. The nature and extent of that trade have since undergone a particular investigation. From the accompanying statements, your Honourable Court will observe, that the trade of America and Portugal with the port of Calcutta alone, in 1799-1800, amounted,

In imports, to - Sicca Rupees 81,81,005
In exports - - - - - - - - 71,30,372

being an increase, in 1799-1800, of the trade carried on in ships bearing American and Portuguese colours, compared with the average of that trade in the three preceding years:

In imports, of - Sicca Rupees 63,98,678
In exports - - - - - - - - 43,92,768

—36. On the other hand, the imports of the British subjects in the year 1799-1800, amounted only to Sicca Rupees 47,87,101, and the exports to 67,56,649.—37. Of the trade carried on in foreign bottoms with the other ports in India from Europe and America, I possess no sufficiently accurate information. It is, however, known to be conducted on a very extensive scale.—38. In the present season, the trade conveyed in foreign bottoms, if left unrestrained, promises to increase beyond even the rapid progress of last year. From the accompanying statement, your Honourable Court will observe, that the port of Calcutta, at this early period of the season, contains about 8,500 tons of shipping, under American, Portuguese, and Danish colours.—39. I possess no means of forming an accurate estimate of that proportion of the foreign trade from India to Europe and to America, which is supported by capital actually belonging to the nations under whose flags the ships are navigated.—40. It appears, however, from the statements prepared by the Reporter of external Commerce, that less than one fourth of the funds imported by the Americans in 1799-1800, for the purchase of their investments, was brought from America. Of the bullion, 200,000*l.* was imported from London, and the remainder from other parts of Europe, and from the island of Madeira. I have not been able to ascertain the proportion of British capital employed in the trade between India and Portugal. Admitting the whole capital employed in the foreign trade with India to belong to the nations under whose flags the ships are navigated, the undue proportion which they have obtained of that trade, to the injury of the British merchants, demands the most serious attention.—41. The trade conveyed in the foreign ships is conducted with all the advantages of a comparatively low rate of freight, of strict economy in the management of the concern, and of voyages and returns of extraordinary expedition and celerity. The voyage from America to Calcutta is frequently performed in less than four months. In the last season, several American ships disposed of their imports, purchased their cargo for exportation, and left the port within twenty-five, and some within twenty days from the date of their arrival.—42. Under all the existing impediments, and under the uncertainty which has hitherto embarrassed the trade of the British merchant in India, it is impossible that his goods can reach the markets of the continent of Europe, through the channel of the public sales in England, at so low a price as the goods conveyed directly from India to the same markets in foreign bottoms. The Company's sales in England must necessarily be affected by the quantity of Indian goods passing into the markets of the continent of Europe, through the channel of the foreign trade; and the profits of the private British merchant, whose goods are disposed of at the Company's sales, must be proportionably diminished.—43. Although the voyage by which the produce of India is conveyed in foreign ships to Europe may occasionally be circuitous, the superior advantages enumerated in the preceding paragraphs, enable the proprietors of the goods to dispose of them at a lower price, than that for which the same descriptions of goods can be brought to the continental markets of Europe, if exported from India by British merchants under the heavy freight, and * other incumbrances, to which their trade is at present subject.—44. It must ever be impracticable, if it were justifiable or politic, by any restrictions or penalties on the trade of the British subjects, to prevent the increasing produce and manufactures of India from being conveyed to the markets in Europe, where a demand for such articles shall exist. Such restrictions tend to throw the trade into the hands of foreign nations, and to enable them to supply the markets of Europe, on terms which must equally affect the Company's sales in England. If the same goods which now pass to the continent of Europe through foreign hands were brought to the Company's sales in England, the effect on the general price of articles exposed to sale at the Company's warehouses would be less prejudicial, than that now experienced from the sale of those goods in the markets on the continent of Europe. The Company and the private British merchants would equally feel the advantage in the improvement of the general sales in England, and the private trade of India would

* The Portuguese Americans pay only one per cent. on Indian produce imported and re-exported by the warehousing act lately passed in Great Britain. Calicoes pay 2½, muslin 7½ per cent. on the sales, if sold for exportation; all other goods (excepting cotton, spices, bullion, &c. diamonds, precious stones, which pay no duties), pay two per cent. exclusive of the convoy duty, payable by the importers. A reduction of those duties in England is absolutely necessary, to complete the system of drawing the private trade of India to the port of London.

become a fertile ſource of wealth and ſtrength to the Britiſh nation, inſtead of contributing to the opulence and aggrandizement of foreign powers.—45. The intereſts of the Company and of the Britiſh nation are undivided and inſeparable with relation to this important queſtion. Every principle of juſtice and policy demands the extenſion of the utmoſt practicable facility to the Britiſh merchants in India, for the export from India to the port of London of the largeſt poſſible proportion of the manufactures and produce of India, not required for the Company's inveſtment. Such advantageous terms of freight, and ſuch other benefits, ſhould be opened to the Britiſh merchants in India, as ſhould not only remove every inducement to conduct the trade through foreign channels, but ſhould enable the Britiſh merchants in India to enter into a competition in the markets of Europe, with merchants trading in goods of ſimilar produce or manufacture, provided by foreign capital.—46. To foreigners, the indulgence may ſafely be extended, of purchaſing with their own capital ſuch part of the manufactures or produce of India, calculated for the European or American markets, as may not be embraced by the capital employed in the purchaſe of the Company's inveſtment, and of the cargoes of the Britiſh merchants reſident in India.—47. It is, however, doubtful, whether ‡ foreign nations would be able to retain any conſiderable proportion of the trade from India to Europe, were the Britiſh merchants in India permitted to avail themſelves of their ſuperior means of drawing the whole of the trade to England. Their local knowledge, added to all the advantages neceſſarily derived from a conſtant reſidence on the ſpot, muſt always enable them to command a ſupply of goods, of a better quality, and at a cheaper rate, than foreign merchants can obtain. In the conveyance of Indian goods to Europe reſts the foreign merchant's ſole advantage over the Britiſh. The ſuperior facility which the foreign merchant enjoys, in this reſpect, gives him ſo decided a command over the trade, that he is enabled not only to outbid the Britiſh merchant in India, but alſo to underſell him in the markets of Europe.—48. Were the Britiſh merchants in India permitted to provide their own tonnage, as occaſion might require, every reaſon exiſts to juſtify a belief, that they would ſoon poſſeſs themſelves of nearly the whole of the private export trade from India to Europe, and would render London the univerſal mart for the manufactures and produce of Aſia.—49. If the capital of the merchants in India, and the remittance of the fortunes of individuals, ſhould not ſupply funds ſufficient for the conduct of the whole private export trade from India to Europe, no dangerous conſequences could reſult from applying to this branch of commerce, capital drawn directly from the Britiſh empire in Europe.—50. Beneficial conſequences of the utmoſt importance would certainly reſult to the Britiſh empire in India, from any conſiderable increaſe of its active capital, which is known not to bear a juſt proportion to the productive powers of the country.—51. The neceſſary effect of ſuch an increaſe of active capital in India, would be to augment the produce and manufactures of your dominions, to the full extent of any poſſible demand. The high rate of intereſt on money applied to mercantile purpoſes, and the charge of the public debt, would conſequently be diminiſhed in India; while every ſource, both of public and private credit, would be proportionably improved. No poſſibility appears of any injurious conſequences reſulting to the Britiſh empire in Europe, from an event ſo advantageous to India. It cannot be ſuppoſed, that the private trade of India will ever abſorb any portion of Britiſh capital, which can find more advantageous employment at home. If any portion of Britiſh capital be now employed in the American, or Portugueſe, or Daniſh trade with India, the general intereſts of Great Britain will unqueſtionably be promoted, by inviting, under increaſed advantages, the application of the ſame funds to the trade of the private Britiſh merchants, reſident within the Company's dominions.—52. From whatever ſource the capital of the private Britiſh trade in India might be derived, the goods would be obtained in India under the ſame wiſe, humane, and ſalutary regulations, now enforced, with reſpect to the proviſion of every article of produce or manufacture in this country, either by the Company or by private merchants: Great Britain would enjoy all the advantages of that trade, which is now a ſource of increaſing wealth and ſtrength to foreign nations, and which tends ultimately to introduce foreign intrigue, to eſtabliſh foreign influence, and to aggrandize foreign power in India.—53. It would be equally unjuſt and impolitic, to extend any facility to the trade of the Britiſh merchants in India, by ſacrificing or hazarding the Company's rights and privileges, by injuring its commercial intereſts, by admitting an indiſcriminate and unreſtrained commercial intercourſe between England and India, or by departing from any of the fundamental principles of policy which now govern the Britiſh eſtabliſhments in India.—54. It may be urged, that if a conſiderable proportion of the goods now exported from India to the continent of Europe by foreigners,

‡ The Americans obtain Indian goods ſo much cheaper, by a direct intercourſe with India, than they could through the circuitous route of Europe, that they will probably continue to deal largely, even on their own capital, with India. It is now the ordinary practice of the Americans, under the laſt treaty of commerce, to ſhip cargoes in India for America, to touch at ſome port in America, and without trans-ſhipping or unloading the goods in America, to proceed directly to Europe, and to diſpoſe of their Indian cargoes in an European port. This practice is, unqueſtionably, contrary to the treaty of commerce with America.

were to be imported into England by the Britiſh merchants in India, under rates of freight more advantageous than thoſe now paid by the Company, the demand for the Company's goods would be reduced, and the value of the Company's goods would be impaired.—55. It has already been obſerved, that the public ſales of Eaſt Indian goods in England, muſt neceſſarily be affected by the aggregate quantity of thoſe goods ſold in the continental markets of Europe; and that the effect on the ſales in England would probably be leſs prejudicial, and could not be more ſo, if a larger proportion of the goods provided in India for the European markets, ſhould be imported into England, and ſold, in the firſt inſtance, at the Company's ſales.—56. The long eſtabliſhment of the Company's factories in India, the ſkill of its ſervants regularly educated for the conduct of thoſe factories, the habitual confidence of the manufacturers in the good faith and integrity of the Company, have ſecured to the Company ſo decided a ſuperiority in the proviſion of the moſt valuable articles of piece goods and raw ſilk; that no private merchant, by any practicable reduction of freight, can be enabled to rival the Company in thoſe important articles of its inveſtment.—57. In the firſt purchaſe of ſugar and other gruff goods, the trade of the private Britiſh merchant has more nearly reached that of the Company; nor will the Company ever be able to trade advantageouſly in theſe articles, unleſs the Government in India ſhall reſort to ſhips built in India, for the conveyance of ſuch goods. The valuable branches of your inveſtment will, it is ſuppoſed, be always conveyed with more advantage in your regular ſhips.—58. If the Britiſh merchants ſhould be permitted to employ ſhips built in India under the plan of October, 1798, the Company's gruff goods may alſo be conveyed to England in ſhips of a ſimilar deſcription, at rates of freight equally advantageous with thoſe paid by the private merchants *. The Company will therefore derive a conſiderable benefit in this branch of trade, from encouraging the trade of the private Britiſh merchant in India. At preſent, neither the Company nor the private Britiſh merchant can rival foreigners in the markets of Europe, in the leſs valuable articles of Indian produce and manufactures.—59. It is now evident, that the extra tonnage engaged in England by the Company for the ſervice of India, can never be rendered a practicable channel, through which the Britiſh private trade of India can contend with foreign adventure. This obſervation neceſſarily applies with more force to the regular ſhips of the Company; although experience has proved thoſe ſhips to be admirably calculated for the conveyance of the Company's valuable inveſtment.—60. The plan contained in the advertiſement of the 5th of October, 1798, affords to the Britiſh merchants every neceſſary facility for the conduct of the private trade from India to England, while the important principles of the trade and government of India are preſerved from hazard, and ſufficient precautions are provided againſt all the dangers juſtly apprehended from an unreſtricted commercial intercourſe between England and India.—61. The eſſential object of preventing the reſort to India of perſons unlicenſed by the Company is not affected; the powers of the Government in India over unlicenſed perſons remain in full vigour and efficiency; no goods or paſſengers can be received in the private ſhips, either in India or England, without the ſanction of the Company or of its Government; the voyage to England, and the return to India, are required to be performed under the inſtructions and control of the ſame authority; and as the proprietors of ſhips, the commanders and officers, the ſeamen (moſtly natives of India), and all the perſons concerned in the immediate conduct of the trade, are ſubject to the authority of the Britiſh Government in India, it is always in the power of the Company and of its Government to prevent the perverſion of an intercourſe thus regulated between India and England, to any ſiniſter purpoſes endangering the rights and privileges of the Company, or the intereſts of the Britiſh empire.—62. Omitting the difference in the rate of freight, theſe conſiderations alone are ſufficient to recommend the employment of ſhips built in India, in the private trade between India and Great Britain: over private ſhips furniſhed from England, the Company and their Government in India could not exerciſe an equally efficient control.—63. It is remarkable, that the principle which has hitherto regulated the commercial intercourſe between India and England, has actually occaſioned the very evils which it was intended to avert.—64. The operation of this erroneous principle has forced the trade between India and Europe from a channel in which it could have been controlled and regulated without difficulty, into the hands of foreign nations, where it cannot, without conſiderable difficulty, be ſubjected to any degree of control, regulation, or reſtraint. The ſame miſtaken policy has filled the ports of India with the ſhips of foreign nations; has enabled thoſe nations to rival the Company, both in Europe and in India, in many articles of its export and import trade; has invited from Europe and America, adventurers of every deſcription; and, by the number and activity of theſe foreign agents, has menaced the foundations of your commercial and political intereſts throughout every part of Aſia, and even within your own dominions.—65. If the extenſion of additional indulgences to the Britiſh merchants neceſſarily involved the admiſſion of numerous Britiſh adventurers into India, the wiſdom of your Honourable Court could not fail to remark, that your Government can always with leſs difficulty control the operations of Britiſh than thoſe of foreign agents; while the danger to be apprehended

* The probable ſaving to the Company in the preſent ſeaſon, by the conveyance of their gruff goods in ſhips built in India, may amount to 20,000*l.*

from the views and designs of foreigners of every description, must ever be greater than any which can probably arise from an increased resort of British subjects, under such limitations and restraints as your wisdom may frame, and the vigilance of your Governments in India may be enabled to enforce.—66. But it does not appear probable, that any increase of the private British trade of India would necessarily produce a proportional augmentation in the number of British agents resorting to your dominions: the British merchants now resident in India being equal to the conduct of much more extensive concerns, and likely to be employed by persons engaged in commercial concerns at home, who might easily conduct their operations with India through those British subjects actually established within your dominions.—67. On the other hand, foreigners generally deal directly with the natives, or with foreign houses of agency. The number of these houses (in consequence of the war) is now inconsiderable; the increase of foreign adventures will, therefore, be a necessary consequence of any considerable increase of the trade in foreign hands. Foreign ships, also, being necessarily exempt from the control of the British Government in Europe, offer to every emissary of the enemy, and to every dangerous political adventurer, an easy entrance into India. In proportion to the increased resort of foreign ships to our ports in India, foreign intrigue will find a more ready channel of admission. It is a well-known fact, that those to whom your permission and license to visit India have been refused, usually resort to foreign ships, and thus evade your authority. The same channel is also always open to afford refuge, and the means of escape, to every public defaulter and delinquent, from the authority of your Government in India.—68. It is impossible to check the resort of the ships of foreign nations to India by any other regulation, than by rendering the trade unprofitable to foreign adventure: this effect cannot be accomplished, otherwise than by enabling the British merchants in India to undersell foreigners in the markets of Europe. A system which, under due regulation, shall afford to the British merchants in India the greatest practicable facility of conveying their trade to England, instead of endangering the stability of the trade, and power of the Company and of the nation in India, will therefore constitute the most solid basis of security for the preservation of both.—69. The preceding observations may, I trust, satisfy your Honourable Court, that the principles of the plan of the 5th of October, 1798, combine the requisite indulgence to the private trade, with the indispensable precautions necessary for securing your interests in India.—70. It is not my duty to enter into any detailed discussion of the objections urged by the ship-builders in England, against the admission of ships built in India, to a participation in the trade from India to the port of London. It may not, however, be useless, to add some remarks on this part of the subject.—71. Experience having proved, that tonnage cannot be furnished from England on terms which would enable the British merchants in India to rival foreigners in the trade between India and Europe, the exclusion of ships built in India from the port of London, would not increase the number of British ships hitherto engaged in the Indian trade, in any proportion which could materially benefit the ship-builders in England. This measure, therefore, without any proportional benefit to the ship-builders in England, would perpetuate and aggravate the evils now experienced, from the restraints imposed on the private trade between India and England; on the other hand, by admitting ships built in India to partake of the trade to England, the ship-builders, and other artists, manufacturers, and traders in England, will reap all the benefits arising from the large sums expended in the repair of the numerous ships, annually resorting to England from the ports of India. Other interests, connected with the building of ships in England, will also derive the profit resulting from the great demand for the articles necessary in the construction and outfit of the ships built in the ports of India; the fact being established, that many of those articles must necessarily be brought from England.—72. On their return to India, these ships, from the moderation of their rates of freight, will afford a most advantageous mode of conveyance for such of the manufactures of the British empire in Europe as may be demanded in India; consequently, the facilities granted to the private trade, and to the ships built in India, will serve to encourage the exportation of British manufactures to Asia, to whatever extent the demand may be enlarged.—73. I have thus carefully revised the plan contained in the advertisement of October, 1798, for the encouragement of the trade of the British merchants resident in India with England: I have compared that plan with the arrangement adopted under the orders of your Honourable Court, of the 25th of May, 1798: I have considered the probable effects of any future attempt to provide for the conveyance of the private trade of India, to the port of London, either in the Company's regular ships, or in extra ships hired in England; and I have adverted to the comparative practical operation of the systems adopted by this Government, in the years 1798-9 and 1799-1800, as it appears on the accounts of the exports and imports of the port of Calcutta in each of those years. I have also submitted to your examination, a combined view of the motives which induced me to revert to the plan of October, 1798, for the present season; and to form an anxious expectation, that my conduct in this proceeding may meet with your approbation and countenance, and may become the foundation of an improved and durable system of intercourse between India and England, under the sanction of your authority.—74. The rapid growth of the foreign trade, during the last season, urgently demanded the immediate

interference of your Government on the ſpot. The number of foreign ſhips actually in the port of Calcutta; the alacrity, enterpriſe, and ſkill of the foreign agents, now aſſiduouſly employed in providing cargoes, and the neceſſary inaction and languor of the Britiſh private trade, embarraſſed by the reſtraints of the exiſting law, created a ſerious apprehenſion in my mind, that any further delay in the deciſion of this momentous queſtion, might occaſion evils, of which the remedy might hereafter become conſiderably difficult, if not abſolutely impracticable. The unreſtrained progreſs of the foreign trade in the preſent ſeaſon, added to its great increaſe during the laſt, might have eſtabliſhed its predominance over the private trade of Britiſh ſubjects, to an extent which no future regulation might have proved ſufficient to limit or reſtrain. The difficulty of diverting this lucrative commerce from the channel into which it had been forced, would naturally be aggravated, in proportion to the length of time during which the trade ſhould continue to flow in that courſe.—75. Under theſe ſerious impreſſions, and convinced that a prompt deciſion was demanded, with a degree of exigency equal to the importance of the queſtion at iſſue, I directed the accompanying notice to be publiſhed at Fort William, on the 19th inſtant; and I ordered the Governments of Fort St. George and Bombay to publiſh correſpondent advertiſements at thoſe preſidencies, with ſuch modifications as local circumſtances may render indiſpenſably neceſſary.—76. It will reſt with your Honourable Court to determine whether this plan ſhall be rendered permanent. A temporary reſtraint is now applied to the progreſs of the foreign trade in India during the preſent ſeaſon; and a temporary encouragement is granted, for the ſame period of time, to that of Britiſh ſubjects reſident within your dominions. Ample time is thus afforded for the deliberate formation of your final judgment; the reſult of which I ſhall await with a reſpectful, but confident hope, that your wiſdom may approve and perpetuate the policy which dictated my orders of the 5th of October, 1798, and of the 19th of September, 1800; and that your liberality may confirm to all the intereſts affected by this important meaſure, the laſting enjoyment of thoſe commercial and political advantages, which it has been my conſtant endeavour, under your countenance and favour, to cultivate, to improve, and to extend.

I have the honour to be,
Honourable Sirs, &c.
WELLESLEY.

Second Report of the Special Committee, appointed to take into Conſideration the Letters from the Right Honourable Henry Dundas.

Your Committee have conſidered, with due attention, the two letters, on which the Court were pleaſed, by their reference of the 24th inſtant, to require the opinion of your Committee, namely;—One from the Right Honourable Henry Dundas to the Chairman, dated the 21ſt March, 1801; and another from Marquis Wellesley, Governor General of Bengal, to the Court of Directors, dated the 30th September, 1800;—both on the important queſtion of enlarging the trade of Britiſh ſubjects between India and this country.—The firſt of theſe letters is an anſwer to the Report of your Committee, dated the 27th of January laſt, which the Court ſubmitted to the conſideration of Mr. Dundas.—In that Report, your Committee endeavoured to take a comprehenſive view of the nature, the grounds, the conſequences of the enlargement which has been contended for, of the extent to which it might be ſafe and expedient to carry it, and of the limits which, not merely the rights of the Company, but with more commanding energy, the intereſts of the empire, require to be preſcribed to it.—Upon a ſubject ſo momentous, your Committee could not but attend, with ſolicitude, to the opinion of ſo high an authority as Mr. Dundas; and it is, in the firſt place, with ſincere ſatisfaction, that they ſee from him, a declaration ſo well becoming his candour, that the diſcuſſion which has been maintained between him and the Court of Directors, on the ſubject in queſtion, has not been a controverſy about the reſpective powers of the department of control and of the Company, but rather an argumentative inquiry into the meaſures, which the preſent ſituation and claims of the private trade between India and Europe rendered it proper for the Court to adopt. As he intended to argue, not leſs for the intereſt of the Company than of the nation, in which your Committee truſt the Court have imitated him, by viewing the public good equally with that of their conſtituents, ſo he explicitly affirms, that this is a ſubject over which the Commiſſioners for the Affairs of India have no control; and it is, therefore, his concluſion, that if the Court of Directors are not convinced, by the reaſonings oppoſed by him and others to the opinion they have formed, it remains only that they immediately act upon that opinion. This inſtance of correct regard to the rights of the Company, your Committee hope, may hereafter be inſtructive to thoſe who, diſſatisfied with the exerciſe of the Company's commercial powers, might naturally be diſpoſed to preſume upon their uncertainty or inefficiency.—Your Committee alſo cannot but teſtify the pleaſure they receive from finding all the great principles aſſerted in their reſolutions of the 27th of January laſt, as the fitteſt for the government and preſervation of Britiſh India, ſtrenuouſly profeſſed by Mr. Dundas; particularly that the adminiſtration of our Indian empire, and the intercourſe between it and this country, ſhould be maintained by the great national organ, the Eaſt India Company; that the colonization of Europeans in Britiſh India, and all meaſures leading to it, ſhould be prevented; that the transfer of capital from Great

Britain to the Eaſt, in the manner capital has been ſent to our American colonies, in order to raiſe produce there, would be the introduction of one of the firſt principles of the colonial ſyſtem; and that the *bonâ fide* trade of foreigners with our Indian ſettlements, ſhould, under due regulations, be permitted.—On the views exhibited in the ſame Report, of the actual ſtate of the trade of foreigners and Britiſh reſidents in India, and of the conduct of the Company in reſpect to the latter, Mr. Dundas only pauſes in giving any opinion, becauſe he has not before him the documents and materials on which thoſe views were founded.—In a word, none of the principles or facts, advanced in the Report of your Committee of the 27th January, are controverted by Mr. Dundas. He differs from your Committee only in a ſingle point, reſpecting the application of thoſe principles, in a point of practice; but that, to be ſure, a point of very great moment; whether the ſyſtematic eſtabliſhment of any claſs of private ſhips, in the commerce and navigation between Great Britain and India, would trench upon thoſe principles, would tend to introduce European colonization in India, and finally endanger the ſyſtem by which that country is now held to this? Being ſtill an advocate for the ſtated admiſſion of Indian ſhips into that commerce and navigation, he is of courſe perſuaded, that none of the conſequences now mentioned, and before more fully ſtated, would follow from it.—Your Committee have given, in their former Report, their reaſons at large, for very ſtrongly apprehending that ſuch conſequences would enſue. Thoſe reaſons have not been particularly examined, and they remain unrefuted; nor has any other matter come under the notice of your Committee, which at all affects the concluſion they, after mature deliberation, deduced from them.—Hence your Committee are unable to alter the opinion they have already delivered to the Court. In this momentous caſe, they conceive that the probability only of great danger is a ſufficient objection to the propoſed innovations; and that, in order to render thoſe innovations admiſſible, it ought to be ſatisfactorily ſhewn, that no ſuch danger is at all probable.—Mr. Dundas has referred to the letter of the Governor General of the 30th September laſt, as ably detailing and demonſtrating the grounds of thoſe opinions, which he has ſtated to the Court on the ſubject of the Indian trade. Your Committee have thus had an additional motive for peruſing with care, a document which the order of Court, as well as the authority from which it comes, pointed out to their particular attention; and this attention they have beſtowed upon it. Its profeſſed deſign is, firſt, to give a view of the urgent conſiderations which have determined the Governor General to revert, in the way of temporary arrangement, to his plan of October, 1798, "for the encouragement of the private trade between India and London," rather than to follow the Court's order on that ſubject, of May, 1798; and ſecondly, to ſtate the reaſons which induce him to hope, that the Court will ſpeedily confirm his proceedings, by a "*permanent ſyſtem of regulation*, founded on ſimilar principles."—The Court's order of the 5th May, 1798, which the Governor General treats as a ſyſtem, and under that notion of it, conſiders "its principles, objects, policy, and practical operation," was merely incidental and occaſional, ariſing from a particular fact which came before the Court.—The Bengal Government had, in the year 1797, allowed two country ſhips to come to London, laden *on account of the owners*. The Court were of opinion, that if the privilege of ſending home private ſhips with cargoes were at all conceded, it ought to have a general operation; that thoſe who poſſeſs ſhips ſhould not be entitled to load them entirely with their own goods, to the excluſion of other exporters, who had merchandiſe but not ſhips: they therefore directed, that when the Bengal Government ſhould grant permiſſion to export goods on country veſſels, thoſe veſſels ſhould be hired by the Company, and freight on them given to all qualified perſons applying for it.—This was merely a temporary proviſo, looking to one object, the equal participation among all the merchants, in oppoſition to a monopoly by a few of greater capitals, who were ſhip-owners, of whatever privilege of private exportation, beyond the ſtatute tonnage, might, at any time, be conceded. It muſt be well underſtood, that the Court, in giving that temporary order upon a ſingle point, did not mean it as any deciſion on the whole of this great ſubject of enlarging the private trade, but looked forward to a general diſcuſſion and adjuſtment of that ſubject, which the agitations of it, then commenced, were rendering unavoidable.—Before this order of the Court reached Bengal, the Governor General, on the 5th October, 1798, complying with the requeſt of the merchants, permitted them generally to ſend home private ſhips and cargoes, as had been done in 1797; the ſhips being hired to the Company, and relet to the owners. In the following year, having received the Court's order, he, in obedience to it, obſerved the mode of freighting therein preſcribed; but againſt this mode repreſentations were made by the merchants there; and the reaſons urged by them, which the Governor General fully adopts, with other conſiderations, which, he ſtates, appeared to him to enforce a recurrence to his plan of 1798.—Into this firſt part of the ſubject, however, either as it may reſpect the merchants, or as it relates to the temporary meaſure of the Governor General, your Committee do not think themſelves, at this time, particularly called to enter. Their immediate concern is with the other and more important part of his letter, which is ſtrenuouſly to recommend and to urge "the permanent eſtabliſhment of a ſyſtematic intercourſe between the ports of India and that of London, regulated by prin-

ciples similar to those adopted by the Bengal Government in October, 1798;" that is, not only that the mode of hiring and reletting to the owners, private ships for private cargoes, shall be established, instead of the one enjoined by the Company; but that the permission to send home such ships and cargoes, which had been formerly given occasionally, at the discretion of the Company or their Governments, and was always subject to any limitation they might prescribe, shall no longer rest on this footing, but be rendered permanent, or, in other words, became a right, and this without any proposed limitation whatever, as to the extent of the trade.---The Court will see at once, that this is the main question discussed through the whole of your Committee's Report of the 27th January last: a question upon which your Committee and the Court have come to a resolution, considerably differing from the conclusion which the Governor General deduces from his reasoning, and differing, also, though far less, from the opinion of Mr. Dundas, between whose views and those of the Governor General there appear to be some very material discordancies.---The Governor General argues, in support of his proposal, from the inconveniences of the restraints, limitations, and uncertainties, under which the private merchants have hitherto been placed; from the increase of the trade of Calcutta; from the great advantages which would result to British India and the sovereign state, by encouraging the produce, shipping, and exportation of the former, and making the latter the grand mart for all the exports of our Eastern territories. He next represents the trade of foreign nations with our Eastern possessions, as alarmingly increasing; those nations as becoming very formidable commercial rivals to us; the peace and security of our Indian empire as likely to be affected by the intrigues of numerous foreigners resorting thither; and the practicability of reducing foreigners to an inability of doing much in the trade of India, by giving the utmost facility and encouragement to our own merchants.---All these topics have been repeatedly brought before the Court, either through the medium of the proceedings of the Governments abroad, or of the advocates at home for the free merchants; and they are considered at large in the former Report of your Committee; who, after a deliberate review of the letter from the Governor General, are unable to discover in it any branch of the subject to which they have not already adverted. Some of the Governor General's arguments are accompanied by new circumstances which demand attention, and all of them are strongly stated; but the objections to the proposed enlargements which he has also noticed, are not, in the opinion of your Committee, sufficiently weighed, nor duly followed into their consequences. Such being the general matter and scope of the Governor General's letter, and your Committee having, in their former Report, already mentioned, likewise entered fully into the consideration of those objections to which they have now alluded, it cannot be necessary, did the limited time of the Committee permit, to go into a minute discussion of the various reasonings which the Governor General has employed, since that would unavoidably lead your Committee over the same ground they have already trodden; and therefore, without intending the smallest failure of respect towards the noble writer of the letter, or any elusion of his arguments, they will confine themselves to a few of those points brought forward by him, which either mark the more material differences between his opinions and those entertained by your Committee, or contain such new circumstances as require observation.

I. The opinion of the Governor General appears to differ from the opinion of your Committee, in respect to the nature of that trade from British India, which it is now in question to encourage; and also concerning its proper extent.---Your Committee have held, that besides allowing for the returns of exported British manufactures, according to the Act of 1793, a privilege now hardly claimed, the legitimate and the only considerable object, in enlarging the private trade, ought to be the remittance of the fortunes of British residents. Mr. Dundas has gone upon the same principle in his letter of April, 1800. This was the main object of the Act of 1793; and in the eleventh resolution, submitted by your Committee on the 27th of January last, which has been approved by the Court, it is formally stated, that, "if it became a practice to add to the native stock of India, capital belonging to residents in Great Britain, and transplanted for the purpose of forcing the productions of that country beyond the ability of its own means, this would be the introduction of one of the first principles of the colonial or West Indian system, which it is said, in the first resolution, would ultimately hazard the loss of our possessions."---Mr. Dundas, in his letter of the 21st ultimo, fully accedes to this doctrine. The eleventh resolution, and also the first, are among those, of which he says, "that his opinions entirely accord with the general principles contained in them." The Governor General, on the other hand, in the forty-ninth paragraph of the letter now under consideration, distinctly asserts, "that if the capital of the merchants in India, and the remittance of the fortunes of individuals, should not supply funds sufficient for the conduct of the whole private export trade from India to Europe, no dangerous consequence could result from applying to this branch of commerce, capital drawn directly from the British empire in Europe."—His Lordship goes on, in the following paragraphs, to state what beneficial consequences would result to British India from such an increase of its active capital, as would augment its produce and manufactures; and certainly where it is argued, that there could be no dangerous consequence on

the one ſide, and that there would be great benefits on the other, the admiſſion of this ſpecies of trade muſt be underſtood to be clear; nor can it be denied, that it ſeems naturally to flow from the doctrines frequently held by the advocates for enlargement. In another part, alſo, of the letter, the Governor General argues "for the extenſion of the utmoſt practicable facility to the Britiſh merchants in India for export to London;" and to ſhew that it is not probable any increaſe of private Britiſh trade in India would neceſſarily produce a proportionate augmentation in the number of Britiſh agents reſorting thither, he obſerves, that Britiſh merchants there would be "*likely to be employed by perſons engaged in commercial concerns at home, who might eaſily conduct their operations with India*, through the Britiſh ſubjects eſtabliſhed there:" which expreſſion, if it has not reference to the proviſion of 1793, in favour of Britiſh exporting manufacturers, who have hardly ever uſed their privilege, will imply, that other reſidents in Britain might become parties in the Indian trade.—Now here is a grand, and even an eſſential difference in judgment and principle, between the Governor General on the one ſide, and the Court and Mr. Dundas on the other. It muſt be uſeleſs to debate about ſubordinate details, if this great point be not ſettled.—This, therefore, is the firſt queſtion: whether we may authorize the transfer of Britiſh capital, for the purpoſe of raiſing produce in our Eaſtern poſſeſſions? This is, in the apprehenſion of the Court and of Mr. Dundas, it is ſtill in the apprehenſion of your Committee alſo, one of the uſual leading principles of our colonial ſyſtem. It would, in the opinion of your Committee, tend to introduce a colonial ſyſtem into India; the conſequences of it cannot fail to be important: it ought not, therefore, to be precipitately acquieſced in; but before it is acted upon or admitted, both the Company and the nation ought ſolemnly to try and determine it, with a deliberate view of all the bearings, and probable effects of it. What the effects of it, combined with the other meaſures of the ſame ſyſtem, would be, your Committee have in their former Report endeavoured to inveſtigate at large.

II. The ſyſtematic eſtabliſhment of any claſs of private ſhips in the trade and navigation between India and Britain, which, in reſpect to Indian ſhips, the plan of the Governor General involves, is another great principle, in which his opinion is at variance with that of the Court. Upon a leſs extenſive ſcale of enlargement than that for which the Governor General pleads, the Court have ſeen inſuperable obſtacles to the admiſſion of this article, as has been at length explained by your Committee in their former Report.—Of the reaſons therein ſtated againſt it, your Committee will, at preſent, refer to one only,—the high improbability of excluding, for any length of time, Britiſh ſhips and owners, and merchants reſident in Britain, from the privilege at firſt conceded only to Indian ſhips and reſidents in India. If this excluſion would be difficult, as your Committee have maintained, on the more limited plan of enlargement, which they conceived to be in queſtion, they muſt be of opinion, that if ſo great an innovation as is now propoſed in our ſyſtem of Indian policy (a change certainly not within the ſcope of the Act of 1793) were admitted, that excluſion would be impoſſible; and indeed it would be uſeleſs to contend for it, becauſe if merchants reſident in Britain might embark, according to their diſcretion, in Indian adventures, through Indian ſhips, to the indefinite multiplication of ſuch ſhips (whether ultimately the nation might, on the whole, be benefited or not, by ſuch a new ſtate of things, and all its concomitants), they might then as well be permitted to employ Engliſh ſhips at once; for it is not the country of the ſhips, but the enlargement of the channels of communication, with the other conſiderations, which would follow a ſyſtematic eſtabliſhment of any claſs of ſhips, that conſtitutes the eſſence of the objection to ſuch an eſtabliſhment.

III. On the ſubject of the trade and intercourſe of foreigners with our Indian poſſeſſions, your Committee are concerned to find, that the ſentiments they entertain do not, in all things, correſpond with thoſe of the Governor General. It is to this head that the circumſtances, new to them, in his letter, chiefly belong; for he has ſhewn a very large increaſe to have taken place in the year 1799-1800, in the imports of foreigners, eſpecially the Americans and Portugueſe, into Bengal, and in their exports from thence. This is, undoubtedly, a matter which well merits attention; but your Committee are by no means convinced, that it affords any certain concluſion in favour of the argument which it is brought to ſupport, namely, that the transfer of Britiſh capital to India, and the employment of private Indian ſhips thence to England, ſhould be ſyſtematically permitted. It will be proper to enter a little into this matter. The merchants in India, and their advocates here, have, for ſeveral paſt years, inſiſted, in terms very alarming, on the increaſe of the trade of foreigners. They repreſented it as vaſt and as progreſſive. Your Committee have, in their former Report, from the moſt recent authentic ſtatements of the external commerce of Bengal, ſhewn, that from the year 1795-6 to the year 1798-9 incluſive, the exports of foreigners from Bengal uniformly decreaſed, and that their imports there almoſt uniformly decreaſed alſo. From the ſame accounts it likewiſe appeared, that the amount of the trade to America, which was regarded as the moſt formidable rival, varied from leſs to more, and again from more to leſs: and your Committee were warranted in obſerving further, that the foreign export trade of Bengal did not, in the year 1798, exceed in value what it had been thirty years before. The natural inferences from theſe facts were, that the amount of the

foreign trade was not such as to occasion any alarm, that it was not increasing, and that it fluctuated from year to year; whence, also, it was fair to suppose that it was still, in some measure, a trade of contingencies, arising in part, no doubt, from the belligerent state of Europe. So far, therefore, the argument from the increase of foreign trade was invalid. But in the year 1799-1800, there appears to have been a real and considerable increase in the trade of America and Portugal. According to the Governor General's statement, their trade in that year, and the average of it for three preceding years, will stand thus:

	Imports.	Exports.
Average of the Years 1796-7, 1797-8, and 1798-9,	17,82,327	27,37,604
Average of the Years 1799-1800,	81,81,005	71,30,372
Excess in 1799-1800,	63,98,678	43,92,768

As, however, there was a progressive decline in the foreign trade in the years 1796-7, 1797-8, and 1798-9, it may be proper also to compare the state of that trade in the years 1795-6 and 1799-1800. In the Reports of External Commerce it appears thus:

	Imports. 1795-6.	Imports. 1799-1800.
Hamburgh	6,57,431	72,333
Copenhagen	7,70,136	10,16,474
Lisbon	10,24,943	46,56,391
America	8,43,118	35,24,644
Rs.	32,95,628	92,69,842

	Exports. 1795-6.	Exports. 1799-1800.
Hamburgh	17,37,342	61,582
Copenhagen	8,13,832	9,56,145
Lisbon	21,81,371	33,44,435
America	19,49,319	37,85,937
Rs.	66,81,864	81,48,099

This view, with some lights thrown on the subject by the Reports of External Commerce, affords several useful observations.—*First.* The foreign exports of 1799-1800 exceed those of 1795-6 in nearly fifteen lacks of rupees. This is the total increase of the trade, compared with its state five years preceding.—*Second.* The foreign exports of 1795-6 nearly doubled the foreign imports; consequently Bengal paid so much more than it received, and the greater part of the difference was probably British property, sent out of that country by clandestine channels. In 1799-1800, the imports exceeded the exports in about eleven lacks; and this was perhaps the first year in which the balance of foreign trade was thus really in favour of Bengal, or the imports even equal to the exports since our acquisition of the country.—*Third.* The excess of imports in 1799-1800, compared with 1795-6, is about sixty lacks of rupees; and it appears that a very large proportion of this sum, probably about three fourths, was brought into the country in specie, the most advantageous kind of import.—*Fourth.* It is to be collected from the Reports of External Commerce, that the increased trade of the Portuguese in 1799-1800, arises from the increased demand for India goods in the Brazils, Spain, and Spanish America; and the subjects of the United States appear to augment their trade, partly from the increasing consumption of Indian commodities by the large population of that portion of the American continent, and partly from their supplying some of the West India islands, and the Spanish settlements in South America, with those commodities. This, therefore, may be presumed to be a *bonâ fide* trade; and in our present circumstances, or whilst war continues, it is not likely that, if we immediately checked this trade, our importations to London would reach those distant places of consumption. The conveyance from India direct would have so many advantages, as probably to incite a new activity in the clandestine trade from our settlements.—*Fifth.* It has appeared, from what your Committee has stated in their preceding and present Reports, that the trade of foreigners with India has been liable to great fluctuations in the course of this war; and on the whole, therefore, of the view and exposition here given, your Committee submit, whether the increase in the foreign trade in one year be of such a nature and amount as to urge to any instant measure of extraordinary magnitude.—But your Committee see great reason to doubt whether, if even the measure now proposed were adopted, the *bonâ fide* commerce of foreigners with India would thereby be greatly diminished. The advantages with which neutral nations at present carry on that commerce, clearly arise, in part, from their neutral character. In the expense of shipping, navigating, and insurance, they sail cheaper; and needing no convoys, they perform their voyages more expeditiously. To this is to be added, that the import duties on Indian goods in Portugal, Denmark, and Hamburgh, and as your Committee apprehend, in America also, are more favourable than they are in London. Whilst these circumstances continue, it seems in vain to expect that the home consumption of those countries can be supplied through the medium of London. For what, if by new enlargements an amount as great as foreigners now carry from India to their own ports were added to the private exports from India to London? It is continually said that the exportable produce of India may be indefinitely increased; is it not reasonable to suppose, therefore, that the bullion of the Americans and Portuguese would still find the returns they needed of the commodities of that quarter? But this juncture, when, from the

extraordinary turn of the war, it has been even feared that all the ports of the continent might be ſhut againſt the ſhips of this country, ſeems particularly unpropitious to attempts to attract hither any large portion of the Indian trade carried on by neutral nations. As it is the war which has given the chief advantage to foreigners in that trade, ſo the return of peace will afford the beſt opportunity for rectifying whatever may ſtill require regulation.—Although your Committee cannot allow the preſent ſtate of the foreign trade to be of preponderating importance in the vaſt queſtion now under conſideration, yet they are forward to obſerve, that, beſides requiring general attention to its progreſs and variations, ſeveral things in it call for the interpoſition, at a ſeaſonable moment, both of the Government and of the Company. The circuitous trade of the Americans with foreign Europe is a violation of the treaty of commerce, little merited by the great privileges given them in that quarter; the Indian duties alſo, on exports and imports, ſeem to require new modifications in favour of the London trade; and if theſe things were duly regulated, and the London import duties on Indian goods brought nearly to the level of the moderate impoſts at foreign ports, it appears probable, that with the advantages of peace, the trade of foreigners would be limited to what could be carried on with their own capital; and this, it has been agreed, they ſhould be permitted to enjoy.—But your Committee have before obſerved, and cannot avoid repeating, that if all practical meliorations were effected in favour of Britiſh traders in India, and even permiſſion given them to ſend their own ſhips to England, it does not appear that, after all, theſe conceſſions would infallibly ſecure to this country the trade of thoſe Britiſh reſidents. The principle relied on for obtaining that ſecurity, is to make it the intereſt of the merchants to conſign their goods hither; but ſuppoſe that, after every thing practicable is done by the Company and the Government for this end, it ſhould ſtill prove, at times, their intereſt to addreſs their goods to foreign ports? Notwithſtanding what has been ſaid of the ſuperior advantage of ſending commodities to the largeſt market, and to one's native country, conjunctures may ariſe, eſpecially in the deranged ſtate into which Europe is now brought, when this may not be the moſt profitable courſe. What, then, would preſerve to the Company and the ſtate the expected benefit of all the ſacrifices they ſhould have made? Your Committee are at a loſs to give a ſatisfactory ſolution to this intereſting inquiry. They believe the commercial hiſtory of the American colonies, now independent, will ſhew that no privileges conceded by the mother-country to the trade of thoſe colonies, were ſufficient to prevent them from often following their own intereſt, when it led them to forbidden ports. The Governor General has ſtated, in the letter now before your Committee, that "it never can be practicable, if it were juſtifiable or politic, by any reſtrictions or penalties on the trade of the Britiſh ſubjects, to prevent the increaſing produce and manufactures of India from being conveyed to the markets in Europe, where a demand for ſuch articles ſhall exiſt." The object of any reſtrictions that now exiſt, is not to prevent the exportation of Indian produce to foreign Europe, but to prevent Britiſh reſidents from carrying on that trade for their own account. From the laſt Report, however, for the year 1799-1800, of the external commerce of Bengal (in which are ſeveral paſſages that call for obſervation), it would appear that ſuch reſtrictions are little regarded; for repeated mention is made of the trade of *Anglo-Danes*, or *Britiſh ſubjects*, from Bengal to Copenhagen and Hamburgh. The ſubject is mentioned openly and familiarly, it would almoſt ſeem induſtriouſly, in order to bear upon the queſtion of the required enlargements in the trade to London; for it is ſaid in one place, "that in 1798-9, when Britiſh merchants in Calcutta were permitted to load their own ſhips, or to make their own arrangements for the freight to London, there was not a ſingle bag of ſugar or bale of cloth ſhipped by them to any foreign port; whereas, if ſuch permiſſion had not been granted, the ſhipments in *Anglo-Daniſh* veſſels would have continued; as merchants in every part of the world will run many riſks ſooner than allow their ſhips to rot in harbour, if employment can be obtained for them." Though it belonged to the office of the reporter to bring the foreign trade, of whatever deſcription, into notice, yet, as in the paſſage now quoted (whence, by the way, it would ſeem that to become poſſeſſed of ſhips, may be uſed as an apology for carrying on the clandeſtine trade), and in other ſimilar paſſages, breaches of the law are brought under the eye of Government and of the Court, in a manner that ſeems to imply no expectation of exciting ſurpriſe or animadverſion; and as a paſſive acquieſcence under publicities of this kind may yet further encourage diſregard of the exiſting laws, which cannot but be inexpedient in any government, your Committee ſubmit whether this matter, and indeed the whole ſtate of the clandeſtine trade, does not require ſome attention on the part of the Court.—In the former Report of your Committee, the amount of the clandeſtine trade of Bengal is ſtated to have been, on an average of ſome preceding years, about twenty-five lacks of rupees per annum. This, as the ſtatements exhibited in that Report may ſhew, is to be underſtood as the annual amount of Britiſh fortunes ſent home from Bengal by foreign channels, or, in other words, the ſupply which the remittance of thoſe fortunes gave to the clandeſtine trade.—But from the laſt Report of External Commerce, and from other circumſtances, it now appears probable, that of the remaining thirty-one lacks per annum, which your Committee ſtated as the really neutral trade of Bengal, a part may

have been carried on with capital furniſhed by Britiſh reſidents there, or by merchants in London. In as far as this adds to the argument drawn from the amount of the clandeſtine trade, it ſubtracts from that which has been urged from the increaſe of the real trade of foreigners.—In one other point which belongs to this head, your Committee feel themſelves unable to adopt the ſentiments of the Governor General; it is the apprehenſion he ſeems to entertain of foreign intrigue and foreign influence, in conſequence of the preſent reſort of the ſhips and adventurers of foreign nations to India. That this is a matter which, in all times, and under all circumſtances, ſhould engage the vigilant attention of the Company's governments, is a very clear propoſition. To remit watchfulneſs would be to invite danger, and to maintain it is the only way to keep danger at a diſtance. But your Committee are at a loſs to conceive how, in the preſent ſtate and circumſtances of the Britiſh nation, and of foreign nations in India, there can be ſo much room for the intrigues of their agents, or ſo much to be apprehended from them as in former periods, when they poſſeſſed reſpectable national ſettlements and governments in India, when they had national repreſentatives, who were owned by the princes of the country, and maintained a political intercourſe with them. Now, excepting the ſpots ſtill occupied by the ſmall ſtates of Portugal and Denmark, the foreign nations of Europe do not poſſeſs a foot of land on the continent of Hindoſtan. Our dominion, on the other hand, is conſolidated and extended: and foreigners, in general, are obliged to reſort for their commodities to our ſettlements, and to have their wants ſupplied through the medium of our ſubjects. Without national ſettlements or repreſentation, your Committee cannot apprehend that, if due circumſpection be obſerved on our part, political danger is to be feared from them; eſpecially from ſuch nations as the Americans, Danes, and Portugueſe, whoſe domeſtic circumſtances do not favour ſchemes of obtaining political power in the Eaſt. The French alone ſeem at preſent to be, in this reſpect, formidable to us; and if they again obtain footing in that country, it will remain for us to employ thoſe precautions which the caſe ſhall require. —The reſort of foreign military adventurers to India is, unqueſtionably, a matter of very ſerious conſideration; and the Company and the nation are highly obliged to Marquis Wellefley for the energy with which he has applied himſelf to the correction of that evil: but as foreign flags always have had, and muſt have, acceſs to India, ſo it does not appear that it can be more eaſy now for adventurers of that deſcription to introduce themſelves into Hindoſtan, than it was when the French and Dutch poſſeſſed there large eſtabliſhments, forts, and military of their own.

IV. In the laſt place, your Committee muſt believe, that there is a very material difference between the views of the Governor General and thoſe of your Committee, reſpecting the conſequences which would follow from the propoſed ſyſtem of enlargements.—This is an eſſential part of the ſubject, on which your Committee have already given their ſentiments at large. Unqueſtionably, the Governor General does not feel thoſe apprehenſions they entertain; if he did, his principles, yet more than the ſtake he has in the welfare of the empire, would withhold him from ſupporting the projected innovations.—He deſires to promote the proſperity of the provinces over which he preſides, and is impreſſed by what appears to be immediately ſuited to this end; but from the various important events which have occurred in the ſhort period of his government, and the application of his mind to other ſtudies, he, though acquainted with the general principles of commercial policy, for which the Court alſo maintain a liberal regard, has not, perhaps, been able to contemplate the effects of the propoſed changes in a commercial country like this, with the lights which the poſition, mercantile experience, and habits of the members of the Court of Directors reflect upon it.—Your Committee have not a doubt, that the effects of the privileges which are required would be very great upon the exiſting ſyſtem of Indian intercourſe and connexion, and gradually change the character of that intercourſe. If the required privileges are given to one claſs of ſhips, and one claſs of Britiſh ſubjects, it will be, in the opinion of your Committee, even impoſſible to withhold them long from other claſſes: or if theſe are denied a formal participation, they will ſoon infuſe themſelves into the firſt maſs; the keen ſpirit of commercial enterpriſe will every way ſeek to enlarge its liberty, and become impatient under remaining reſtraints; in which view it is not unimportant to remark, that "to avoid the forms of office at the India "Houſe" (the buſineſs of which it is impoſſible to tranſact without forms), is already aſſigned publicly by the Reporter of Bengal Commerce, as one cauſe of ſome late illicit practices. Many things would conſpire to antiquate the preſent eſtabliſhment; and the genius, in a word, of the commerce thus carried on, muſt progreſſively tend, more and more, towards an unreſtrained and a colonial ſyſtem. If it were now propoſed to erect another commercial Company, the propoſal would probably ſtartle every body: but in fact the privilege which is in queſtion would eſtabliſh an intereſt of a more formidable nature, and containing a ſtronger principle of growth, than could be involved in the ſtrict conſtitution of an incorporated ſociety. The gradual increaſe in numbers, influence, and connexions of thoſe who ſhould embark in the trade of India under the new privileges, has been adverted to in the former Report of your Committee. Moderate as is, in truth, the whole capital yet engaged in the private trade of Britiſh India, we ſee that thoſe concerned in it, who a few years ago had hardly

any oftenſibility, are now able to make conſiderable movements both in India and in England. It is obvious that the ſtock of the Eaſt India Company, being open to all purchaſers, may in time be largely poſſeſſed by perſons of this deſcription; and that the very complexion and character of the Company, from whom commercial laws for India emanate, may at length be changed. It is not enough, therefore, in treating of this ſubject, to make a due reſervation for the principles of the preſent Indian ſyſtem, and for the rights of the Company; the great point of all is, ſedulouſly to examine how the meaſures profeſſed to be adopted, with proper regard to thoſe principles and rights, will operate: nor is it enough to ſay, that the Company may prevent the perverſion of the propoſed privileges, or reſtrain them if they are found inconvenient. It is not after arming the preſent ſpirit of innovation with new powers, that we could expect to be ſucceſsful againſt its progreſs. After men had embarked largely in the new ſyſtem, and ſet capitals, ſhips, and adventures in motion, then would not be the beſt time to tell them to ſtop. They would plead the intereſts they had engaged, and engaged under the ſanction of authority. It would be diſputed by one part of the Company, whether thoſe things which another part might call inconveniences, were ſo or not; and, in ſhort, this kind of reaſoning puts all to hazard in making the experiment.—In concluding this momentous ſubject, your Committee are induced to offer a few words on the ſituation in which they find themſelves placed, with reſpect to it, as Directors of the Company: and in expreſſing their own ſentiments, they may venture to aſſume that they deſcribe thoſe of the Court at large.—No part of the duty of a Director is more trying than that which calls him to reſiſt private and perſonal intereſts. Theſe are always active and urgent, and apt to combine cenſure with diſappointment. In ſupport of ſuch intereſts, thoſe to whom they appertain, perhaps many in number, and united together, act immediately in their own perſons; whilſt the public intereſt is managed by repreſentation; and the eager aſſaults of numerous individuals muſt be chiefly oppoſed by an internal principle. Prejudices have always exiſted againſt the Company, partly from its power or management, and partly, of late years eſpecially, from doctrines of commercial policy, imperfectly underſtood, or unſuitably applied. The Directors have been held to maintain a narrow jealouſy of the Company's monopoly, and in that ſpirit to have oppoſed the liberal extenſions which the public intereſts required; but they are not conſcious of deſerving this imputation. They feel, indeed, that it is incumbent on them not to ſurrender the rights of their conſtituents, without being convinced that the ſurrender ought to be made; but they have examined the preſent queſtion, and have been very much guided in the determination of it by conſiderations of national policy. Such conſiderations muſt evidently enter now into all great meaſures reſpecting the export commerce of Britiſh India. It is painful to the Directors to pauſe upon any ſchemes that ſeem to have the proſperity of that country for their object; they ſincerely wiſh it to be flouriſhing and happy, but alſo to be ſafe. The Britiſh reſidents in it, not only thoſe who are actually concerned in its manufactures and commerce, but the ſervants of the Company employed as public functionaries, all deſire to ſee its induſtry promoted. It is natural they ſhould become intereſted in the ſcene immediately before them; it is alſo laudable: and as the conduct of the Court of Directors, in the preſent caſe, greatly reſults from conſiderations leſs within the ſphere of the obſervation of their ſervants, it is not impoſſible that, charged as it will be by others with narrow, timid views, it may appear to them to wear too much of that complexion.—Conſcious as thoſe ſervants are of loyal and affectionate attachment to the mother-country, an attachment which the Directors are aſſured is warmly felt, they may think the fears of diſtant evils viſionary, and partake of that ſentiment which perſons out of the ſervice manifeſt for what they may conceive to be a more expanded and magnanimous policy. If this way of thinking ſhould ſo far infuſe itſelf, as to leſſen the regard due to the preſent ſyſtem of Indian government, of which the Court of Directors is the ſupreme executive head, it would be every way unhappy. No material change in that ſyſtem, if ſpeculation could be carried forward to one, would place the European inhabitants of Britiſh India on ſo deſirable a footing as they live at preſent under a government of various parts, which operate as checks upon each other. All, indeed, who argue upon public principles, are for the continuance of the preſent Indian ſyſtem; the Court of Directors, however, forms an integral and even eſſential part of that ſyſtem: if their adminiſtration is diſcredited, the ſyſtem itſelf is affected; and though they muſt be far, either perſonally or collectively, from pretending to be exempt from errors; yet the conſideration juſt mentioned may entitle them to be ſolicitous, that their conduct ſhould not be ſubjected to unneceſſary cenſure, and thence the authority of the Court expoſed to derogation; and therefore, although all juſt freedom of communication is to be encouraged in their ſervants and governments abroad, it muſt be extremely inexpedient to have differences of opinion between them and the Court made unneceſſarily oftenſible, either in India or in England. Oppoſition to the Court, in both countries, muſt thus be ſtrengthened. In public diſcuſſions which ariſe at home, perhaps the great weight of the Indian adminiſtration may be forced into the ſcale of thoſe with whom the Court has to contend; and the delegated and ſuperior authorities, which ought to appear as much as poſſible one power, be placed

in opposition to each other; which will manifestly tend to weaken the credit of the latter, and thence the system of which it is a constituent part. Your committee hope to be forgiven, if these observations shall appear to be any digression from the question under consideration: they seemed to be connected with that question, of which your committee will only further say, that, in their opinion, it involves in it ultimalety, the permanence or the gradual supercession of the present system of Indian policy.

East-India House, 2d April, 1801.

HUGH INGLIS,
D. SCOTT,
STEPHEN LUSHINGTON,
JOHN ROBERTS,
JACOB BOSANQUET,
ABRAM ROBARTS,
EDWARD PARRY,
CHARLES GRANT,
FRANCIS BARING.

Letter from the Right Honourable Henry Dundas to the Chairman, Deputy Chairman, and Court of Directors of the East-India Company, on the Indian Debt.

Clarges Street, 30th June, 1801.

Gentlemen,

In the explanation of the affairs of the East-India Company, which I have lately stated to the House of Commons, I gave it as my opinion, that within a very few years after the return of peace, the Indian debt might be reduced within proper limits, by a due combination of the revenues and commerce of the East-India Company; that before the expiration of their charter, the sum necessary for the guarantee of their capital will be accumulated; that the additional dividend may be allowed to the proprietors, as provided for by the act renewing their charter; and that a due attention will, at the same time, be paid to the claims of the public for participation, according to the terms of the agreement at the time the charter of the company was renewed; and the more clearly to elucidate my ideas, I exhibited them in the form of an account, founded on the data pointed out, and stating the conclusions resulting from those data.

Although it was my intention, as usual, to publish the detailed explanations I have been accustomed to state to the committee of the House of Commons, on the day generally appropriated for what is called the India Budget, I have been induced to give this separate statement, because it has been suggested to me, that a publication of this nature, not complicated with minute details, but embracing a general view of the prospect of your affairs, during the continuance of the present charter, may lead to a more speedy and accurate consideration of this important subject.

It is scarcely necessary for me to explain, why there is a peculiar propriety in my addressing the following sheets to you. Independent of the respect and attention I owe to the directors and proprietors of the East-India Company, and of the deep interest I must, at all times, take in their concerns, it is obvious, that if my plans are fit to be adopted, or are likely to be attended with the wished-for success, the exertions for that purpose must originate with the East-India Company, and those exertions must be continued with a steady and unremitting attention.

The account to which I have just referred is No. 1. in the Appendix. The result of the account depends only on its arithmetical accuracy, if the data on which it proceeds are not liable to some fundamental error; it is therefore my first wish, to direct your attention to an examination of the leading features of the plan.

They are, 1st. An arrangement abroad, so that a full million from the surplus of the revenues shall, at the commencement, be applicable to the purchase of investments.

2d. The the investments from India and China shall amount, at prime-cost, to four millions annually, in equal proportions.

3d. That during the first four years from this time, the company shall avail themselves of the power they already have, under the act, for augmenting their capital stock to the extent of two millions, at the rate of half a million annually, which it is supposed will realize one million sterling.

4th. That the additional money so raised, shall be applied, exclusively, to the liquidation of the present Indian debt at interest, either by increasing remittances in Bullion, or export to India to that amount, or by defraying additional bills drawn from India for the same purpose.

5th. That the extinction of this debt, now calculated to amount to fourteen millions sterling, shall be carried on at the rate of one million annually, till the part of it called the decennial loan shall become payable, which is expected to take place on or about the year 1807-8; and that the sum then payable on account of Indian debt, which is stated at three millions and a half, shall be discharged in that year: on which suppositions the debts at interest abroad will then be reduced to four millions and a half.

I shall be under the necessity of troubling you with some explanation on each of these points.

The first requisite is, "an arrangement "abroad, so that a full million from the sur- "plus of the revenues shall, at the commence- "ment, be applicable to the purchase of in- "vestments."

The necessity of this requisite being accomplished will appear from the account I have already referred to, in which, in the second year, credit is taken for the supplying four millions, prime-cost of investment, with a charge on that account on the treasury at home of only three millions.—This, of course, proceeds on the supposition of the remaining one million being, in that year, supplied from the revenues in India. In the subsequent years, the charge at home for

investment is supposed gradually to be decreased below three millions, in proportion as the applicable surplus of revenue in India is increased by savings of the interest of debt discharged; and the progress of this latter operation is pointed out in the two accounts, No. II. and III. in the Appendix. I am well aware of the difficulty which occurs in the outset of this whole operation, from the present burthened state of your finances in India, and the very large amount of the revenues, which are absorbed in the discharge of interest at so high a rate; but this very circumstance is so decisive as to the success of the measure, when once set in motion, that no difficulty is so great that it ought not to be surmounted.

The estimates of the revenues and charges, which I stated to the House of Commons, were drawn up from those transmitted by your governments in India; but in order that I might proceed with as much certainty as possible on this important article of the plan, in addition to the exertions of the accountant of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, I requested the assistance of your very accurate and able officer, Mr. Wright, in order that they might jointly examine and correct the estimates transmitted from abroad, so as to enable me to form the best opinion possible, to what amount you might rely on a surplus in India, as available to the purposes of investment.

The estimate, No. IV. in the Appendix, will exhibit the result of the investigation. It is prepared with great care, and certainly abundant caution; but it is the safest side on which to err: and it would be imprudent, in a matter of so much importance, to build on any surplus, that does not appear to be clearly warranted.

The amount is taken at £800,000, which is deficient for the object in view to the amount of £200,000: but, in truth, this deficiency ought not to be stated at so small a sum as £200,000; for when you consider that part of the commercial charges defrayed in India, amounting to about £180,000, have not been usually included in the estimates, and likewise consider, that other unforeseen circumstances may occur, I do not think that, if you mean to ensure the actual receipt of the sum required, you can safely desist from your exertions, till you have secured in India, for commercial purposes, a sum of not less than £1,200,000.

There are several circumstances which lead me to be confident in my hopes, that a sum to that amount will, without any real difficulty, be obtained in India, for the purpose of realizing the prospects which are detailed in the account before you.

In the first place, I can have no doubt, that if you send out positive instructions to your governments abroad, stating the importance of the object in view, considerable additions will be made to the savings pointed out in the corrected estimate of Mr. Wright. This can only be effectually done on the spot: but it will be done, if your servants abroad are impressed with a full conviction, that the object you have in view is so far paramount to every other in the present moment, as to claim their first attention. In this observation I point chiefly at the army extraordinaries, which, from the pressure of the war, and the expensive contests in which you have been engaged, have necessarily amounted to a very large sum, and cannot fail to admit of great reductions, of the details of which at home we cannot be competent judges, but which a vigilant, economical, and firm government on the spot, cannot fail to discover and to enforce.

In the second place, it is not impossible that some of those expenses which are, with great propriety, intended to be of a permanent nature, may, without risk, be postponed, till it is finally ascertained that they can be defrayed, without interfering with the sum requisite for investment, according to the plan detailed in the subjoined accounts, No. I, II, and III. In this observation I particularly allude to your military establishments, as last revised. In the the orders you sent out some months ago, considerable reductions were made in your military expenditure, and I observe in the corrected estimate, No. IV, that the saving in consequence is computed at £270,000. These reductions were ordered upon a very accurate examination, and to the best of my judgment, it would not be proper, in a future permanent arrangement, to make them to a greater extent: but when so great an object is at stake, I should be clearly of opinion, for considering how far any parts of the proposed establishment might be postponed. In the notandum subjoined to the corrected estimate, No. IV, Mr. Wright observes, that if the addition to the artillery could be postponed, it would save £54,000; but I consider the addition ordered to your artillery establishment to be of such deep importance to the security of your extended Indian Empire, I do not think the saving suggested ought to be adopted. But I think differently with regard to the other notandum; and when so great a saving can be made as £153,000, by keeping the native regiments at 1400 privates, in place of 1600 or 1800, I cannot doubt, in advising you to make that reduction. In truth, there is no risk; for in the case of emergency, the native troops could be recruited with the utmost expedition, to the ultimate proposed establishment, or indeed to any amount.

In these observations you will observe, that I have confined myself solely to the consideration of military retrenchments. I have done so, because I am convinced that any attempt to make any considerable reduction in your civil establishments, would be praductive of all the inconveniences attending inadequate allowances to your civil servants. Such a system would lead to all the fatal consequences resulting from the exaction of private unwarranted allowances, which it has been the great object of the present system of Indian administration to annihilate. At the same time, this is no reason why even your civil expenses may not merit your attention, to the effect of instructing your government to refrain from any expenditure of a con-

tingent nature, which would lead to any considerable expense, and respecting which there is no immediate urgency, why it should be executed at the present rather than at any future moment. Although, at this distance, I cannot take it upon me to specify all the particular items of expenditure, on which retrenchments may be made, I cannot permit myself to entertain any unreasonable diffidence on the subject, when I look to the state of your expenses of India at a former period. I do not carry that reference to an early period, because I am aware that, within these very few years, a large permanent expense was most properly incurred, by the arrangement which took place for rendering the condition of your military servants more comfortable, in a variety of respects. I refer, however, to the charges of all kinds, as they stood in the year 1797-8, and the amount of them was £7,650,654, a sum far inferior to that contained in the estimate now exhibited by your auditor, amounting to £8,851,260. It is true, that since that period, great additions have been made to your territorial possessions, and very considerable additions to your military expenditure are created, in consequence of the very beneficial alliances you have formed with the native powers in India. These considerations, however, do not operate against the propability of what I am endeavouring to establish; for as to addition of territories, it cannot escape observation, that the events which produced those additions have, at the same time, tended to increase the security of our own possessions, by narrowing their frontier, and annihilating your most powerful and inveterate enemy, and wherever you are obliged to increase your military establishments in consequence of alliances, you have received a subsidy, fully adequate to the expense of those subsidiary engagements.

It is proper here to remind you, that in the observations I have made, to establish the probability of the requisite aid to be derived from a surplus revenue in India, I have taken no credit for the expectations I am entitled to entertain, from the increasing prosperity, cultivation, and consequent population, of our Indian territories. Our revenues, for some years, have been in a state of progressive increase, and the same cause must continue to operate in producing the same effects. I shall not indulge myself, at present, in disquisitions of that nature, as it would lead me far beyond the bounds I have prescribed to myself in this address. I state the circumstance, without meaning to draw any other conclusion, than what must occur to every body, viz. that the happy change which recent events have produced on our affairs in India, must strengthen and invigorate every hope and expectation, founded on their present state. Every system of beneficial finance, commerce, and economical administration, can now be adopted and pursued, with more steadiness and certainty of success, than it could be under circumstances of precatious security and unremitting anxiety.

Having now stated to you a saving upon your estimates, to an amount producing near a million surplus in India, and having likewise stated the prospect of a larger surplus, both from the probability of further retrenchments, and from the almost certainty of a progressive increasing revenue, I might safely leave this part of the propositson, upon what I have already observed: but to remove all ambiguity on the subject, 6 think it proper to remind you, that in the end of the year 1803, or the beginning of the year 1804, the debt due to the consolidated creditors of the late Nabob of Arcot will be liquidated, so as to set free a sum of not less than 621,000 pagodas, amounting, in pounds sterling, to the sum of £248,400. This sum will, of course, be applicable to the discharge of such further debts of the late and present Nabob, as are not included in the former arrangement. The East-India Company itself is a creditor to a large amount, and, according to the arrangement suggested by Marquis Wellesley, in his letter to the Nabob of 24th of April 1799, there can be no doubt, that at least one half of the sum so set free, will be appropriated to the extinction of the debt due to the company, and will, of course, to that amount, add to the surplus of the revenues applicable to investment. But this is not all; for according to the letter I have wrote to you this day, on the the subject of the private unconsolidated debts of the late and present Nabob, there seems no doubt that the whole of the 621,000 pagodas, already referred to, will be at your disposal, for the purposes of investment. My letter, with its enclosures, points out to you the obvious mode in which this is to be accomplished; and the effect of the transaction, if agreed to by you, will be to give an immediate commercial resource, to the amount of the whole 621,000 pagodas, paying to the creditors their debts at home, by such distant instalments, as can never prove any inconvenience to your treasury at home, or tend, in any degree, to disturb the substantial benefits to be derived from the measure, which I am now endeavouring, with great earnestness, to impress upon your attention. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that the effect of the plan will be put into your pockets, the difference between the amount of interest payable to you by the Nabob, and the four per cent. payable by you at home to the creditors, according to the agreement you may make with them in consequence of their proposals; and the only effect it will have upon the whole result of the account is, a diminution on the balances at home, from the period when the instalments agreed upon with the creditors shall become payable; and the agregate of these payments will, *pro tanto*, create a diminution of the balance stated to accrue at the expiration of the charter.

As I consider this last head to be of the utmost importance to the whole success of the proposition in question, and as so many misapprehensions have appeared, and so many misrepresentations have been hold out, respecting it, I have thought it my duty to state my ideas upon it, at greater length than I at first intended;

and upon the whole, I trust I may, with confidence, rest assured in the conviction, that one million sterling will be attainable from the surplus revenues of India, to co-operate with the other commercial resources of the company, in producing the beneficial results, stated to proceed from those resources of revenue and commerce, judiciously combined together; and it only remains to remark, that if, after every exertion, and contrary to every rational probability, there should be any deficiency, the inconvenience arising from it to the general object in view, will be obviated by your ordering your government abroad, for the short period that may be necessary, to pay as much of the interest of the debt in India, by bills on the court of directors, as may be required to secure the object of a million surplus in India, applicable to the purposes of investment. The only consequence of doing so would be, to a very small amount, to diminish the progressive accruing balance of your cash at home; but your prospect of abundant affluence, in that respect, seems to be so unequivocal, as to admit of no discouragement, in the prosecution of every expedient calculated to ensure the success of this very salutary measure.

The second requisite is, "that the invest-"ments from India and China shall amount, at "prime-cost, to four millions annually, in equal "proportions."

This does not require any minute explanation, beyond what appears on the face of the accounts in the appendix. The difficulty of finding a sufficient sum for the prime-cost of such an investment, will chiefly occur in the first year of the operation, when it is requisite, by exports, by bills from India, and by bullion, to find an aid to your India concerns, to the amount of five millions sterling. The difficulty does not consist in any inadequacy of resources at home to make those exertions, but in the means of sending so large a sum; and particularly in the means of finding bullion to so great an amount as two millions, to which amount it must be found, if the full five millions, requisite for the first year, cannot be got through the medium of the other resources to which I have referred. The importance of the object is so great, no exertions ought to be omitted that can surmount the difficulty; and there is scarcely any expense that ought not to be incurred, rather than endanger a failure of administering the requisite aid to your necessities in India. It would be improper in me, for obvious reasons, to detail what may have occurred to me on the subject. It is, indeed, unnecessary, for I know you will find most able advice on the subject from some of your own number. You will, of course, feel it to be your duty, to represent the importance of it, in the most forcible manner, to his Majesty's ministers, who, upon an examination of the particulars I have stated, and fully weighing the very brilliant effects it will produce on the commerce and revenues of the kingdom, cannot fail to be impressed with a full conviction of its being their duty, to contribute every aid in their power to set this operation in motion on its first outset, which is, in truth, the period when the chief difficulty will occur.

I now proceed to observe on the suggestion contained in the two next requisites I have before stated, and I trust I shall have little difficulty in obtaining your concurrence in the two propositions to which I refer: 1st. That it is your duty and your interest now to make use of the power you possess, under the act of parliament, 37 Geo. III. cap. 31, of augmenting your capital stock, by two millions sterling; and, 2dly, That the money so raised, should be invariably applied to the extinction of your debt in India.

The wisdom of this policy is indisputable, both on commercial and political principles. I need not observe to you, who have been sharers with me in the conduct of those transactions which have taken place for some years past, that the principle of our Indian administration has been, so to combine the operations of finance and commerce, as that they may be mutually subservient to each other, by the revenues of India administering to the wants of Leadenhall-street, and on the other hand, the treasury of Leadenhall-street administering to the necessities of India, when the surplus of the revenues of India has become, either partially or totally, inadequate to the demands created by the enormous expenses of an extensive and complicated war, joined to the desire of remitting a large and valuable investment from India to Europe.

I have had occasion, more than once, to observe, that although I could, without apprehension, acquiesce in the extension of the company's credit in India, to an amount unknown before, for the purposes of war and investment; still that operation must have its bounds, and the debt must not be permitted to become so unwieldy, as not to be reduceable to its proper scale, within a moderate period after the return of peace. It is impossible, perhaps, with perfect accuracy, to decide the precise point at which the borrowing for the combined purposes of war and commerce ought to cease; but I believe I do not take a very unsafe criterion, when I contend, that the use of the company's credit abroad, for the purpose of commerce, ought to cease, when individuals find it for their advantage not to lend at a moderate interest, and the public cannot, of course, be accommodated, but at a very extravagant rate of interest. I considered the state of the company's credit in India to have arrived at that point, when I saw the debt growing to a rate of interest at ten or twelve per cent., in place of six or eight, and in addition to that, the creditor stipulating for himself a continuance of that loan, for a defined length of time, and at a high rate of interest, not less than ten per cent.

When, therefore, I saw the amount of the debt last year rise to above ten millions, bearing interest, and likely still further to increase, unless put a stop to, I thought it my duty to state to you, the propriety of restoring to India, from your treasury at home, a part of that balance, which has found its way into your treasury in

England, in consequence of the unprecedented use of your credit in India. It could not be done abruptly; and this led me to state, last year, to the house of commons, that I was ready to meet the Indian debt, even at the large amount of fourteen millions.

From what I have above stated, it will not be understood, that I mean to pledge myself to an opinion, that in any case it is proper for the East-India company to burthen their revenues in India by the contraction of debt for the purpose of investment. That commerce is the only proper medium by which the excrescent revenues of India can be conveyed to Britain, admits of no doubt; but it is, by no means, so clear, that creating a commercial capital, by borrowing at high interest in India, is an expedient measure. It is, however, unnecessary to follow that disquisition further at present, because the estimate you have produced this year, is a proof of your acquiescence in the plan of providing the prime-cost for your investment, without creating, at present, any further burthen on the revenues of India.

From what I have already stated, there can be no doubt of my hearty approbation to that measure, so far as it goes; but when it is of such infinite importance to all your future commercial prospects, to recover, as speedily as possible, the great commercial resource you have derived from the surplus revenues of India, from the time of the acquisition of the Dewannee, it surely cannot admit of a doubt, that having so obvious and easy a resource in your hands as that in question, you ought, without delay, to use it for that purpose.

I could expatiate much at large on this proposition, with all its bearings on the commercial prosperity of the East-India company; but when I consider to whom this letter is addressed, it would be unnecessary waste of your time to enlarge further on this topic.

The advantages of adopting the suggestion I have taken the liberty of submitting to you, are not less conspicuous in a political, than they are in a commercial view. Your debts in England are already reduced below their level, with a great balance of assets in your favour: judge then, to what a pitch of security your territories in India would be raised, if your revenues were disencumbered, within a short period, of the burthens which lay upon them. If before this is done, you were to be engaged in new struggles for the maintenance of that pre-eminence which you have progressively attained, you would be obliged to engage in them with your whole surplus revenues, absorbed in the payment of an extravagant rate of interest, and you could not trust to the measure of a further extension of your credit, already stretched to an unprecedented amount; whereas, by extinguishing your Indian debt, you would, in a few years, have the command of a clear surplus of two millions, applicable to the purposes, either of commerce or defence, as might be expedient at the moment; and you would, at the same time, be in possession of your credit entire, which experience has proved may, without danger of being overstretched, be carried to the amount of fourteen millions sterling. In such circumstances, you would be in a situation to bid defiance to the assault of every enemy; for you would be enabled, on the resources of India alone, to maintain a war, beyond any term of years that the most gloomy imagination may choose to figure to itself.

With such a statement before you, I am positive, from my long knowledge of you, I would do you much injustice, if I was to entertain any such diffidence, as to think it necessary to dwell longer on the elucidation of the propositions which I have thus briefly endeavoured to enforce.

The last of the data I have stated above, and which follows as a result of the others, is, "That "the extinction of the debt shall be carried on "at the rate of one million annually, till the "part of it termed the decennial loan shall be-"come payable, which is expected to take place "on or about the year 1807-8. The sum then "payable is stated at £3,500,000, when the "debts at interest abroad will be reduced to "£4,500,000."

Upon examining the progressive operation of the account, No. 1, you will perceive, that from the balance accruing at home, there would be the means of extinguishing the debt at an earlier period than that I have alluded to, and in this respect, the plan is open to such alterations and modifications as circumstances may suggest. I have preferred this mode of stating it, as appearing to me the most likely to suit the means of transfering home the debt, in the manner most convenient for the arrangements of government in India, and for the accommodation of the company's treasury at home. The only part fixed at present, and which cannot be altered without the consent of the creditors interested, is, that the decennial loan, amounting to about £3,500,000, cannot be paid off sooner than the year 1807-8, consistently with the conditions under which it was borrowed.

In like manner, when I mention the debt in India being reduced to £4,500,000, I do not state that as a circumstance essential to the principle of the plan itself. By the appropriation clauses in the act 1793 (Appendix, No. V.) which I subjoin, to prevent the trouble of reference, you will perceive, that at the renewal of the charter, the idea was to reduce the debt in India to two millions. That idea was suggested and adopted, upon the ground that a certain proportion of the debt might, with utility, be left in India, on transferable government securities, at an interest of about six per cent. resembling India bonds or exchequer bills in this country, and that such a measure would be not only convenient for the circulation of the country, but, in as far as those securities might find their way into the hands of the natives, it would tend to connect their interests more closely with the credit and stability of the British government in India. If those ideas are well-founded, it occurred to me that, in the present extended state of your empire and pecuniary relations at your

different settlements, a sum of £4,500,000 was more proportionate to the objects in view, than the sum of two millions, pointed out in the act 1793.

Indeed I may here in general observe, that in the frame of the account I have presented, I have been guided solely by the principle of elucidating what the progressive balance would be upon the data assumed; but I do not mean to anticipate what may be the most eligible mode of its appropriation, if the measure shall be found to produce the results I have stated. Some think, that no debt at all should be left in India: others are of opinion (and in which there is much sound policy) that when your affairs are brought into a situation to enable you to do so, it would be wise, after the example of other Indian powers, to have always a dépôt of treasure in your coffers in India, to the amount of three or four millions sterling, to meet any sudden emergency, and to save you the necessity of having immediate recourse to large loans, in the event of your being compelled to hostilities, by the restless ambition and jealousy of your enemies, either native or European.

But I desist from pursuing, in detail, these or other speculations of a similar nature. They are foreign to the object of this address, and must be reserved for the wisdom of others, at a future moment, to decide upon. I am of opinion, that if our Indian concerns proceed successfully on the principles and to the results I have detailed, a new arrangement between the public and the East-India company will be proper, with a view to the interest of both parties. It is obvious, that some arrangement must be necessary, in consequence of the contingent appropriations pointed out in the 111th clause of the act 1793; for if the balance should accumulate in any one year, to so large an amount as to exceed what can be used in that year, for the purposes which the act directs, it could not be allowed to remain as a dead fund; but it would, in my judgment, be wise to apply to parliament, for the power of carrying such surplus as cannot be appropriated to the purposes specified in the act, to an earlier commencement of the accumulation for the guarantee fund, subject to the condition of being at any time applicable to the reduction of the Indian debt, within the limit intended, as rapidly as the means of remitting to India for that purpose can be found. It is obvious, that under the circumstances I have supposed, such an enabling power to the directors of the East-India company would be equally beneficial to the public and to the proprietors of India Stock.

Having thus explained, as far as appears necessary, the principles of the plan I have presented for your consideration, it still remains, that I should take notice of the objections which have been stated, or may occur against the probable success of it.

In the explanations I have already given, I have had an opportunity of obviating some of those difficulties; and it does not appear to be necessary, in addressing you, to enter upon any justification of the accuracy of the account, so far as concerns the annual expenditure of each year. That is a subject familiar to you by daily observation, and I make no doubt you will concur with me in thinking, that in the different items of charge, I have made ample allowance for every article of expenditure.

Neither does it occur to me, that an objection can be made to any of the items of receipt in each year, unless (as indeed has been stated) it shall be supposed, that the sales may not remain at the amount I have estimated. I have taken them at the amount they now are; and I confess, if proper attention be paid to your trade, and no means omitted to ensure and encourage, permanently and on a solid foundation, the commercial intercourse between India and Great-Britain, I can see no reasonable ground of doubt, that the sales, on the return of peace, will continue at an amount not below their present level. Many circumstances, both in the internal state of Great-Britain and Ireland, and many considerations arising from a view of the probable state of the commerce of the world, lead me to believe, that at a general peace, any apprehensions on this head will prove unfounded. It is, however, my earnest wish, on the present occasion, to wave every circumstance which may be supposed of doubtful speculation, and therefore, since I heard the observation made, I have prepared an account similar to the other, proceeding on an amount of sales, so much reduced as to leave no room for doubt. Instead of taking the sales throughout at £7,400,000, as in the account, No. 1, I take them from the supposed return of peace at only £5,550,000. But then, if you suppose a reduced amount of sales, you must, at the same time, suppose a proportionable reduction of the sum necessary to be provided for prime-cost of the goods, which, in that respect, and in the amount of commercial charges of every description, adds facility to the execution of the plan; and although it takes something from the rapidity of success, does not take from its ultimate certainty or importance. The results of those data are pointed out in the account subjoined, No. VI.

It may, probably, be observed, that the account, No. 1, proceeds on the supposition of a continuance of peace, during the whole term of your charter, a period of not less than thirteen years. The observation is just, in point of fact; but I am not apprehensive of having the merits of my proposition tried on other data, and the utility of carrying it into execution will still remain indisputable. No one, however anxious in his disposition, however unfavourably inclined he may be to contemplate future prospects, will conceive me sanguine, in supposing that, if fortunately the war should be terminated in the present year, by an honourable and adequate peace, after a contest so long and so exhausting to all the belligerent powers with whom we are engaged, there may be a cessation from hostilities for the short period of seven years; and if that takes place, it gives time for the extinction of the Indian debt, which is the great and primary object of my suggestions: and if, at the end of

that period, there should be a renewal of hostilities, that should continue even for the whole period of the charter, it would not annihilate, and very little impair, the result of the calculations I have submitted to your attention. Even if there are five years war in Europe, experience teaches (and indeed the nature of a continental war in India is such) that you estimate largely, if you suppose, that out of five years of general war, more than three of it operates to the effect of increasing the military expenditure in India. While it does so operate, it of course leads to the consequence of your not being warranted to trust to the full amount of the calculated supply from the revenues of India; but when the war ceases in India itself (notwithstanding its continuance in Europe), the resource from the territorial revenues revives. It is true, that while the war continues in Europe, although it may have ceased in India, the expenses of commerce are greatly swelled by the increase of freight, and other circumstances, and therefore they must, in that case, be estimated at the war amount.

These propositions will be best understood, by putting them into figures, as I have done the others; and I have therefore prepared two accounts, No. VII, and VIII. of the Appendix, one upon the supposition of an investment of four millions of prime cost, and seven millions four hundred thousand of sales; the other, on the supposition of three millions of prime cost, and five millions five hundred and fifty thousand of sales; and upon the examination of these accounts, you will perceive how little ground there is, for your being discouraged from eagerly adopting the proposition I am enforcing, even in the worst view of the result that the most timid imagination can suggest.

I will not trespass longer on your patience. After the most mature consideration I can give the subject in all its bearings and relations, I have a deep-rooted conviction, that your Indian debt is the only formidable enemy your Indian prosperity has to encounter. Subdue it, and you have subdued every thing that ought rationally to be dreaded. If I can inspire your minds with the same enthusiasm on this subject with which my own is animated, I shall rest in confidence, that you will not disregard my parting advice; but, by adopting the means which are in your hands, speedily overcome your Indian debt, and thereby exalt your own characters, by consulting the best interests of your constituents, and the general prosperity of your country. By such an operation, you will practically establish the expediency of the system under which we have been acting together for these seventeen years past, and you will prove to the legislature and to the public, the wisdom of leaving in the hands of the East-India company, the share they hold in the executive administration of our Indian empire.

I have only further to add, that I should not have troubled you with this address, if I had not felt myself warranted to assure you, that in this and every other measure, calculated to promote the good of the public, and the real interests of the East-India company, you will meet with the most cordial co-operation of the board over which I lately presided, and at which I have been succeeded by a person, whose amiable manners, and respectable talents, will ensure your confidence and respect, in proportion as they become habitually known to you.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

HENRY DUNDAS.

APPENDIX, No. I.—Estimate, shewing what may be the Situation of the Cash Concerns of the EAST-INDIA COMPANY, in England, at the Conclusion of their Charter, calculated on the following Principles, *viz.* Supposing the prime Cost of the Investments from India and China, to amount, annually, to Four Millions, and the Sales to yield £7,400,000; that after the first Year, the Surplus from the territorial, &c. Revenues, shall amount to One Million, and gradually increase, by the Interest on the Debt (to be extinguished), &c. till it amounts to Two Millions, the Prime-Cost of the Investment being paid from the Surplus Revenue, and from the Proceeds of the Sales; reckoning on an Addition to the Capital Stock at £500,000, or One Million Sterling, annually, for Four Years; the Charges in the First Year taken on a War, and in the following on a Peace Establishment; reckoning, likewise, on the Liquidation of the Indian Debt, at Interest, taken at Fourteen Millions, so that, by the Year 1808-9, it shall be reduced to £4,500,000; and finally, shewing the Proceeds, without noticing what may be the Amount for the Participation of the Public.

RECEIPTS.	1801-2	1802-3.	1803-4.	1804-5.	1805-6.	1806-7.	1807-8.	1808-9.	1809-10.	1810-11.	1811-12.	1812-13.	1813-14.
Balance of Cash..... £	930,590	1,339,816	2,126,042	3,759,768	5,540,994	6,422,220	7,403,446	5,984,672	8,265,898	10,747,124	13,228,350	15,709,576	18,190,802
Sales of Goods.....	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000
Profit on Private Trade	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000
Interest on Annuities...	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226
Loyalty Loan.....	308,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Capital.....	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total Receipts... £	9,794,816	9,896,042	10,682,268	12,315,994	13,097,220	13,978,446	14,959,672	13,540,898	15,822,124	18,303,350	20,784,576	23,265,802	25,747,028
PAYMENTS.													
Customs..... £	210,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000
Freight.....	1,500,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
Charges on Goods.....	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000
Cost of Investments, the part paid in England.....	4,000,000	3,000,000	2,900,000	2,700,000	2,600,000	2,500,000	2,400,000	2,200,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000
Dividends.....	705,000	810,000	862,500	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000
Charges Extra.....	390,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000
Freight Extra.....	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
Payment of Indian Debt	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	3,500,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
Officers on Furlough ...	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000
Captains of Ships, &c.	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
Debt to the Bank.....	—	800,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total Payments..... £	8,455,000	7,770,000	6,922,500	6,775,000	6,675,000	6,575,000	8,975,000	5,275,000	5,075,000	5,075,000	5,075,000	5,075,000	5,075,000
Balance remaining.....	1,339,816	2,126,042	3,759,768	5,540,994	6,422,220	7,403,446	5,984,672	8,265,898	10,747,124	13,228,350	15,709,576	18,190,802	20,672,028
Total... £	9,794,816	9,896,042	10,682,268	12,315,994	13,097,220	13,978,446	14,959,672	13,540,898	15,822,124	18,303,350	20,784,576	23,265,802	25,747,028

N. B. The above Estimate is framed on the Supposition of Peace after the first Year. The Calculations are made without Reference to the Rates of Exchange, or the Price of Bullion. Some Variation may be expected as to the precise Year in which the Debt would be reduced to the intended Limit. It may take place partly in the Year 1807-8, and partly in 1808-9.

APPENDIX, No. II.

Estimate shewing the surplus that must be produced in India, in order to effect the purposes laid down in the general estimate.

	Surplus Revenue	Saving by Interest on debt	Total.
	£	£	£
1801-2 - -	1,000,000	—	
1802-3 - -	1,012,500	87,500	1,100,000
1803-4 - -	1,125,000	175,000	1,300,000
1804-5 - -	1,137,500	262,500	1,400,000
1805-6 - -	1,150,000	350,000	1,500,000
1806-7 - -	1,162,500	437,500	1,600,000
1807-8 - -	1,275,000	525,000	1,800,000
1808-9 - -	1,125,000	875,000	2,000,000

N. B.—If the debt at interest is reduced to £4,500,000, and the rate of interest to six per cent. the interest then payable would be £270,000 in which case the saving would be £955,000.

The above is exclusive of the amount required for the commercial charges, not addded to the invoices.

APPENDIX, No. III.

Estimate, shewing the reduction of the debt in India, calculated at fourteen millions, bearing interest, by the annual application of one million.

	Principal.	Interest at 8¼ per Cent.
	£.	£.
April 1801	14,000,000	1,225,000
Season.—1801-2 - - -	1,000,000	87,500
Do. 1802	13,000,000	1,137,500
Do.—1802-3 - - - -	1,000,000	87,500
Do. 1803	12,000,000	1,050,000
Do.—1803-4 - - - -	1,000,000	87,500
Do. 1804	11,000,000	962,500
Do.—1804-5 - - - -	1,000,000	87,500
Do. 1805	10,000,000	875,000
Do.—1805-6 - - - -	1,000,000	87,500
Do. 1806	9,000,000	787,500
Do.—1806-7 - - - -	1,000,000	87,500
Do. 1807	8,000,000	700,000
Do.—1807-8 Dec. L.	3,500,000	at 10 prCt. 350,000
1808	4,500,000	350,000

The interest calculated to remain payable on the debt reduced to £4,500,000, is £350,000, which may be reckoned at about £7. 15*s.* 6½*d*, per cent. The saving of interest by the reduction is £875,000; but if the remaining debt were to be at six per cent. the saving would be £955,000.

APPENDIX, No. IV.

Estimate of revenues and charges at each presidency in India, and total amount of net surplus to arise in the first year of peace, on the supposition of the revenues continuing to produce as estimated on the latest materials received from India, and of the charges being regulated according to the last instructions, and distinguishing by what amount, and on what grounds, the several charges are expected to be reduced below, or increased above, the estimate for 1800-1.

REVENUES.

BENGAL.

at 2*s.* the Current Rupee.

The estimates for 1800-1 makes the total revenues £6,339,200

In this the subsidy from Oude is taken at 96½ lacs of Sicca Rupees; but Marquis Wellesley states the full subsidy at 115 lacs. The arrangements were not completed when the estimate mas made, the difference may therefore be added, being Sicca

Carr. ov. - 6,339,200

CHARGES.

BENGAL.

at 2*s.* the Current Rupee.

The charges in the estimate for 1800-1 are stated at - - - - - - - £4,422,000

In these are included the expense of military stores, at an amount far exceeding the average of former years; and it is presumed a reduction may in future take place of - - - - - - £20,000

Car. ov. - 20,000 4,422,000

REVENUES.

BENGAL.—*continued.*

Brought forward. - 6,339,200

Rupees 18½ lacs, or CR^s 21,46,000, at 2s. - - - - 214,600

6,553,800

The Opium, in the estimate, is said to be taken as last year, but is, in fact, £34,000 more. The sale in 1799-1800 was extraordinarily productive; and although some addition in the quantity was expected in 1800-1, it seems prudent, for a continuance, not to take it at a higher sum than last year's sales. Deduct therefore - - - - - - - - - - 34,000

As the other articles of the estimate do not seem liable to objection, the Bengal Revenue may be calculated at - - - - - - £6,519,800

PORT ST. GEORGE.

at 8s. the Pagoda.

The revenues, by the estimate for 1800-1, are £3,273,000

In this, the subsidy from the Nizam is Pagodas 946,000; but by the new treaty of October last, he commuted the old subsidy for his share of the territories ceded by, and conquered from Tippoo, in 1792 and 1799, the revenues of which, by Tippoo's accounts, are Pagodas 17,92,000. Those of 1792 are thought to be over-rated in these accounts, but on the other hand, the revenues of the countries conquered in 1799; are supposed to be much undervalued, and in fact the company's share, which was to the same amount, has produced double the estimate. The difference between the old subsidy and the revenues of the countries ceded by the Nizam, may therefore be added, being pagodas 8,46,000, or - 338,000

The Malabar revenues, now placed under Fort St. George, are not included in the estimate, and the Bombay accounts contain

Car. ov. - £3,611,000 £6,519,800

CHARGES.

BENGAL.—*continued.*

Brought forward. - 20,000 £4,422,000

Also the temporary expense of repairing the fortifications at Futty Ghur, in consequence of the treaty with the Vizier 30,000

50,000

A further sum might be deducted, on account of the expense of building the new government house estimated at £34,800, which cannot be a permanent charge; but as the military expenses are rather below the probable amount, when the arrangements for Oude are completed, this may be set against it. £4,372,000

FORT ST. GEORGE.

at 8s. the Pagoda.

The charges, by the estimate of 1800-1, are - £3,723,000

On the most minute examination of the estimate of military charges, compared with the auditor general's statement, from which it is taken; after allowing for the increased establishment, and all contingencies, stated by the auditor general, the estimate appears subject to the following alterations:

The total military charges, including the troops in Malabar and Canara, should be more than in the estimate, by pag^s. 3,44,887

In the total are included the following extra expense of colonel Wellesley's detachment - - 5,66,409

Arrears to bullock-owners, 1799 59,413

Extra expense of a secret expedition - - - 2,00,000

French prisoners - - - - 28,118

Extra expense of troops at the Moluccas & Malacca, and supplies to those settlements - - 3,06,300

Car. ov. - 11,60,240, £3,723,000 £4,372,000

REVENUES.

FORT ST. GEORGE.—*continued.*

Brought forward 3,611,000 6,519,800

the estimate of two months revenues only. The net revenue for ten months may be calculated at pagodas 3,00,000, or - - 120,000

The total revenues may therefore be taken at - - - - 3,731,000

BOMBAY.

at *2s. 3d.* the Rupee.

The revenues, by the estimate for 1800-1, are £300,000

But in this the revenue of Malabar is included for two months, at a much higher proportion than is warranted by the collections of the former year, when they were at the highest. To allow for this, and a small article of revenue, included for two years, deduct - £10,000

Some improvements are expected hereafter in the Surat revenue, in consequence of the late arrangement, for which allow - - - - 6,000

4,000

296,000

Total Revenues - - £10,546,800

CHARGES.

FORT ST. GEORGE.—*continued.*

Brought for. 1160,240 £3,723,000 £4,372,000

This, and the former article, it is supposed, will be discontinued, as charges to the company, on the return of peace.

Pagodas 11,60,240

The difference is 8,15,353

which will probably be saved in future, being - 326,140

The charges at Fort St. George will then be - - - - 3,396,860

BOMBAY.

at *2s. 3d.* the Rupee.

The estimate for 1800-1 is - - - - - - £1,052,000

This includes several items for two years' expense, and does not allow for retrenchments in some departments. The military charges and expense of stores appear over-rated: on the whole, it is thought a deduction may justly be made of - - 52,000

1,000,000

BENCOOLEN, PRINCE OF WALES' ISLAND, AND ST. HELENA.

The supplies, by the estimate of 1800-1, are - - - - - 82,400

Total charges - - - - 8,851,260

Estimated net revenue - 1,695,540

£10,546,800

Estimated net revenue brought down - - - - - - - - - - - - - - £1,695,540

In the accounts of Madras, the expense of Ceylon is estimated at £70,000, which will not, in future, be chargeable to the company; but from this is to be deducted the revenues of the Dutch settlements, amounting to £24,000: the difference then is £46,000

The reduction of the military in India, by the court's late orders, is estimated to produce a saving of - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 270,000

316,000

The net revenue may then be estimated at - - - - - - - - - - - - £2,011,540

From this the interest of the debts is to be defrayed, which cannot be computed at present at less than - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 1,150,000

But it may be conjectured that part will be paid by bills on the court, under the orders lately sent to India for that purpose. The remaining estimated surplus is £861,540

But to allow for unforeseen contingencies, it may be better to take it at - - - £800 000

The surplus revenue, without reducing the military establishments more than by the orders lately sent out, may thus be estimated at £800,000. If the increase to the artillery directed by those orders, could be postponed, it would produce a saving of £54,000. If all the native infantry regiments in India were reduced to 1400 privates each, it would be a saving of £453,000 per annum.

Appendix, No. 5.—Extract of Act of 33 Geo. III. Cap. 52—Sections 107 to 123.

107. And be it further enacted, that for and during so long time as the said company shall be entitled to the whole, sole, and exclusive trade and traffic, in, to, and from the East-Indies, and other places within the limits of their charter, subject to the provisions, regulations, and limitations in this act contained, the clear profits arising from the said territorial acquisitions, and revenues in India, after defraying the charges and expenses of collecting the same, shall be applied and disposed of, to and for the uses and purposes hereinafter expressed, in the following order of preference, and to or for no other use or purpose, or in any other manner whatever, any act or acts of parliament now in force to the contrary notwithstanding, (that is to say), in the first place, in defraying all the charges and expenses of raising and maintaining the forces, as well European as native, military and marine, on the establishments in India, and of maintaining the forts and garrisons there, and providing warlike and naval stores: Secondly, in payment of the interest accruing on the debts owing, or which may be hereafter incurred by the said company in India: Thirdly, in defraying the civil and commercial establishments of the said company at their several settlements there: Fourthly, that there shall be issued to the respective commercial boards of the said company, at their several presidencies in India, in such proportions as the court of directors of the said company, with the approbation of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, shall, from time to time, direct, a sum of not less than one crore of current rupees in every year, to be applied in the provision of the company's investment of goods in India, and in remittances to China, for the provision of investment of goods there: And, Fifthly, that as often as any part of the said debts shall be redeemed or discharged in India, or transferred from thence to Great-Britain, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said court of directors, with the consent of the said board of commissioners, to increase the annual advancement to the said commercial boards, for the provision of investments in India and China, in the same extent to which the interest of the debts in India shall be reduced by such extinction and transfers respectively, if the trade of the said company from India, and their remittances to China, shall admit of or require such increase: and that after the appropriations aforesaid, or sums set apart sufficient to answer and make good the same, the surplus of the said revenues shall be applied to the liquidation of the debts of the said company in India, or to such other uses and purposes as the court of directors, with the approbation of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, shall, from time to time, direct; any act or acts of parliament to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

108. And whereas sundry debts, incurred in the defence and protection of the British possessions in India, bearing interest, are now due and owing by the said company there, amounting to seven crores of current rupees, or seven millions of pounds sterling, or thereabouts: And whereas it may be convenient and beneficial to the company's affairs, that the greater part of the said debts should be transferred or remitted to, and paid in Great-Britain; and it is therefore expedient, that proper encouragement should be given to the creditors of the said company in India, to transfer and remit the same accordingly: Be it further enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for the several governments and presidencies in India, from time to time, to grant bills of exchange upon the court of directors of the said company, payable in Great-Britain, at such equitable rates of exchange as shall be, from time to time, directed or authorized by the said court of directors, with the approbation of the said board of commissioners for the affairs of India, for the purposes of transferring and remitting the said debts, in manner aforesaid incurred by the said company, and now due and owing by them in India, to Great-Britain, until the said debts in India shall be reduced to a sum not exceeding two crores of current rupees, or two millions of pounds sterling; and that the said court of directors shall be, and are, by force and virtue of this act, fully authorized and empowered to accept and discharge such bills of exchange accordingly, over and besides such other bills of exchange as the said company could or might lawfully accept and pay, if this act had not been made, and not otherwise, or in any other manner, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

109. Provided also, and be it further enacted, that if the creditors of the said company in India shall decline to accept of and receive such bills of exchange as aforesaid, in payment or discharge of their said respective debts, or shall not accept the same, to the amount of five hundred thousand pounds in any year, it shall and may be lawful for the governor general in council of Fort William in Bengal, or for the governors in council of the several presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay, respectively by the order and authority of the said governor general in council, to raise a sufficient sum or sums, whereby to make up a remittance for such year, to the amount by which the total of bills of exchange, so accepted by the said creditors, shall fall short of the said sum of five hundred thousand pounds, by loans of and from any other persons willing to advance the same, upon the credit of bills of exchange to be drawn by them upon the said court of directors, at such equitable rates of exchange as shall be authorized and directed in the manner before-mentioned; and that the money so raised in India shall forthwith, upon payment thereof into the proper treasury there, be issued and applied towards the liquidation and discharge of the said debts of the said company in India, and to or for no other use or purpose whatever.

110. Provided also, and be it further enacted, that nothing in this act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to authorize any of the governments in India to grant bills of exchange for the purpose of transferring, or remitting the said debts from India to Great-Britain, to become due and payable within any one year, to be computed from the first day of January in the same year, exceeding in amount the sum of five hundred thousand pounds, unless by the special order and authority of the court of directors of the said company, for that purpose first had and obtained, any thing herein-contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

111. And be it further enacted, that during the continuance of the exclusive trade to the said company, the net proceeds of their sales of goods at home, within the duties and allowances arising by

private trade, and all other profits of the said company in Great-Britain, after providing for the payment of bills of exchange already accepted by the said company, as the same shall become due, and for the current payment of other debts, interest, and other outgoings, charges, and expenses of the said company (their bond debt always excepted) shall be applied and disposed of in the following manner; (that is to say) first, in payment of a dividend, after the rate of ten pounds *per centum per annum*, on the present or any future amount of the capital stock of the said company, the first half-year's payment thereof to commence and be made at Midsummer, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three: secondly, in payment of five hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, the same to be set apart on the first day of March and the first day of September, half-yearly, in equal portions, and applied in the discharge of bills of exchange drawn or to be drawn in India, for the transfer or remittance of the debts of the said company from thence to Great-Britain, for the diminution of such debts, until the same shall be reduced to two crores of current rupees, or two millions of pounds sterling: thirdly, in payment of a sum not exceeding five hundred thousand pounds in every year, into the receipt of his Majesty's exchequer, to be applied as Parliament shall direct, the same to be set apart for that purpose on the first day of July, and the first day of January in every year, by equal portions, and the first half-yearly payment thereof to be made or accounted due on the first day of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three; and if the said funds shall prove insufficient in any year to satisfy such last-mentioned payments into his Majesty's exchequer, that then and in every such case the same shall be made good, except as in this act is otherwise specially provided, out of any surplus which may remain from the said net proceeds in any subsequent year, after the payment of the annual sum of five hundred thousand pounds into the receipt of his Majesty's exchequer, becoming due in each year respectively: and that until the said debts in India shall be reduced to the said amount of two crores of current rupees, or two millions of pounds sterling, the ultimate surplus which shall remain of the said net proceeds, after such payments thereout made as aforesaid, shall and may be, from time to time, set apart and applied in augmentation of the said fund or annual sum of five hundred thousand pounds a year, hereby appropriated for the reduction of the said debts in India, in and for the reduction thereof, by the discharge of any further bills of exchange to be drawn from thence, either for the transfer and remittance thereof to Great-Britain, or for loans of money to be borrowed on the credit of any bills of exchange which shall be granted by the order of the court of directors, to any greater amount than is herein-before limited or directed in that behalf; or otherwise it shall be lawful for the said court of directors to apply any part of the said ultimate surplus of the said net proceeds in the payment of any debts of the said company in Great-Britain (the said bond debt of one million five hundred thousand pounds only excepted) or to the purchase of any goods, wares, or other merchandize, to be disposed of in India or China, and to appropriate the produce thereof in and towards the more speedy diminution of the said debts in India; and that when and so soon as the said debts in India shall have been reduced to the amount herein-before limited in respect thereof, and the bond debt in Great-Britain to one million five hundred thousand pounds, the surplus of the said net proceeds, after providing for the current payments of interest, and other outgoings, charges, and expenses of the said company, and of a dividend after the said rate of ten pounds *per centum per annum*, on the said capital stock, and the said annual sum of five hundred thousand pounds to be paid into the exchequer, and after making good all former deficiencies in the said annual payments, otherwise than as is provided by this act, shall be applied and disposed of in manner following: (that is to say) one sixth part of the said surplus, computed and adjusted to the first day of March in every year, shall be reserved and retained by the said company for their own use, and applied in augmentation of the dividends on their said capital stock; and that the residue of the said surplus shall be set apart, and from time to time paid by the said company into the Bank of England, within the first week in April in each year, to be there placed to the account of the commissioners appointed by an act of the twenty-sixth year of his Majesty's reign, intituled, "An Act for vesting certain Sums in Commissioners, at the End of every Quarter of a Year, "to be by them applied in the Reduction of the "National Debt," until the monies so paid, together with the sums arising by the growing interest thereof, shall have amounted to twelve millions of pounds sterling, and that from and after such payments, together with the money so arising by the said growing interest, shall have amounted to the said sum of twelve millions of pounds sterling, the said surplus shall be, from time to time, paid into the receipt of his Majesty's exchequer, and be there placed to the account of the consolidated fund, as the property of the public in full right.

112. Provided also, and be it further enacted, that if the debts of the said company in India, after the same shall have been reduced to two crores of current rupees, or two millions of pounds sterling, shall be again increased beyond that amount, or if their bond debt in Great-Britain, after the same shall have been reduced to one million five hundred thousand pounds, shall be again increased beyond that sum, then and so often as either of those cases shall happen, the like appropriations as are herein-before directed or authorized to be made for the reduction of the said present debts, shall again take place and be made for the reduction of the said new debts respectively, until the whole of the debts of the said company in India shall be again reduced to two crores of current rupees, and their bond debt in Great-Britain to one million five hundred thousand pounds, any thing in this act contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

113. And be it further enacted, that the governor and company of the Bank of England shall raise and keep an account with the said commissioners in their books, to be intituled, "The Account of the Guarantee Fund of the United "Company of Merchants of England trading to "the East-Indies;" and that as well all such monies as shall be so paid by the the said united company to the said governor and company by virtue of this act, as also the annual dividends or interest to arise therefrom, in manner by this act provided, shall be placed to the said account, and shall be severally and respectively, under the

order and direction of the said governor and company of the Bank of England, laid out and invested in the names of the said commissioners, in the purchase of capital stock in any of the redeemable public annuities transferrable at the Bank of England, the same to be transferred to the said commissioners, on account of the said guarantee fund, in the books of the said governor and company of the Bank of England; and that the dividends payable thereon shall, from time to time, be received by the said governor and company of the Bank of England, and be placed to the account of the said commissioners.

114. And be it further enacted, that when and after the monies paid by the said united company to the said governor and company of the bank, together with the monies received for dividends on the capital stock of annuities purchased therewith, and with the proceeds thereof, shall have amounted to twelve millions of pounds sterling, the dividends of the said capital stock of annuities shall, in preference to any other disposition thereof, be subject and liable to make good to the said united company, for and during all such time as they shall continue to trade with a joint stock, any deficiency or deficiencies in their own funds, applicable to the payment of the said dividend of ten pounds *per centum per annum* on the capital stock of the said united company, if any such deficiency shall happen in such payment or payments; and that when there shall be no such deficiency, or being such, after the same shall be made good out of the siad dividends, such dividends, or the surplus thereof, shall be deemed to be the property of the public, and shall be paid, when and as often as the same shall arise, by the said governor and company of the Bank of England, into the receipt of the exchequer, and be there carried to the account of the consolidated fund.

115. And be it further enacted, that the capital stock of annuities, wherein, or in the purchase whereof, the said sum of twelve millions of pounds sterling shall be invested, pursuant to the directions of this act, shall be deemed and considered as a guarantee fund, for the better securing to the said united company their said capital stock, or the value thereof, such value being always computed for that purpose, after the rate of two hundred pounds for every one hundred pounds of such capital stock; and that if, at the time of the right and title of the said united company to the said whole, sole, and exclusive trade (limited as aforesaid) becoming determined, their own funds and assets, real and personal, shall be insufficient to pay and satisfy all their just debts, and to make good to the said company their said capital stock, or the value thereof, computing the same after the said rate of two hundred pounds for every one hundred pounds of the said stock, that then the said capital stock of annuities, or guarantee fund, shall be deemed and considered, as far as the same shall or may extend for that purpose, to be in the first place, and before any other application thereof, subject and liable to make good to the said company and their creditors, the deficiency so arising in their own funds and effects for the purpose aforesaid; and that the said capital stock of annuities, or the surplus thereof, after making good such deficiency (if any such there shall be) shall remain and continue as a guarantee fund, for the better securing the capital stock of the said united company, or the value thereof, rating the same as aforesaid, after such determination of their whole, sole, and exclusive trade, for so long time as they shall continue to trade with a joint stock, and subject thereto; and after making good all such deficiencies, that the said capital stock of annuities, or so much thereof as shall then remain, shall be and be deemed the property of the public.

116. And be it further enacted, that from and after any money shall be paid by the said united company to the said governor and company of the Bank of England, by virtue of this act, an account shall be made to the last day of January in every year, by the governor and company of the Bank of England, of all sums which shall have been paid to them by the said united company, or carried into their books on account of the said commissioners, under or by virtue of this act, and also of all sums of capital stock of annuities, which, in pursuance hereof, shall have been purchased in the names of the said commissioners, with the interest accruing thereupon, and of the application of the same, respectively; which account the said governor and company of the Bank of England are hereby required to lay before both Houses of Parliament, on or before the fifteenth day of February immediately following, if Parliament shall be then sitting, and if Parliament shall not then be sitting, then within fourteen days after the commencement of the then next session of Parliament.

117. And be it further enacted, that the security or securities given, or hereafter to be given, by the cashier or cashiers of the governor and company of the bank of England, for the due performance of their trust, in pursuance of a clause for that purpose contained in the said act of the twenty-sixth year of His Majesty's reign, shall extend, and be deemed in law to extend to their due performance of the trust by this act reposed in the said cashier or cashiers, respectively.

118. Provided always, and be it further enacted, that such reasonable allowances shall be made to the said governor and company of the bank of England and their cashier or cashiers, in respect of their services, labour, and expenses, in the performance of the trusts hereby reposed in them, as the commissioners of His Majesty's treasury, or the high treasurer for the time being, shall in that behalf direct the same to be paid or retained out of the annual dividends or proceeds of the capital stock of annuities to be purchased under the authority of this act; any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

119. And be it further enacted, that the said united company and their successors shall, and they are hereby directed and required to pay into the receipt of His Majesty's exchequer, and into the bank of England, the several and respective sums of money by this act directed to be paid by them, at or within the times, and in the manner and form aforesaid, and according to the true intent and meaning of this act; and if the said united company or their successors shall make failure in any payment hereby appointed to be made by them into the said receipt of the exchequer, or into the bank of England, according to the tenor and true meaning hereof, that then and in any such case the money whereof such failure in payment shall be made, shall and may be recovered from the said united company and their successors to His Majesty's use, by action of debt, or upon the case, bill, suit, or information, in

any of His Majesty's courts of record at Westminster, wherein no essoign, protection, or wager of law shall be allowed, or any more than one imparlance; in which action, bill, suit, or information, it shall be lawful to declare, that the united company of merchants of England trading to the East-Indies are indebted to His Majesty in the monies which they shall have made default in payment, according to the form of this act, and have not paid the same; which declaration shall be sufficient, and in or upon such action, bill, plaint, or information, there shall be further recovered for His Majesty's use, against the said company and their successors, damages after the rate of fifteen pounds *per centum per annum*, for the respective monies so unpaid contrary to this act, together with full costs of suit; and the said united company and their successors, and all their stock and funds, and all other their real and personal property and estate, lands and tenements, whatever and wherever, shall be and are hereby made subject and liable to the payment of the said monies and damages, with the full costs of suit.

120. And be it further enacted, that the said united company and their successors shall, upon payment of the several sums by this act directed to be made into the receipt of His Majest's exchequer, and into the bank of England respectively, be fully exonerated, acquitted, and discharged, as against His Majesty, his heirs, and successors, from all writs, actions, suits, damages, and proceedings, for or on account of the respective sums which shall be so paid by the said company; and in order that no difficulty or dispute may arise in respect thereof, a certificate shall be made, without fee or reward, for the ascertaining the amount of every distinct sum by the said company paid into the receipt of the exchequer, and into the bank of England respectively, by virtue of this act at the time of the payment thereof, specifying the amount of the sum or sums so paid, and the day of payment of the same; which certificate in respect of monies paid into the receipt of the exchequer shall be signed by the auditor of the receipt of the exchequer, the clerk of the pells, and one of the tellers, or in their absence, by their respective deputies attending at the said receipt; and for monies paid into the bank of England, such certificate shall be signed by one of the chief cashiers of the said bank of England, severally and respectively, at the time of payment of such money; and the several certificates, so signed, shall be delivered to the said company, or their chief treasurer or cashier, and shall be good and sufficient evidence in law, as against His Majesty, his heirs, and successors, for the payment of the sum or sums therein expressed and specified.

121. Provided always, and be it further enacted, that if the making payment of any sum or sums into the receipt of the exchequer, or into the bank of England, respectively, at or within the time or times appointed by this act for that purpose, will be attended with material inconvenience or embarrassment to the affairs of the said company, then and in every such case the court of directors of the said company shall and are hereby required to represent the same, and the circumstances thereof, to the high treasurer or commissioners of the treasury for the time being, who shall forthwith examine into and consider of such representation; and thereupon it shall and may be lawful for the said high treasurer or commissioners of the treasury, if he or they shall see cause, to postpone or suspend the payment of the sum or sums, so accruing or accrued due as aforesaid, for such reasonable time, and upon such terms and conditions, as to him or them shall appear reasonable and expedient; and that the payment of the said sum or sums shall accordingly be postponed or suspended, and no penalty or damages shall be incurred or incurrable in the mean time, by reason of the non-payment thereof, any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding; provided always, that there be laid before both Houses of parliament, within fourteen days after the making such order, if parliament shall be then sitting, or otherwise within the first fourteen sitting days of the then next session of parliament, a copy of the said order, and of the representation of the said court of directors, whereon the same shall have been granted.

122. Provided also, and be it further enacted, that if it shall happen that, by any extraordinary expenses incurred in time of war, or preparations for war, or from circumstances incidental to war, the aforesaid net proceeds shall fall short (after payment or provision made for the said dividend of ten pounds *per centum*, and the said five hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, for the reduction of the said debt in India) of making payment to the exchequer of the said five hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, for the use of the public, then and so often as the same shall happen, the deficiency or deficiencies in the said last-mentioned payments shall not be made good out of the surplus of any future year or years, to impede the accumulation of the said guarantee fund, not exceeding twelve millions of pounds, payable into the exchequer; but that the amount of all deficiencies so happening and occasioned, shall be deemed as a debt to be made good to the public upon the determination of the exclusive trade of the said company, in the event only of their general assets, consisting of monies in their treasuries, securities for money, ships, goods, wares, and merchandize, and other their live and dead stock, producing or amounting in value to more than sufficient for the payment of all the just debts of the said company, and of making good to the said company the value of their capital stock, rated at two hundred pounds for every one hundred pounds of such stock; but that after payment or provision made for the said debts and capital stock as aforesaid, the surplus or excess of the said general assets shall be applied in the making good the amount of the said deficiencies, as far as the same will extend, in preference to any other application thereof; any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

123. Provided also, and be it further enacted, that the appropriation made by this act of the clear profits of the said territorial acquisitions and revenues in India shall not extend, or be construed to extend, to prejudice or affect the rights of the public, or of the said United Company, respecting the said territorial acquisitions and revenues, beyond the further term by this act granted to the said United Company, under the limitations thereof, in the sole and exclusive trade to the East-Indies and parts aforesaid.

APPENDIX, No. VI.—Estimate, shewing what may be the Situation of the Cash Concerns of the EAST-INDIA COMPANY, in England, at the Conclusion of their Charter, calculated on the following Principles, *viz.* Supposing after the first Year the Prime-Cost of the Investments from India and China to amount annually to Three Millions, and the Sale to yield £5,550,000; that the Surplus from the Territorial, &c. Revenues, shall amount to One Million, and gradually increase, by the Interest on the Debt (to be extinguished), &c. till it amounts to Two Millions, the Prime-Cost of the Investment being paid from the Surplus Revenue, and from the Proceeds of the Sales, reckoning on an Addition to the Capital Stock at £500,000, or One Million Sterling annually, for Four Years; the Charges in the first Year taken on a War, and in the following on a Peace Establishment; reckoning, likewise, on the Liquidation of the Indian Debt at Interest, taken at Fourteen Millions, so that by the Year 1808-9 it shall be reduced to £4,500,000; and finally, shewing the Proceeds, without noticing what may be the Amount for the Participation of the Public.

RECEIPTS.	1801-2.	1802 3.	1803-4.	1804-5.	1805-6.	1806-7.	1807-8.	1808-9.	1809-10.	1810-11.	1811-12.	1812-13.	1813-14.
Balance of Cash.....£.	930,590	1,339,816	1,663,542	2,834,768	4,153,494	4,572,220	5,090,946	3,209,672	5,028,398	7,047,124	9,065,850	11,084,576	13,103,302
Sales of Goods	7,400,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000
rofit on Private Trade	120,000	120,000	120,000	120.000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000
Interest on Annuities...	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36.226
Loyalty Loan	308,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Capital	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total Receipts.....£	9,794,816	8,046,042	8 369,768	9,540,994	9,859,720	10,278,446	10,797,172	8,915,898	10,734,624	12,753,350	14,772.076	16,790,802	18,809,528
PAYMENTS.													
Customs .....£	240,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135.000	135,000	135,000
Freight	1.500,000	750,000	750,000	750,000	750,000	750,000	750,000	750.000	750 000	750,000	750,000	750,000	750,000
Charges on Goods	370,000	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500
Cost of Investments, the Part paid in England	4 000,000	2,000,000	1,900,000	1,700,000	1,600,000	1,500,000	1,400,000	1,200,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
ividends	705,000	810,000	862,500	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915.000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000
Charges Extra.....	390,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360.000	360 000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000
Freight Extra.....	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
Payment of Indian Debt	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	3,500,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
Officers on Furlough ...	50,000	50,000	50.000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000
Captains of Ships, &c...	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
Debt to the Bank	—	800,000	--	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total Payments .....£	8,455,000	6.382,500	5,535,000	5 387,500	5,287,500	5,187,500	7,587,500	3,887,500	3,687,500	3,687,500	3,687,500	3,687,500	3,687,500
Balance remaining.....	1,339,816	1,663,542	2,834,768	4,153,494	4,572,220	5,090,946	3,209,672	5,028,398	7,047,124	9,065,850	11,084,576	13,103,302	15,122,028
Total..... .....£	9,794 816	8,046.042	8,369,768	9 540,994	9.859.720	10,278,446	10,797,172	8 915,898	10 734,624	12,753 350	14,772,076	16 790,802	18 809,528

N. B. The above Estimate is framed on the Supposition of Peace after the first Year. The Calculations are made without Reference to the Rates of Exchange or the Price of Bullion. Some Variation may be expected as to the precise Year in which the Debt would be reduced to the intended Limits. It may take Place partly in the Year 1807-8, and partly in 1808-9.

APPENDIX, No. VII.—Estimate, shewing what may be the Situation of the Cash Concerns of the EAST-INDIA COMPANY, in England, at the Conclusion of their Charter, calculated on the following Principles, *viz.* Supposing the Prime-Cost of the Investments from India and China to amount, annually, to Four Millions, and the Sales to yield £7,400,000; that after the First Year, the Surplus from the Territorial, &c. Revenues shall amount to One Million, and gradually increase, by the Interest on the Debt (to be extinguished), &c. till it amounts to Two Millions; the Prime-Cost of the Investment being paid from the Surplus Revenue, and from the Proceeds of the Sales; reckoning on an Addition to the Capital Stock at £500,000 or One Million Sterling annually, for Four Years; the Home Charges in the First Year being taken on a War Establishment, in the Seven following on a Peace Establishment, and in the Five last again on a War Establishment; reckoning, likewise, on the Liquidation of the Indian Debt at Interest, taken at Fourteen Millions, so that, by the Year 1808-9, it shall be reduced to £4,500,000; and finally, shewing the Proceeds, without noticing what may be the Amount for the Participation of the Public.

N. B. *The Figures in small Type exhibit what might be the further Effect of an Indian War, by absorbing a great Part of the Surplus Revenues of the Years* 1809-10, 1810-11, *and* 1811-12.

RECEIPTS.	WAR.	PEACE.							WAR.				
	1801-2.	1802-3.	1803-4.	1804-5.	1805-6.	1806-7.	1807-8.	1808-9.	1809-10.	1810-11.	1811-12.	1812-13.	1813-14.
Balance of Cash ..... £	930,590	1,339,816	2,126,042	3,759,768	5,540,994	6,422,220	7,403,446	5,984,672	8,265,898	10,217,124 9,217,124	12,168,350 9,168,350	14,119,576 10,119,576	16,070,802 12,070,802
Sales of Goods.....	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000
Profit on Private Trade ..	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000
Interest on Annuities....	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226
Loyalty Loan	305,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Capital	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total Receipts ..... £	9,794,816	9,896,042	10,682,268	12,315,994	13,097,220	13,978,446	14,959,672	13,540,898	15,822,124	17,773,350 16,773,350	19,724,576 16,724,576	21,675,802 17,675,802	23,627,028 19,627,028
PAYMENTS.													
Customs ..... £	240,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000
Freight	1,500,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,500,000	1,500,000	1,500,000	1,500,000	1,500,000
Charges on Goods	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000
Cost of Investments, the part paid in England	4,000,000	3,000,000	2,900,000	2,700,000	2,600,000	2,500,000	2,400,000	2,200,000	2,000,000 3,000,000	2,000,000 4,000,000	2,000,000 3,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000
Dividends.....	705,000	810,000	862,500	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000
Charges Extra.....	390,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	390,000	390,000	390,000	390,000	390,000
Freight Extra	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
Payment of Indian Debt..	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	3,500,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
Officers on Furlough	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000
Captains of Ships, &c....	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
Debt to the Bank	—	800,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total Payments ..... £	8,455,000	7,770,000	6,922,500	6,775,000	6,675,000	6,575,000	8,975,000	5,275,000	5,605,000 6,605,000	5,605,000 7,605,000	5,605,000 6,605,000	5,605,000	5,605,000
Balance remaining.....	1,339,816	2,126,042	3,759,768	5,540,994	6,422,220	7,403,446	5,984,672	8,265,898	10,217,124 9,217,124	12,168,350 9,168,350	14,119,576 10,119,576	16,070,802 12,070,802	18,022,028 14,022,028
Total..... £	9,794,816	9,896,042	10 582,268	12,315,994	13,097,220	13,978,446	14,959,672	13,540,898	15,822,124	17,773,350 16,773,350	19,724,576 16,724,576	21,675,802 17,675,802	23,627,028 19,627,028

N. B. The Calculations are made without Reference to Rates of Exchange or the Price of Bullion.—Some Variation may be expected as to the precise Year in which the Debt would be reduced to the intended Limit. It may take Place partly in the Year 1807-8, and partly in 1808-9.

APPENDIX, No. VIII.—Estimate, shewing what may be the Situation of the Cash Concerns of the EAST-INDIA COMPANY, in England, at the Conclusion of their Charter, calculated on the following Principles, *viz.* Supposing after the first Year the Prime-Cost of the Investments from India and China to amount annually to Three Millions, and the Sales to yield £5,550,000; that the Surplus from the territorial, &c. Revenues, shall amount to One Million, and gradually increase, by the Interest on the Debt (to be extinguished), &c. till it amounts to Two Millions, the Prime-Cost of the Investment being paid from the Surplus Revenue, and from the Proceeds of the Sales, reckoning on an Addition to the capital Stock at £5,000,000, or One Million Sterling annually, for Four Years; the Home Charges in the first Year taken on a War Establishment, in the Seven following on a Peace Establishment, and in the Five last again on a War Establishment; reckoning, likewise, on the Liquidation of the Indian Debt at Interest, taken at Fourteen Millions, so that, by the Year 1808-9, it shall be reduced to £4,500,000; and finally, shewing the Proceeds, without noticing what may be the Amount for the Participation of the Public.

N. B. *The Figures in small Type exhibit what might be the further Effect of an Indian War, by absorbing a great Part of the Surplus Revenues of the Years* 1809-10, 1810-11, *and* 1811-12.

	WAR.	PEACE.							WAR.				
RECEIPTS.	1801-2.	1802-3.	1803-4.	1804-5.	1805-6.	1806-7.	1807-8.	1808-9.	1809-10.	1810-11.	1811-12.	1812-13.	1813-14.
Balance of Cash..... £	930,590	1,339,816	1,603,542	2,834,768	41,53,494	4,572,220	5,090,946	3,209,672	5,028,398	6,642,124 5,642,124	8,255,850 5,255,850	9,869,579 5,869,576	11,483,302 7,483,302
Sales of Goods.....	7,400,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000
Profit on Private Trade...	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000
Interest on Annuities....	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226
Loyalty Loan	308,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Capital	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total Receipts.. £	9,794,816	8,046,042	8,369,768	9,540,994	9,850,720	10,278,446	10,797,172	8,915,898	10,734,624	12,348,350 11,348,350	13,962,076 10,962,076	15,575,802 11,575,802	17,189,528 13,189,528
PAYMENTS.													
Customs..... £	240,000	135 000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000
Freight	1,500,000	750,000	750,000	750,000	750,000	750,000	750,000	750,000	1,125,000	1,125,000	1,125,000	1,125,000	1,125,000
Charges on Goods.....	370,000	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500
Cost of Investments, the part paid in England	4,000,000	2,000,000	1,900,000	1,700,000	1,600,000	1,500,000	1,400,000	1,200,000	1,000,000 2,000,000	1,000,000 3,000,000	1,000,000 2,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
Dividends	705,000	810,000	862,500	916,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000
Charges extra	390,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	390,000	390,000	390,000	390,000	390,000
Freight Extra	100,000	100,000	100 000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
Payment of Indian Debt	1,000,000	1,000 000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	3,500,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
Officers on Furlough	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50 000	50,000
Captains of Ships, &c..	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
Debt to the Bank	—	800,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total Payments ..... £	8,455,000	6,382,500	5,585,000	5,387,500	5,287,500	5,167,500	7,587,500	3,887,500	4,092,500 5,092,500	4,092,500 6,092,500	4,092,500 5,092,500	4,092,500	4,092,500
Balance remaining	1,339,816	1,603,542	2,834,768	4,163,494	4,572,220	5,090,946	3,209,672	5,028,398	6,642,124 5,642,124	8,255,850 5,255,850	9,869,576 5,869,576	11,483,302 7,483,302	13,097,028 9,097,028
Total.. £	9,794,816	8,046,042	8,369,768	9,540,994	9,859,720	10,278,446	10,797,172	8,915,898	10,734,624	12,348,350 11,348,350	13,962,076 10,962,076	15,575,802 11,575,802	17,189,528 13,189,528

N. B. The Calculations are made without Reference to Rates of Exchange or the Price of Bullion.—Some Variation may be expected as to the precise Year in which the Debt would be reduced to the intended Limit. It may take Place partly in the Year 1807-8, and partly in 1808-9.

Third Report of the Special Committee of the Eaſt India Directors.

Introduction.—In the beginning of the month of November, the Special Committee of the Court of Directors had made conſiderable progreſs in preparing a Report, under an apprehenſion that ſome meaſure might have been adopted injurious to the Company; but which they kept in ſuſpenſe until the motion of Sir William Pulteney, in the Houſe of Commons, had been decided. The manner in which that motion terminated, induced them to believe that the conteſt was over, and that the Company's paramount rights would be maintained. The diſpoſition recommended by the Miniſter, to aſſiſt the private trade in a reaſonable manner, without prejudice to the Company, has been manifeſted by the Committee; and inſtructions, drawn up on the moſt conciliatory principles, containing conceſſions of great importance to the private trade, have long ſince been tranſmitted to the Board of Commiſſioners; from whom, after a long delay, they received an anſwer, communicated in an official letter, which has been laid before the Court.—The annual election for Directors approaches, when their members muſt be changed; whilſt the activity of private traders, and the exertions of private intereſt, are ever on the watch to promote their own end. When many publications appear on one ſide, and no arguments are uſed on the other, the minds of men muſt naturally become biaſſed: and when once opinions are formed, even truth finds a difficulty to penetrate. For theſe reaſons your Committee think it their duty to ſubmit to the Court the Report (with ſome variations) to which they have alluded, that they may not be accuſed of having been inattentive to the intereſt of the Company on this important ſubject.

After an attentive peruſal of the papers, ſubmitted by Mr. Dundas to the Court of Directors, reſpecting the trade with India, and his letter to the ſhip-builders, which is connected with the ſame ſubject, every perſon who reads them muſt be ſatisfied that his ſyſtem for the future management of the commercial concerns of that quarter of the globe, amounts merely to this—that a ſecond monopoly in favour of Indian capital and Indian ſhips ſhall be ingrafted upon the Company's excluſive charter; or, in other words, he propoſes, that the trade of the Company with India (with the exception only of piece goods) ſhall be opened to the capital and the ſhips of this deſcription, whilſt it ſhall remain cloſe to thoſe of the mother-country.—In their former Report, your Committee endeavoured, but without ſucceſs, to explain the dangerous conſequences that are likely to follow from ſuch a ſyſtem; ſince which time, Mr. Scott, your late Chairman, and the only advocate for this ſyſtem, has retired from his ſituation, which induced your Committee to fear that their endeavours to avoid the ſtorm by conciliatory means, would not ſucceed; they therefore concur in opinion with the Court, that further attempts ſhould be made, and that not only the truth, but the whole truth, ſhould be ſubmitted to the conſideration of his Majeſty's miniſters, the proprietors, and the public. In performing this arduous but indiſpenſable taſk, your Committee dare not yield to their own feelings and diſpoſition, either as they may regard men or meaſures;—what would be decorous, prudent, and deſirable on almoſt every other occaſion, would be culpable, and even criminal, at preſent. It is a ſacred duty impoſed on the Court of Directors, and by them devolved on your Committee, to defend the exiſtence of the Company, and the rights of the public, againſt private intereſt; and it is a duty from which your Committee will not ſhrink.—In the former Report your Committee entered very fully into the ſubjects of conteſt, with a view to meet ſuch arguments as in their opinion could be urged: and for the purpoſe of introducing reſolutions, to be tranſmitted to India, for the regulation of the Government there, relative to the private trade of individuals, and to Indian-built ſhips.—It is not intended to recapitulate what was then advanced, except in a ſlight degree, and when the cauſe of the Company, with the facts introduced to ſupport that cauſe, may render ſuch repetition unavoidable: the object of the Committee at preſent will be, to endeavour to give the ſubject a different form, and to refer to their former Report for elucidations, which they cannot improve, as the beſt means to accompliſh that comparative conciſeneſs they will endeavour to aim at on the preſent occaſion. One general principle appears to be almoſt univerſally admitted, namely, "The neceſſity of maintaining *unimpaired* the *excluſive* commerce of India in the hands of the *Company*."—With ſuch an admiſſion by the late and preſent miniſters, and flowing from almoſt every pen (Indian merchants and agents excepted), your Committee cannot underſtand why another word becomes neceſſary; for the object of the Indian agent is avowedly to deſtroy, and not to maintain, the excluſive commerce of the Company. The truth is, the parties themſelves have manifeſted, in a courſe of years, ignorance of their own wants, or rather of the means of making their own fortunes. They have conceived that reſtrictions on the Company muſt prove beneficial to themſelves; for this reaſon they prevailed to have 3000 tons allotted for certain purpoſes, which are diſtinctly deſcribed by Mr. Dundas, in his letter dated the 16th of February, 1793, when he mentions, "what he "calls the *regulated monopoly* to be for the "purpoſe of enſuring to the merchants and manufacturers the certain and ample means of "exporting to India, to the full extent of "the demand of that country for the *manufactures* of this, and likewiſe a certainty "that, in ſo far as the produce of India affords "*raw materials* for the manufacturers of "Great Britain or Ireland, that produce ſhall

" be brought home at a rate as reaſonable as " the circumſtances of the two countries will " admit of."---Not a ſyllable appeared on that occaſion about the *ſurplus* produce of India, nor about Indian-built *ſhips*. And in his letter dated the 22d of March, 1793, he mentions the opinion of Mr. Pitt as well as himſelf, " that all " perſons reſident in India ſhall be allowed to " ſend, *in the Company's ſhips*, ſuch goods as " they pleaſe (limited afterwards to 3000 tons), " paying freight for the ſame, not exceeding " 15*l.* per ton, or ſuch further ſum as, with " the freight paid on the goods exported to " India, ſhall amount in the whole to 20*l.* per " ton, to and from India, in *time of peace*."--- And in another letter, dated the 23d of March, 1793, he ſays, " I have uniformly diſcounte- " nanced every ſuggeſtion which tended to ſet " aſide the preſent valuable capital employed " in the ſhipping ſervice of the Eaſt India " Company."---Mr. Dundas was then told that he was miſtaken, for his regulations would not anſwer the purpoſe repreſented to him. The parties (ſome of whom appear at preſent) perſiſted in their demand, and declined the offer of the Company to provide 6400 tons, and which was reduced by Mr. Dundas himſelf to 3000 tons. They are equally in an error at preſent; for if their requeſt ſhall be granted, there will ſtill be ſomething remain, upon which they will want to try an experiment: for we are warranted to call it an experiment, under a clear unequivocal conviction, that it will be impoſſible for the Legiſlature, by any regulation whatever, to bring to the river Thames, in time of peace, the ſame quantity (in bulk and value) of the produce and manufacture of India, which has been brought here in time of war.---In addition to this circumſtance, the objects of purſuit have ſhifted in ſuch a manner, that it is impoſſible for the Committee to underſtand the whole of the views of the parties; and, however difficult it may prove, they have no better mode to purſue, than to clear away the old ground, which in ſome degree is diſtinct, for the purpoſe of bringing forward, in a general point of view, the propoſition which the Company contend againſt for the preſent---namely, " to allow the ſurplus in In- " dia to be ſent home by *Britiſh merchants* " *reſident there, in ſhips built in that country*."--- During the negotiation for the renewal of the charter in 1793, and for ſeveral years after that event, the Company never heard of any other expectation on the part of Government, or of the public, than what may be compriſed under four heads.----1ſt. To realize the tribute or ſurplus of the revenue of India in Europe. 2d. To remit the fortunes of individuals acquired in India to Europe. 3d. To enable private individuals to export Britiſh manufactures and produce to India. 4th. To furniſh the means of remittance in return for Britiſh manufactures and produce exported by individuals.----Under theſe heads every expectation was compriſed; and it was underſtood by the Company, as it was admitted by Mr. Dundas, to leave the reſt of the trade to foreigners, from an opinion that it could only be returns for a very few articles of their manufacture, and of ſilver ſent from Europe and from America.---There is not a ſyllable to be found in the voluminous papers which appeared on the renewal of the charter, tending to encourage the trade of *Britiſh merchants reſident in India*, further than as it was connected with the four points before mentioned; nor is there an expreſſion which can apply, in the moſt circuitous indirect manner, to *Indian-built ſhips*: and particular ſtreſs has been laid on every occaſion by Mr. Dundas, againſt permitting *Britiſh* capital to be employed; on which ſubject your Committee will have ſome remarks to make. Under ſuch circumſtances, it muſt aſtoniſh every impartial perſon to hear the Indian agents accuſe the Court of Directors with having wilfully obſtructed the operations of the act of 1793; whilſt your Committee aſſert, that the preſent pretenſions of the Indian agents were never mentioned at that period, in the memorial they preſented, nor by Mr. Dundas, nor by any other perſon; and which is confirmed by the act itſelf.---If it be intended to deprive the Company of the rights they enjoy, it is neceſſary to prove that thoſe rights have been miſmanaged or abuſed. It is not ſufficient to urge, that perſons, however elevated their rank may be, have changed their opinion, or that they have objects in view different from thoſe entertained when the compact was made. The compact was between the Company and the public, and not with miniſters as individuals, whoſe opinions are always liable to change. The Company have complied, and are in the conſtant courſe of complying, with every expectation that exiſted in the year 1793; in which caſe, the aſſumption of any part of the privileges granted to the Company without their conſent, would be a violation of the public faith.---The Company are willing to undergo the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny on every point or condition expected from them in the year 1793; for which purpoſe they will make ſome ſhort obſervations on thoſe before mentioned.

1ſt. To realize the tribute of India in Europe.---It is true, that, in the year 1793, there was a ſurplus or tribute in India of 1,159,000*l.* per annum, to be brought home through the medium of commerce; but that ſum has been exhauſted either in eſtabliſhments under the authority of the Board of Commiſſioners, or in political expenſes, neither of which were incurred by, or belong to, the commerce of the Company.

2d. To remit the fortunes of individuals.---Individuals have not complained of the want of means to remit their fortunes to Europe ſince the year 1793. It is the Company who complain that *Britiſh merchants reſiding in India* are competitors for thoſe funds, and who intercept

a conſiderable portion, which would otherwiſe flow into their treaſuries, to enable the Company to purchaſe their own inveſtment.

3d. To encourage the export of Britiſh manufactures and produce.---The readineſs which the Company have manifeſted, and the facilities they have offered, on every occaſion, for ſo deſirable a purpoſe, have never been denied. If any doubts ſhall ariſe on the ſubject, the Company are, and always will be, anxious to remove them.

4th. To furniſh the means of returns for manufactures, &c.---This article is completely anſwered in reply to the ſecond. The Company do not wiſh to annex any limit as to the extent; whatever may be the amount, they are ready to receive it at their treaſury in India, and to pay for it in Europe, at a rate of exchange very beneficial to the parties who may be in want of ſuch a remittance.---The objects of the private traders in the year 1792-3 were, in reality---1ſt. To obtain an act of oblivion in regard to the illicit trade in which they had been concerned prior to that period, and to which no objection was made. 2dly. To participate in the trade to and from India, under the *pretence* of encouraging the export of *Britiſh manufactures*.---A very long memorial was produced by the private traders, in which they introduced calculations of a very flattering deſcription. To theſe ſuggeſtions Mr. Dundas acceded, and the Company yielded, by appropriating 3000 tons annually for the ſervice; and the following is the reſult of a plan, which has ſhared the fate of many other projects of a ſimilar deſcription, and juſtified the oppoſition made to it by the Court of Directors at the time.---In 1793-4, 919 tons were occupied, of which 822 tons were ſhipped by one houſe (Meſſrs. David Scott and Co.);

1794-5 .	40 tons	1798-9	374 tons
1795-6 .	31	1799-1800	195
1796-7 .	252	1800-1	150
1797-8 .	none	1801-2	27 applied for, but not ſhipped.

The greater part of what was occupied in the firſt year, was by the ſame houſe, who may have diſcovered ſoon after what was no ſecret before---namely, that the privilege granted by the Company to their captains and officers, was amply ſufficient to enable individuals to export Britiſh manufactures to India, and very probably even at a lower rate of freight than 5*l.* per ton.---It thus appears that the Company are obliged, by the act of 1793, to provide annually 3000 tons for the exportation of Britiſh manufactures, and which for nine years amount to . . . . . tons 27,000
There have been applied for only 1,988

Remain . tons 25,012

The Company have therefore been expoſed to unneceſſary inconvenience, by providing 27,000 tons for the accommodation of the ſhippers of 2000, and which is a complete refutation of the projects formed by the private traders in 1792-3. But, in order to ſhew that the clamour in favour of *Britiſh manufactures* at that time was a cover to other views, the following particulars of the goods ſhipped by one of the moſt conſiderable houſes of agency (Meſſrs. David Scott and Co.) in 1793-4, may be uſeful:

Beer .	tons 116	Iron . .	tons 230
Cochineal . .	10	Lead . . .	174
Carriages . .	80	Lines and Twines	2
Cordage . .	24	Mahogany .	23
Cabinet Ware .	16	Marble . .	14
Canvaſs . . .	20	Oil and Paint	9
Floor Cloths .	2	Plated Ware .	2
Glaſs Ware .	39	Pictures . .	1
Hardware . .	15	Saffron . .	3
Horſe-hair . .	1	Tin	1
Ironmongery .	16	Woollens . .	1
Lamps . . .	3		
			480
Tons	342		342
			Tons 822

We thus perceive 424 tons of metals, but of the great ſtaple article of *Britiſh manufacture*, *woollens*, one ton, and no more;---the remaining articles formed, more or leſs, the private inveſtment of the captains, and which they have always exported. That the public may underſtand more diſtinctly the comparative exertions of the Company, the following eſtimate of the export of *Britiſh woollens* for 1801-2, may be uſeful:

Bombay .	tons 335	value £.94,100
Madras . . .	230	120,100
Calcutta . . .	212	94,350
China . . .	2,750	1,101,970
	3,527	£.1,410,520

In addition to which, it muſt be obſerved, that the Company never expect to derive a profit on the export of woollens; they are well ſatiſfied if they can be conſumed with a ſmall loſs: for this reaſon, if the Company's rights and privileges ſhall be diſturbed, private traders will never follow this branch, and diſtreſs, as well as diſappointment, muſt fall on the moſt valuable branch of Britiſh manufacture.---Theſe were the prominent features of the negotiation for the renewal of the charter in 1793, and which concluded by granting the 3000 tons of ſhipping for the uſe of individuals, notwithſtanding the repreſentations made to Mr. Dundas by the Directors that he was miſtaken. He now acknowledges that the meaſure has proved nugatory, which is the only conſolation the Company can expect to receive for the ſacrifices they have made, and the expenſe they have been at.

Having thus cleared away (as we preſume) the old ground, by which we mean to have proved that the Company have fulfilled every expectation that was raiſed, as well as every condition which was ſtipulated, previous to the renewal of the charter, we ſhall next proceed to conſider the new pretenſion, or

project, which is brought forward, namely, "to allow the surplus produce of India to be "brought home by *British merchants resident* "*there, in ships built in that country.*"---Whatever opinions may be entertained on this subject, or whatever regulations may be made, they cannot in justice affect the existing charter of the Company. In the year 1793 they were not heard of, but may have formed parts of the numerous, various, and even discordant interests which were melted into one mass, for the purpose of giving greater power, energy, and effect to the administration of the political and commercial affairs of the Company, and of the British empire in India. Those merchants remained quiet, and their ships were unnoticed for some time after the renewal of the charter, and it would be injustice in the extreme to disturb the Company's rights upon such pretences :---nay, what is, if possible, worse, it would establish a precedent in favour of a set of men who are certainly entitled to no such preference.---Before your Committee proceed with the further details which attach to the subject, they must recall to the recollection of the Court the manner in which a plan has been pursued, that developes itself by degrees.---Until Mr. Scott appeared as a candidate for the Direction in 1788, the public were satisfied with the state of the trade between India and Europe, and the manner in which it was carried on; gradual, but regular improvements were made, and making, that whilst every endeavour was used for the benefit of the commerce of Britain and India, chimerical attempts were avoided, and the growing prosperity of both rested on the most solid basis; by which means the commercial arrangements and advantages were subservient, and highly useful to the preservation and security of the British empire in India. The first alarm commenced in the year 1787, in a letter from David Scott, Esq. to the Court of Directors; and which was mentioned by Mr. Dundas in the House of Commons in terms of the highest encomiums and applause. This letter contained a proposal from Mr. Scott, in which he says, "For many years they have not sent out above "one quarter of their tonnage in goods; so "that, in place of their ships loading with "British manufactures, they have gone chiefly "*in ballast.*"---To occupy this tonnage (confined to India) he offers to engage as follows: ---First year to occupy 6000 tons, to ship 500,000*l.* value in goods, and to pay freight 30,000*l.*; second year to occupy 7000 tons, to ship 550,000*l.* value in goods, and to pay freight 35,000*l.*; third year to occupy 8000 tons, to ship 600,000*l.* value in goods, and to pay freight 40,000*l.*; fourth year to occupy 9000 tons, to ship 650,000*l.* value in goods, and to pay freight 45,000*l.*; fifth year to occupy 10,000 tons, to ship 700,000*l.* value in goods, and to pay freight 50,000*l.*---He agrees, at the same time, that the privilege granted to the captains and officers of the Company's ships should remain without alteration.---To such a proposal, one single fact was opposed by the Court of Directors, namely, that at the time Mr. Scott made the proposal, returns were received of the draft of water of each ship, as the only means to enable the Court to ascertain whether the ships were not too full to perform the voyage from Europe to many parts in India with security; and on several occasions ships were not suffered to proceed until some part of the cargo was taken out, in consequence of the ships being overloaded. Such a decisive proof of the want of any basis on which a project of so much importance could rest, gave the Company a short respite until the years 1792-93, when it appeared in another form, and to which, in consequence of the decided support of Mr. Dundas at the time, the Company were compelled to submit—namely, "to "increase the exports of British manufactures "and produce, and to bring home the fortunes "of individuals."---Some years after that we heard of bringing to Europe "the surplus "produce of India." Still, however, the public remained under a delusion: they had heard so much about *British manufactures and surplus produce*, that they never perceived, nor ever could believe that other objects were in view; at last, however, the mask fell off, and the truth appeared to be a trade in "Indian-"built ships." But although the parties have acknowledged this to be their primary object, yet their friends in this country are aware that British ships cannot be sacrificed for so flimsy a pretence. They have therefore persisted in their clamour about "the surplus produce of "India," and attempt to prove that "Indian-"built ships" are the necessary and *only* means of bringing that surplus produce to Europe. For these reasons, although it becomes indispensable to enter fully into the question about surplus produce and private trade, yet your Committee are able to prove that the ships are the real object, by the admission of one of the first British merchants in Calcutta (Mr. Fairlie); and amongst the owners of those ships will be found the name of a British merchant resident in London, whose house (Messrs. David Scott, junior, and Co.) has taken a very active part on the present occasion. In which case it will distinctly appear, that the privileges contended for have not, nor cannot be, confined to British merchants residing in India, but that some British merchants, aided by *British capitals*, and residing in London, have, and will participate. Under such circumstances, the Court feel themselves compelled to become the advocates of the public, as well as for the Company; and if they cannot succeed to preserve their own rights, it is their duty to endeavour to introduce British and Irish subjects, ships, and seamen, to an equal chance of sharing with the Indian agents in the temporary spoil which will result from the destruction of the Company's exclusive trade.

In their last Report, the Committee have ana-

lyzed the nature and extent of the private trade, and, in a great degree, the foundation upon which it refts. They have alfo difcuffed, at fome length, the nature and extent of the trade between India and foreign Europe, and America; the refult of which proves, that the principles upon which the Indian agents raife their arguments, are without foundation. They are compelled to affert that the *funds* with which they trade are *Indian*, in order to avoid the obftacle which their too zealous friends have created on a former occafion by their decided unequivocal objections againft *Britifh capitals* being employed; whilft your Committee truft they fhall prove that the larger part of the capital employed in this trade is *Britifh*, and not *Indian*.---One great and ineftimable advantage to arife from the government of the empire in India being adminiftered through the medium of an exclufive Company under the control of a fuperior Board, is, the means which are thereby created to unite, for one common caufe, and for the benefit of the whole, every power and every refource, commercial as well as political. During the adminiftration of Mr. Haftings, the combination of thofe powers, and the beneficial confequences which refulted to the empire at home and abroad, were boundlefs; but the name of an Indian agent at that time was fcarcely known. Under Marquis Cornwallis their number and influence had increafed; the commercial funds, as a refource to Government, were proportionably diminifhed, and the Company was obliged to fend filver to India. At this moment they are far more numerous: the diftrefs of the Company abroad is great; and increafes in proportion as they are deprived of thofe refources, which proved of fuch infinite ufe to our governments in India on former occafions, which are now abforbed by individuals, and applied to the purpofes of their private trade. Still, however, they are not content; they ftrive to become paramount, to render the Eaft India Company fubfervient to their private intereft, and at the fame time to exclude every other Britifh fubject.---At this period of a long and expenfive war, when the current refources of the Company are exhaufted, they are naturally difpofed to look to every aid for the purpofe of aflifting the political operations of Government with vigour and effect; they are particularly anxious to look to thofe means which have proved fo ufeful on former occafions, and have therefore opened their treafuries to receive every rupee that can be remitted from India to Europe, in order to aflift the public fervice. In this arduous fituation, and for purpofes fo laudable, and even indifpenfable for the fafety of the empire in India, and for the exiftence of the Company at home, they are ftopped fhort by a new defcription of men, who intercept thefe funds in their way from the individuals to the public treafury, in order to employ the fame for the purpofes of their *private trade*. Your Committee muft confefs that it is beyond the reach of their underftanding to comprehend how a few perfons (for the number is very few) can poffefs the influence or the means to obtain fuch facrifices: the ufual and current refources of the Company are abforbed by the war; but inftead of receiving affiftance to enable them to bring every commercial aid, and the fortunes of individuals, into the treafury, for political purpofes, they are called on to yield, and to fanction to private traders, the benefit of thofe refources in India for the ufe of their private commerce, and to call upon their conftituents in Europe for the enormous additional fum of 4,000,000*l.* fterling.---The Indian agents, in every repreſentation, have been difpofed to exaggerate very much the amount of remittances to Europe for the fortunes of individuals. They advert to what was the real ftate of the cafe foon after the acquifition of the Dewannee; and combining the large fums which were brought home annually through the medium of clandeftine trade about that period, they found their arguments upon facts that do not exift at prefent. Whatever may be the amount of Indian or Britifh capitals employed in the trade between India and foreign Europe and America, it muft be very trifling, from the nature of the cafe, and from the ufual courfe of commerce:---there is no occafion at prefent to conceal fortunes, and to convey them to Europe in a clandeftine manner, more particularly when the rate or price of exchange on London is fo very high. And we are perfuaded that, when we difcufs the foreign trade, we fhall make it appear that the foreign means or capitals are nearly fufficient for the purpofes of their own trade; confequently the fortunes of individuals (whatever may be their amount), which do not come home through the medium of the Company, are remitted through the private trade of Britifh merchants refiding in India, who thereby abforb a refource which would be of great utility to the Company, and is very much wanted for the political intereſts of the empire. On a queſtion which, in its progreſs, produces fuch very important and ſerious conſequences, mere opinions, drawn from inferences and ſpeculative calculations, ought not to be admitted. We think the rights of the Company ought not to be infringed without correct, diftinct proofs fhall appear, to fupport the whole of the unfounded allegations of the Indian agents; and we aſſert, without the fear of contradiction by proof, that the Britiſh capitals, employed at preſent in the trade between India and foreign Europe and America, are very trifling indeed.

From materials which are unqueſtionable, your Committee have been able to aſcertain that the whole of the trade carried on from the river Hooghly to foreign Europe, America, and the Thames, is nearly as follows:

The Company's inveſtment	£.1,131,000
The private trade to London	783,000
To foreign Europe and America, only	765,000

On an average of five years, and valuing the Sicca rupee as uſual, 2s.6d. £.2,679,000

Theſe facts are extracted from official documents: they were not compiled with a view to the preſent queſtion; and the author has intimated, on ſome occaſions, opinions which, if viewed abſtractedly, may be conſidered as favourable to the ſide of the Indian agents. Whatever inference, therefore, can be diſtinctly and correctly drawn from thoſe documents, muſt be allowed by the opponents of the Company to be fair and impartial. It was for this purpoſe that your Committee proceeded to the further inveſtigation of the exports by foreigners, and which amounted to £.765,000

They find by the ſame documents, that foreigners imported, on an average of five years 542,000

Remains to be accounted for . . £.223,000

The Committee having thus accounted for 2,456,000*l.* out of 2,679,000*l.* being the whole of the exports, they conſidered the remaining ſum of 223,000*l.* as too trifling to merit further explanation or attention, it being *impoſſible* for *Britiſh Indian capitals* to be embarked in the trade between India and foreign Europe and America, to a larger amount.----They find, however, that advantage has been taken of this conceſſion, which renders it neceſſary for your Committee to explain themſelves. However trifling the ſum may be, it was never meant to inſinuate that Britiſh Indian capitals were employed at all; only, that a ſum remained, for which they could not account. It does not appear, however, in *proof* that any part of the ſum has been furniſhed by Britiſh ſubjects to foreigners, to enable them to carry on their trade; and ſince their laſt Report, your Committee have diſcovered ſome information on the records of the Governments of Bombay and Madras, which tends very much to explain this part of the ſubject.---The number of ſhips from foreign Europe and America, which arrived at Bombay and Madras in a period of four years, was as follows:

1795-6 arrived	20	Ships 56
1796-7	13	
1797-8	10	
1798-9	13	
The total departures to foreign Europe and America in the above period were	16	
Remain, and ſuppoſed to have ſailed coaſtward	40	

The American ſhips are uſually (but not always) very ſmall in point of ſize:---the following are mentioned in the laſt Reports:

The Recovery . . .	250 tons.
The Winthorp . . .	107
The Waſhington . .	165
The Hannah . . .	140

And although there are no documents to aſcertain the future deſtination, nor the value of their cargoes, yet thoſe forty ſhips muſt have brought funds of ſome deſcription from Europe or America, otherwiſe they would not have gone to Bombay or Madras previous to their ultimate deſtination, and which muſt have been in a great meaſure to diſpoſe of the inveſtments imported by them from Europe and America.—We have, therefore, part of the cargoes of ten ſhips arriving annually from Europe and America, which muſt be placed in reduction of the ſum unaccounted for; and when it is conſidered that foreign ſhips poſſeſs much greater means to carry on a clandeſtine trade, it is poſſible that the whole of the ſum of 223,000*l.* is *bonâ fide* foreign capital; at leaſt it ought to be conſidered as ſuch, until the Indian agents ſhall prove the contrary.---Your Committee are inclined to entertain this opinion ſtill more, in conſequence of the facilities granted to Britiſh traders and capitals by the act of 1793; as it does not occur to them what advantage reſidents in London can derive from the trade between India and foreign Europe and America, which they cannot equally obtain by a direct trade to and from India to the river Thames. The clandeſtine traders, who exiſted before the act of 1793, were either reſidents in India, or perſons who had acquired fortunes there, and were bringing home thoſe fortunes in a ſecret manner through the medium of foreign commerce.

Although more powerful or concluſive arguments relative to the private trade of individuals, cannot be urged than what will appear in the Firſt Report, yet this part of the ſubject is of ſo much importance, and of courſe neceſſary to be underſtood, in conſequence of miſrepreſentations, that ſome further obſervations become neceſſary.—To bring the whole of the trade of India to the river Thames, are captivating words; but which will require more commercial ſkill and capital than the Indian agents poſſeſs, to accompliſh, as well as the exerciſe of a degree of political power, which Mr. Dundas has diſclaimed: in ſhort, it is in direct oppoſition to the wiſer and avowed plan of encouraging foreigners to trade to the river Hooghly. Both, however, cannot ſubſiſt together, for they are diametrically oppoſite. We muſt, therefore, take for granted in conſequence of the uniform ſyſtem which the Company have purſued hitherto, that the firſt is a plan of mere words; but that the laſt, on a ſcale of moderation and reaſonable reſtrictions, is the real plan or ſyſtem by which the Court of Directors ought to ſhape their conduct.—When we pauſe for a moment, and conſider in what manner the whole of the export trade from Bengal is divided, the preſent conteſt ſurpriſes us ſtill more.

£.		£.
The Company ſend - - 1,131,000	To the Thames	1,914,000
Britiſh traders 783,000		
The whole of foreign Europe and America		765,000

If foreigners are admitted at all, they cannot receive a leſs proportion: it is unwiſe to attempt to reduce it. And in contemplating ſuch an immenſe fund of wealth and reſource for the mother-country, as well as for India, ſtrong apprehenſions naturally ariſe about the dangerous conſequences which muſt follow the fruitleſs efforts and purſuits of private avarice. It cannot be repeated too often, that it is impoſſible for the Indian agents to bring the foreign trade to the river Thames; and no man has been bold enough hitherto (although your Committee fully expect to hear ſuch language hereafter) as to aſſert that the whole of the trade between India and the reſt of the world ought to be carried on by private traders.—It is, moreover, proper to aſk whether India can forego thoſe wants which are ſupplied by foreigners? Again; Can Indian agents, or even the Company, ſupply thoſe wants without the aid of foreigners, which are almoſt indiſpenſable for the empire in India? Then why are theſe men encouraged to make attempts which are impracticable; or, if they were practicable, would produce ſuch deſtructive conſequences?—The pretence on which their plea reſts is, the ſuppoſition that Britiſh capitals are employed, and which, if they are to be credited, will be brought to the river Thames. This point has been explained in ſuch a manner as to ſatisfy the Court that they are incorrect in point of fact; that they cannot affect the foreign trade if they would; and that it would be highly injurious to India, the Company, and to the Britiſh empire, if they could. But it may be neceſſary to draw the attention of the Court to the ſtate of the trade which is now in the poſſeſſion of the Indian traders, as it can be proved that it already exceeds the extent of Indian capital; that it interferes with the Company, and intercepts, in a diſtinct manner, thoſe funds which the Company want for their own inveſtment, and for the political ſervices of the empire abroad.—Whatever is truly Indian capital muſt return to India; the remainder cannot be Indian, and muſt be either Britiſh capital, or the fortunes of individuals remitted through the medium of private trade to Europe.

The total amount exported from Bengal to London by private traders, was - - - - -	£.783,000
The total amount imported by them into Bengal only - -	303,000
Remains on an average of five years	£.483,000

A Britiſh merchant *reſident in India* will never ſuffer his capital to remain dormant in Europe, the quickeſt poſſible return being the ſoul of trade. His capital, therefore, cannot exceed 303,000*l.*; the remainder belongs to others, and of courſe the reſidents in India carry on already a trade above twice the amount of their own *bonâ fide* Indian capital. The remaining 483,000*l.* conſiſts either of Britiſh capitals, or the fortunes of individuals remitted to Europe. Mr. Dundas may therefore diſcontinue his ſearch after Britiſh capitals in the hands of foreigners; and if he be ſerious in his objection to their being employed, and in which no doubt he is well founded, the remedy is very eaſy, by checking the trade of Indian merchants. Such a check will not operate to the prejudice either of India, the Company, or the public; becauſe ſuch a part of the 483,000*l.* which is not Britiſh capital, would be paid into the Company's treaſury in India, and inveſted in produce and manufacture to be exported to the river Thames. At the ſame time the money, when it enters into the Company's treaſury, forms a part of the general circulation of the empire, and thus contributes to the political as well as the commercial operations of the Supreme Government, which have been conſiderably embarraſſed by withdrawing annually ſo large a ſum as 483,000*l.* from the maſs of political circulation. The more this ſubject is conſidered and inveſtigated, the more it will appear that the charges and ſuſpicion thrown out by Indian agents againſt foreigners, recoil diſtinctly on themſelves. If any doubt ſhall ariſe in conſequence of the ſmallneſs of the ſum which remains for Indian capital, it muſt be remembered that very large advances are made in India to manufacturers, planters, &c. alſo for the coſt of their ſhips, amounting in the aggregate, perhaps, to more than the capitals of Britiſh merchants reſiding in India; the whole of their trade with Europe, or at leaſt what may exceed 303,000*l.* being carried on with borrowed money, which Mr. Dundas reprobates on every occaſion: for the merchant in India draws on the agent in London for the amount or value of the goods which he ſends to Europe; in which caſe he trades with a *Britiſh capital*, which is advanced for the purpoſe by Indian agents reſident in London. But the Indian agents and their friends, aware of the inferences which muſt be drawn from facts of ſo concluſive a nature, diſpute the accuracy of the accounts, offering their own unauthenticated papers in their room, and complain that the trade from Bombay and Madras is not noticed at all.—The trade to theſe places is comparatively ſmall, and the Company have no regular return. The fact is, that the Committee were deſirous, when it could be done, not to hazard conjecture, but to confine themſelves to regular official returns. What they contend for is, that theſe accounts ſhould ſtand till their inſufficiency be ſhewn; and that, in the mean time, the unauthenticated repreſentations of the perſons who are intereſted in depriving the Company of their trade, be not taken as a baſis upon which any argument whatever can be built.—Theſe facts are additional proofs of what was aſſerted in the Firſt Report, namely, that the trade is the means, and the ſhips are the true end, which will be further

confirmed hereafter.---If thoſe merchants were only traders, the part of a ſhip would ſuit their purpoſes as well or better than the whole. For inſtance, if the goods in which one deſcription of perſons trade are light or roomy, the owners of ſhips will find others who want to ſend to Europe heavy goods for the purpoſe of making an aſſorted cargo; all parties are accommodated in this manner, and each purſues the line which belongs to him. In London, Amſterdam, or the great commercial places in Europe, the inſtances are very rare of the ſhip and cargo belonging to the ſame perſon, or of the owner purchaſing a large part of the cargo, to be ſold afterwards at a loſs, for the purpoſe of employing the ſhip; and yet this appears to be at preſent the practice of the merchants in India. Such a trade cannot laſt, it is defective, and rotten in its principle; there can be no apprehenſion, therefore, to contend this point with the Indian agents: and the Company truſt that their adverſaries ſhall be compelled to prove that the trade they propoſe to carry on is in its nature likely to be permanent.---This, however, is impoſſible; for in a very ſhort time the natural progreſs of trade will produce its own level, and revert back to an almoſt general principle, namely, that the traders in goods, and the owners of ſhips, will become in India, as they are in other parts of the world, different perſons. In the interval, however, the parties concerned (to the excluſion of every other Britiſh ſubject, and Britiſh ſhips) may acquire immenſe fortunes, whilſt the Company's charter for the excluſive trade will be deſtroyed.---It is found by experience that private traders cannot fill their ſhips without a large quantity of ſugar for dead weight; whilſt it is alſo aſcertained from experience, that if ſugar is charged with the whole of the freight for the voyage, it frequently leaves a loſs, which loſs will probably be increaſed when the rate of freight and charges from the Weſt Indies are reduced to their former level in conſequence of peace. It may therefore become a queſtion for conſideration hereafter, how far the importation of ſugar from the Eaſt, which leaves a loſs to the importer, and the firſt coſt of which is paid for by the public in ſilver from hence, ſhall be encouraged to the prejudice of the Weſt India ſugar, the coſt of which is either ſpent by the proprietor in the mother-country, or paid for by the manufactures and ſtores exported from home; for ſilver is often received from the iſlands, but ſeldom ſent thither.---The balance of trade is, as it always muſt be in future, in favour of India; it is therefore highly important to probe the queſtion which relates to the cultivation and importation of ſuch an article as ſugar from the Eaſt, to the bottom. The value of every rupee inveſted in ſugar, and imported from the Eaſt, is an additional rupee to the balance of trade againſt the mother-country. Some able and well-intentioned perſons have made it a queſtion, whether ſugar may not be ſupplied from India to an almoſt indefinite amount; but they are not aware that the ſucceſs, or, in other words, the benefit of India in this inſtance would prove the deſtruction of the mother-country, which cannot exiſt under the immenſe drain of bullion that muſt follow. If the Eaſt was in the ſame predicament with the Weſt Indies, when the coſt of the ſugar was either ſpent in Great Britain or Ireland, or paid for in manufactures and ſtores, it would be conſiſtent with the ſoundeſt principles of political arithmetic to encourage the importation by every poſſible means. Theſe obſervations are offered, becauſe private traders can load very few ſhips without ſugar, and that any material increaſe of the importation of the *produce* of India by them, muſt be in ſugar. It is, therefore, neceſſary to aſcertain whether the general intereſts of the imperial empire, and the intereſts of a very numerous deſcription of perſons, Weſt India planters and merchants, ſhip-owners, Britiſh manufacturers, &c. &c. &c. will not ſuffer to a greater degree than the Eaſt India Company, without producing any additional benefit commenſurate to the evil, either to the empire of India or to the mother-country, if the requeſt of the Indian agents ſhall be complied with.---The article of cotton alſo requires ſome obſervation, as much ſtreſs is laid on it, in conſequence of it being a raw material. The laſt advices from India mention that there was not ſufficient to ſupply the demand for the manufactures of the country. The Company, however, have abandoned the importation, in conſequence of the loſs which has been ſuſtained; but they are ready to grant free permiſſion to the manufacturers in Lancaſhire and elſewhere, to ſend out ſhips, and to import for their own account, on the uſual regulations for private trade, provided the ſhips to be employed are Britiſh or Iriſh built.

In concluding their obſervations upon the private trade of India previous to the laſt returns from thence, your Committee are deſirous to exculpate themſelves from a ſuggeſtion which has been induſtriouſly circulated by their opponents, namely, that they had refuſed to avail themſelves of the opinion of thoſe reſpectable perſons who had filled the high ſtation of Governor General in India. That they refuſed to refer a queſtion, whether the excluſive trade ſhall remain in the hands of the Company, or be transferred to a few Indian traders? is true; but it would have been negligent in the extreme, indeed highly culpable, if the Directors had not peruſed with attention what has appeared from ſuch high authority on their records.---As the name of Sir John Macpherſon had been frequently mentioned, more than uſual attention was given to what he has recorded in his letters of the 9th of April, 1785, and 10th of January, 1786. His object (no doubt highly laudable) was to tranſfer the foreign trade to the river Thames, which he ſtates to have been

Eighteen ſhips from Bengal, ten ſhips from the Coaſt, with cargoes of about eight lacks each, or		£.2,240,000
He makes the imports in bullion	£.240,000	
In goods	260,000	
		500,000
Remains		£.1,740,000

As there are no documents to which reference can be had to aſcertain this fact, it is preſumed that Sir John muſt have relied on the information of others. But as this ſum very far exceeds the amount of the whole of what is exported by foreigners and Britiſh private traders at preſent to foreign Europe and America as well as the river Thames; and as the exports from India are conſiderably increaſed, and not diminiſhed, it will follow that the information which Sir John Macpherſon received was erroneous.---Marquis Cornwallis has never diſcuſſed this queſtion with the ſame objects in view; but in his Lordſhip's letter of the 1ſt of November, 1788, many obſervations appear which apply generally to the ſubject, and corroborate the ſentiments entertained by the Court, of the danger which will reſult from too much encouragement being given to private traders. His Lordſhip obſerves on one occaſion, "The merchants would combine to "keep up the price, the more wealthy would "overbid and beat out the inferior dealers, "*and the Company would be always more in their "power, than they would be in the Company's.*" On another occaſion; "The abſence of every "degree of influence and reſtraint muſt, in "theory, be deſirable, but it is not likely to "be produced by this project; to give which "a probability of ſucceſs, a different ſtate of "ſociety, more vigour in the nation, a more "enlarged and efficacious ſyſtem of laws, "muſt be ſuppoſed; and it ſeems in effect to "provide for little more than *that the Company "ſhould transfer to a certain number of indivi-"duals here, the vaſt machine of their commerce "here, and become dependant on them.*"—When the private traders made a moſt ſcandalous attack on the character and conduct of Mr. Bebb in 1788-9, his Lordſhip, after a complete vindication of Mr. Bebb, adds, "He cannot con-"clude without remarking the indecorum "with which the regulations of Government "have been arraigned by the free merchants, "as well as the principle of regulating com-"mercial matters at all, as if the free mer-"chants conſidered themſelves authorized to "carry on their commercial concerns without "rule or regulation, and agreeable to their "own conceptions of a free trade."—A ſhort extract from the proceedings of Government and the Board of Trade, on the 14th of January, 1789, may be further uſeful on the preſent occaſion. Mr. Bebb writes, "Illegal impriſon-"ments, exactions, and coercions, of which "I have lately had proofs, and been able to "lay before you, have been exerciſed by *pri-"vate European traders*. Corruption has, I "have little doubt, had conſiderable influence, "at leaſt among the inferior ſervants of the "Aurungs, &c."—In a letter from Lord Cornwallis, dated the 7th of November, 1794, his Lordſhip ſays, "I am ſtrongly impreſſed with "a conviction that it will be of eſſential im-"portance to the intereſts of Britain, that "Europeans ſhould be diſcouraged and pre-"vented as much as poſſible from colonizing "and ſettling in our poſſeſſions in India."—If the Company cannot quote an opinion preciſely in point, from a character which every true friend of his country looks up to with reſpect and veneration, they can at leaſt produce his Lordſhip's ſentiments on the conduct of thoſe who have been uniform and inceſſant in their endeavours to wreſt from the Company the vaſt machine of her commerce, and to render the Company dependant on themſelves.—The determination of Marquis Cornwallis at that period, and the negotiation for the renewal of the charter in 1793, prevented (as it is preſumed) much further diſcuſſion of the ſubject under Lord Teignmouth. This is to be regretted the more, from the experience the Company have had of his Lordſhip's profound knowledge and zeal for the intereſts of the empire abroad, and thoſe of the Company at home. On one occaſion he obſerves, that the ſubject embraced many *extenſive* conſiderations, which would *be better diſcuſſed in Europe;* but concludes, that he gave his countenance to the plan, "ſo far as to declare his opinion that "it was practicable." On another, however, ſpeaking of ſhips, his Lordſhip remarks, that "if ſhips can be furniſhed at the rates pro-"poſed by the merchants, they can be fur-"niſhed at the ſame prices from the foreign "ſettlements on this river;" of which notice will be taken hereafter.—After this the Company heard for ſeveral years about the neceſſity of bringing the ſurplus produce of India to the river Thames; a propoſition they never underſtood, as they had conſtantly and uniformly offered to furniſh the means themſelves: till at laſt, under the adminiſtration of Marquis Welleſley, the truth appeared; and the object has been diſtinctly avowed to be no other than to introduce ſhips built in India, and to give them a preference over ſhips built in Great Britain or Ireland.—Whatever the Indian agents may inſinuate to the contrary, it is abſurd to ſuppoſe that the Directors have not read, with extreme attention, whatever has been produced by the Noble Marquis, relative to a meaſure which threatens the exiſtence of the empire abroad, and of the Company at home. But having read not only the opinions entertained by his Lordſhip, but alſo the documents on which thoſe opinions are founded, the Directors do not heſitate a moment to proteſt moſt ſolemnly againſt any ſuch authority or deciſion. What would be thought of a judge who pronounced judgment againſt

a corporate body, after hearing evidence on the ſide of the plaintiff only? And yet it is preciſely the caſe with regard to Marquis Wellesley: with numerous documents, and perſons who appear on the records on the preſent occaſion, there is no trace of a ſingle paper or perſon on behalf of the Company.—The obſervation of an anonymous writer appears but too true; "from ſmall beginnings, when capi- "tal and enterpriſe exiſt, the greateſt conſe- "quences flow. The Company have now a "rivalſhip to contend againſt, formed of their "own ſervants or their protégés."—When queſtions ariſe of this magnitude, and pregnant with ſuch extenſive and important conſequences, it would be criminal to bow to name or rank, however elevated, without full conſideration and a thorough conviction. The Committee, therefore, feel themſelves compelled to examine how far thoſe principles, which appear to have governed the conduct of Marquis Wellesley, are well founded; for the authority of his Lordſhip has proved the cloak to cover all the miſrepreſentations of the agents. In order, however, to avoid too wide a field for diſcuſſion, your Committee will confine themſelves as much as poſſible, and begin with obſervations which ariſe in conſequence of a letter written by his Lordſhip, and dated the 29th of November, 1799, of which the following is an extract: "In addition to the bullion "exported by the Court of Directors to India, "large quantities have been imported by indi- "viduals, and the Portugueſe have brought "to Calcutta, within a ſhort period of time, "a very conſiderable amount of ſilver. It is "an important *fact*, that the *exports* of Portu- "gal from Bengal, in the preſent year, will "be *nearly equal* to thoſe of the Company. "You will draw the natural concluſion from "this *fact*, and I leave it to your judgment "without comment."—Let us firſt examine the *fact*, and which is eaſily aſcertained.

The export from Bengal, of the Portugueſe, in the ſeaſon 1799, 1800, was no more than - - -	£.418,000
The export from Bengal to London was, by private trade, the ſame ſeaſon - - - - -	845,000
By the Company - - - - -	944,733

Theſe *facts* require no comment.

The other parts of Marquis Wellesley's letter call for more explanation and detail.—It is admitted that the *bonâ fide* trade of foreigners ought to be encouraged; in which caſe, that branch of the foreign trade which is moſt beneficial for India, and the leaſt injurious to the Britiſh manufactures, merits a preference. The Noble Marquis, however, not only proſcribes the aid of foreigners generally, but the Portugueſe are brought forward in a prominent manner.—What is the *fact* on this occaſion?—The ſeaſon 1799, 1800, the Portugueſe imported bullion 574,000*l.*; and they exported the ſame ſeaſon goods 418,000*l.*—The reaſon why the exports fall ſhort of the imports is mentioned by Mr. Brown to ariſe from one ſhip being left behind for want of goods. It is at the ſame time remarkable that Marquis Wellesley ſhould have objected pointedly to that part of the foreign trade moſt beneficial to India, and which never can interfere with the export of the Britiſh manufactures from hence.—To render a compariſon more intelligible, it may be neceſſary to ſtate the amount of ſilver imported, and of goods exported from Calcutta in 1799, 1800, as follows:

	Silver imported.	Goods exp.
Portugueſe -	£.574,000	£.418,000
Americans -	357,000	472,000
Britiſh private trade	204,000	845,000

It thus appears that the private traders, who, in their own opinion, are capable of increaſing the commerce of the Eaſt to an indefinite extent, after drawing from thence 845,000*l.* for their private advantage, could make no greater exertions towards relieving the diſtreſſes of India, than by ſending thither 204,000*l.* in ſilver; leaving a large ſum to be drawn from means which interfere in the moſt pointed manner with the reſources of the Company, both political and commercial. On the other hand, we find Marquis Wellesley labouring under the greateſt difficulty for want of money, and looking to every part of the Company's extenſive territory and connexions, from the Cape of Good Hope to China, without ſucceſs, calling on the Court of Directors to take effectual meaſures to guard againſt the Portugueſe; and which follows ſo cloſe upon his plan to promote private trade, that his Lordſhip could not be aware that ſilver in return for produce, and not viſionary plans, was the only real relief for the diſtreſs which his Lordſhip's Government laboured under.

A few words more may be neceſſary about the Portugueſe trade, as a Proprietor, who has taken an active part about the affairs of the Company, inſinuated, in a General Court, that the ſilver imported by the Portugueſe was *probably* Britiſh capital. In conſequence of the immenſe increaſe of cotton imported from the Brazils of late years, the balance of trade is much againſt (Portugal) the mother-country, which poſſeſſes no direct means to pay for the ſame; it is very natural, that, in a warm climate like Brazil, with inhabitants that are rich and luxurious, they ſhould be diſpoſed to receive the manufactures of India in return for their own products. This is the true cauſe of the increaſed trade of the Portugueſe in India; and if Marquis Wellesley ſhall be inclined to ſhut the port of Calcutta againſt the importation of Portugueſe ſilver, under ſuch circumſtances, it will be a phenomenon in the commercial and political world.—When the exports from India exceed the amount imported from Europe, it furniſhes room for ſpeculation and conjecture; but when a foreign nation ſhall import more than the value of their exports, it is impoſſible that Britiſh capital ſhould be employed. At

all events, the Court of Directors rely more confidently on the ſilver imported by the Portugueſe, Americans, &c. to increaſe the trade, and promote the proſperity of India, than upon the viſionary projects of the private traders and their friends. It is further remarkable that Lord Wellesley appears to be ignorant of the general principle admitted by Mr. Dundas, in the encouragement to be given to the foreign trade, where he is aware that *ſome* foreign Europe manufacture may be introduced; but the Noble Marquis proſcribes a trade where the exports are almoſt wholly paid for in ſilver,—The returns, which are in poſſeſſion of the Court, ſince the laſt Report from your Committee, prove diſtinctly, that, whilſt the export of private traders from Bengal is increaſed, it has not contributed to leſſen the exports to foreign Europe and America.

Exported by private Traders.	To the River Thames.	To For. Europe and America.
1797-8 -	£.870,000 - -	£.485,000
1798-9 - -	520,000 - -	292,000
1799, 1800 - -	845,000 - -	1,017,500

See Note below.

The argument, therefore, of the Indian agents, or their friends, that, in proportion as their own exports to the river Thames increaſe, the exports to foreign Europe and America muſt diminiſh, has been proved by the returns of 1799, 1800, to be wholly without foundation. It is further proved that the increaſe of private export bears no proportion to the increaſe of foreign export; but it cannot be denied that they riſe on the decline of the trade of the Company, which proves beyond a doubt that the real rivalſhip is between the private trader and the Eaſt India Company. How far their exports will increaſe, if thoſe to foreign Europe and America diminiſh, or ſhall be annihilated, is a queſtion of a very different deſcription, and at all events cannot be decided in their favour until they ſend out more ſilver, and employ more Britiſh capital than they have been able to do hitherto.

Having thus aſcertained, as your Committee humbly preſume, by *facts*, that the arguments of Marquis Wellesley, thoſe of the Honourable Proprietor alluded to, and of the Indian agents, ſo far as they relate to the employ of Britiſh capitals in the foreign trade, and the probability of bringing the foreign trade to the river Thames, are without foundation, they will next proceed to the conſideration of the queſtion about "Indian-built ſhips."—After it had been fairly avowed, that the real object of conteſt was for "the Indian-built ſhips," care was taken to keep the commercial part of the queſtion out of ſight; and in conſequence of a temporary ſcarcity of timber for the conſtruction of large ſhips, the agents contrived to raiſe a clamour about the reſource which the foreſts of India could afford to the maritime ſtrength of Great Britain. The Directors had not entered into a ſerious conſideration of this point abſtractedly; they had viewed the queſtion of Indian ſhips generally, and entertaining a decided opinion, that it was found policy to look with a jealous eye on any other deſcription of naval or military ſtrength, or the ſeeds of any naval or military ſtrength to ariſe in India that was not Britiſh, they were not prepared to meet this part of the ſubject at an early period. A very little reflection, however, was neceſſary to ſatisfy the Directors that his Majeſty's miniſters ought to decide; and if they are diſpoſed to adopt the policy of placing any part of the naval reſources of this country beyond their reach, and at ſo great a diſtance from home, the Court of Directors are ready not only to ſacrifice their own judgment, but to uſe their beſt endeavours to carry into effect any plans which may be adopted by his Majeſty's miniſters for the public ſervice. The Court, in doing this, are fully aware that in the preſent ſtate of Europe we ought to be on our guard, to ſpeculate upon events, and to look for combinations far different from thoſe which have formerly occurred. France has long conſidered India as one of the chief ſources of the national proſperity of Great Britain; and therefore her exertions will be unabated to injure us in that quarter. Under ſuch circumſtances, the Directors cannot appreciate the wiſdom of eſtabliſhing marine arſenals, collecting ſtores, &c. &c. which, in conſequence of a *coup de main*, may be turned againſt ourſelves; although they repeat, that they are ready to ſacrifice their own judgment, and to exert every endeavour to carry ſuch plans as may be recommended by his Majeſty's miniſters for the public ſervice into effect.—If the Company conſent to build, or to the building of large ſhips for the public ſervice, every complaint about the want of large timber muſt fall to the ground. Your Committee muſt obſerve, however, that the opinions which the Indian agents entertain on this ſubject, do not agree with thoſe which have been delivered by the Commiſſioners, on the ſubject of ſhip timber, in their able and voluminous Reports, which have been ſo long before the public.--In the Eleventh Report, after obſerving upon the conſequences which follow from the ſeller being wholly at the mercy of the buyer, for want of competition, they ſay---"But though theſe meaſures "have, during the laſt thirty-four years, occa- "ſioned a conſiderable ſaving to the public, it "may be doubted whether they have a tend- "ency to provide a permanent ſupply for the "navy; for though well contrived for obtain- "ing great timber at a reaſonable price, as "long as the preſent ſtock ſhall laſt, it is in

NOTE.—The advices received by the Georgina mention that the inveſtment from Bengal for the Company will be reduced to 294,000*l.*; the funds uſually applied for that purpoſe muſt therefore have been abſorbed by political expenſes, and to private traders, for rice and indigo, whilſt the fortunes of individuals are intercepted by the ſame perſons, inſtead of aiding the Company's inveſtment.

" part owing to them (the measures adopted " by the Commissioners of the Navy) that the " price of oak is not as high, when compared " with the price of corn, as it naturally should " be, in consequence of the lateness of the re- " turn. It is, in part, owing to them, there- " fore, that woodlands are diminished, and " tillage extended; they must, in some degree, " prove a discouragement to the planting of " oak, and they have an obvious tendency to " prevent more from being allowed to reach " the large size required for the navy, by mak- " ing it the interest of every person who has " any timber, to cut it, while it is of a size for " which there is a competition."---There is here much matter in a very short compass; but instead of listening to the wise suggestions of the Commissioners, by encouraging the growth and preservation of large timber, it is proposed to adopt means for lessening the demand hereafter, and thereby placing the land-owner still more in the power of the Commissioners of the Navy, who made no addition to their price from 1756 to 1792. It is thus that the question becomes extensive, and embraces the most important interests of the country. The land-owner, merchant, manufacturer, the British and Irish ships, and seamen, &c. &c. all must be sacrificed at the shrine of about fifty or a hundred Indian merchants and agents.

Having disposed of that part of the question which relates to large ships, by referring the decision altogether to his Majesty's ministers, your Committee will next proceed to the part which relates to commercial shipping.---Indian ships will have two competitions to encounter; the first, which they do not so readily acknowledge, but which is their real object, " *the ships* " *of the Company,*" built and equipped in the best manner: the other, " foreign ships;" for unless they can sail at a cheaper rate of freight than foreign ships, indeed so much cheaper as to compensate for all the delay and expenses of a circuitous voyage, they can never pretend to bring the foreign trade of India to the river Thames.---As the ships in the employ of the Company are built for their service, it follows, that the test of the comparison depends on the building and outfit. The following were the rates of building in the river Thames, for a ship of eight hundred tons burden:

Season 1781	-	£.14	14	0	War
1782	-	14	14	0	
1783	-	13	0	0	Peace
1784	-	12	12	0	
1785	-	11	17	6	
1786	-	12	10	0	
1787	-	12	10	0	
1788	-	12	16	0	
1789	-	12	16	0	
1790	-	12	10	0	
1791	-	12	10	0	
1792	-	12	10	0	
1793	-	14	0	0	War
1794	-	15	0	0	
1795	-	16	13	0	
1796	-	17	6	6	
1797	-	16	16	0	
1798	-	17	10	0	
1799	-	15	15	0	
1800	-	19	10	0	
1801	-	21	15	6	

Your Committee have no means to enable them to furnish so correct a list of the rates of building in India; they will state, however, what the Company's ships, the Britannia and Sir Edward Hughes, cost.

Britannia - - - -	1779	£18	0	0			River Thames.		
Sir Edward Hughes -	1785	21	14	0	as above	1785	£11	17	6
An Estimate - - -	1793	16	7	0	—	1793	14	0	0
Do. - - - - - -	1797	16	10	0	—	1797	16	16	0

Although the Committee have not sufficient evidence to enable them to judge correctly, they are persuaded that building has been, and must be, on the whole, cheaper in the river Thames than in India, for ships of the best description; and as the materials for fitting those ships out in India must, in a great measure, be sent from Europe, there will be a much greater disproportion in the cost of the outfit than the rate of building, probably a difference of 40 or 50 per cent. in favour of Europe ships. But a much greater difference would arise, if those Europe ships were built and equipped by private merchants, free from the rigour of the Company's inspection and survey, and which rigour has been found, by long experience, to be indispensable for Indian voyages. There is also another heavy burden which attaches to ships built in India, and which is sufficient in itself to compensate for the difference in duration between those ships and ships built in Europe; we mean the Indian rate of interest for money, which is more than double the interest of money in Europe.---These circumstances, added to the low rate of freight at which the Court have lately hired ships for the Company's service, induce your Committee to entertain a decided opinion, that Indian ships cannot be navigated at so cheap a rate of freight as those of Great Britain.---If this comparison between Indian and British ships is so much to the disadvantage of the former, what will be their situation when compared with those of Sweden, Denmark, America, &c. &c.? Timber, iron, hemp, and other materials, are liable to heavy duties in Great Britain, whilst they are free from duties abroad, and exempted from the freight and charges of transporting most of the raw materials; at least, it is the case with all the materials for ship-building in Europe. Labour is also cheaper on the continent, whilst the rate of interest for money is rather lower than in

England. Thoſe ſhips muſt ſail, therefore, at a rate of freight, from 30 to 50 per cent. cheaper than the cheapeſt of the teak ſhips. But if the *pretence* of a cheap rate of freight is applied for the purpoſe of deſtroying ancient ſyſtems, and the Company's rights, why not extend the principle generally?—There can be no doubt but that the Company can obtain Swediſh, Daniſh, American, &c. &c. ſhips at a much lower rate of freight than thoſe of Great Britain or India. The Navigation Act can have no ſtronger claim on the public than the Company's charter; and if Britiſh ſhips and ſhip-building are to be abandoned, and the Company's charter is to be infringed for the benefit of a few, there is leſs reaſon to heſitate about the Navigation Act, as the conſequences would be infinitely more extenſive.—When the teak ſhips are repreſented as good and durable, the language is intelligible, and acknowledged by your Committee; but when it is attempted to compare them for "cheapneſs" with thoſe of Great Britain, and ſtill more with foreign ſhips, the Committee are aſtoniſhed. They cannot avoid recollecting the ſtrong ſolicitations which were made to the Court of Directors, when Britiſh ſhips were taken up, during the American war, to carry out naval and military ſtores, to ſuffer thoſe ſhips to be *ſold* in India. Under ſuch permiſſion, the freight was very low, as the owners conſidered the *ſale* of the ſhip in India as the certain means of realizing a little fortune; and theſe applications have been repeated, from time to time, to the preſent day. Such a ſale, however, would have been impoſſible, if teak ſhips could have ſailed at as cheap a rate as the Britiſh. If theſe facts required further proof, it will be found in the proceedings of the Marine Committee at Bengal, in 1793. They ſay, "The Americans "actually build ſhips with a view to diſpoſe "of them here, and *get a large profit*, becauſe "they can afford to ſell cheaper than we can "build." Again they ſay, "Ship-building "can never flouriſh, except by prohibiting the "ſale of foreign bottoms."—It therefore appears, that building is cheaper in Europe; that the outfit is alſo very much cheaper; that the intereſt of money, which is five per cent. at home, is twelve per cent. at preſent in India, on Government ſecurity.

The only remaining article of importance is, wages; and which brings this part of the queſtion to the preference due to Britiſh ſeamen or Laſcars.—As Britiſh merchants and ſhip-owners do not even expect ſo large a profit as ſeven per cent. which is the difference between the rate of intereſt in the two countries, it is ridiculous to aſſert, that reſidents in India can carry on a competition under ſuch obvious diſadvantage.—Your Committee truſt that they have done more than enough to reply to the aſſertion about the *cheapneſs* of teak ſhips, otherwiſe they have ample materials to extend their obſervations much further; but from what has been ſaid, it muſt appear evident to the Court, that if the intention is ſerious, to attempt to bring the foreign trade to the river Thames, ſuch an attempt would become impracticable, if teak ſhips are employed as the *means*. The beſt, and *only means*, conſiſtent with the combined and extenſive intereſts of land, commerce, manufacture, and navigation, at the ſame time that the public faith will thereby be preſerved inviolate, will be to employ *Britiſh* ſhips.—After drawing this concluſion, your Committee are aware that further explanation becomes neceſſary, in conſequence of ſome advantage which the teak ſhips have enjoyed during the war. That advantage does not ariſe from cheapneſs; but being the property of private perſons, they are free from thoſe reſtraints which naturally attach to the ſhips of the Company, who, from precaution, do not chooſe to ſuffer their ſhips to ſail without company and convoy. Whilſt the Company are preparing a fleet, it is for the intereſt of a teak ſhip to ſail before, and being ſingle, the voyage is performed in a much ſhorter time: and by arriving ſo much earlier at her port of deſtination, the cargo is ſold to great advantage, whilſt the market is foreſtalled before the Company's fleet can arrive. Great numbers ſuffer from this circumſtance, which is conceived to be an undue advantage: but if the intereſts of the Company, and of thoſe who trade in their regular ſhips, are not thought of equal importance with thoſe of the private traders, at leaſt no ſuperior powers can be attributed to the ſhips; for the ſame ſervice may be performed, and the ſame advantages obtained, whether the ſhips are built with teak or with oak.—This undue advantage is the more diſtreſſing, as the late advices from India ſtate, that the Company's exports cannot be ſold, becauſe the private traders have foreſtalled and deſtroyed the market by their previous importations from Europe.—The Company's inveſtment has been uſually provided from three ſources: Surplus revenue, which is now abſorbed by the ſtate; the fortunes of individuals to be remitted home; the ſale of the Europe exports in India.—As the private traders have intercepted the ſecond, and foreſtalled the third, it is but juſt, on behalf of the Company, to call on them to point out what ſtill remains.—There can be no doubt that, before any deciſive meaſure ſhall be taken, hoſtile to the intereſt of the Company, his Majeſty's miniſters, in whoſe moderation and juſtice your Committee have every reaſon to repoſe their confidence, will be thoroughly ſatisfied that the employ of the teak ſhips, if once admitted, will become permanent. It has already been proved that they cannot ſail ſo *cheap* as thoſe of Britain; and now that we are reſtored to the bleſſings of peace, there can be no fear of their foreſtalling markets, in competition with the Company's ſhips, when ſailing ſingly. The foreign ſhips only remain, therefore, for conſideration.—If, to a low rate of freight, are farther added the charges of the river Thames, the duties paid to Government,

and a second freight insurance and charges to the ultimate place of destination, it is impossible to conceive in what manner a considerable part of the trade from India to foreign Europe and America can be brought to the river Thames in time of peace either in Indian or British ships. The speculative plans of projectors never reach the counting-house of the practical merchant, who attaches far more importance to the additional charge of a few shillings, which he must pay for the hire of a boat on the river Thames. If, however, it is admitted, for the sake of argument, that the teak ships can perform the wonders attributed to them, it is impossible to make London the general dépôt, so long as the present, or any duties are levied. The Company must import and must sell, even if a loss shall ensue; but when a loss arises to the private trader, if he is prudent, he will disappear.---At the same time, your Committee must concur in the observation already quoted from so respectable an authority as Lord Teignmouth, that if teak ships are cheaper, or possess any superior advantages, foreigners will build them as well as ourselves. They have had the option either to build, to purchase, or to hire; and yet teak ships have very rarely been employed by foreigners. And we may further add, that if permission shall once be granted to the Indian ships and their owners, what security can the public have, that these ships will be sent to the port of London, and not employed by their owners in the trade they now reprobate? One of the reasons for the concessions made in the year 1793 was, the clandestine and illegal trade prior to that period. If superior advantage can be obtained from the foreign trade, is there any reason to expect those whom acts of Parliament could not then bind, to be governed by any other principle than that of their own interest? Such was the case when ships were engaged in Bengal by persons, whose names appear on the present occasion, to go to Batavia, to carry the property of the enemy to Europe. But in order to illustrate this point more clearly, we shall soon have an opportunity to distinguish between the zeal and patriotism of British and Indian ship-owners, when it will appear, that the latter have availed themselves, in a very extraordinary degree, of the necessities of the public, whilst the British ship-owners have always manifested, on similar occasions, a moderation which entitles them to a better fate. The Indian agents, whose plans are directed to their own aggrandizement, are well aware that a competition with British industry and British ships must soon end to the disadvantage of Indian bottoms, and drive them out of the trade. This apprehension, and not favour to the East India Company, makes them contend that the indulgence shall be confined to Indian ships.

In addition to numerous facts and circumstances, which serve to develope the views and plans of the parties, there are others of a collateral description, which are not only deep and extensive, but in some respects unfathomable. When the contest in India was about the *means* to convey to Europe the surplus produce, Mr. William Fairlie, one of the first merchants in Calcutta, in a letter to the Board of Trade, dated the 26th of December, 1797, writes as follows:—"*It is true that the Company offer us "tonnage for our goods at this time;* but the "*great object* is, being permitted to send them "in our *own ships*, by which means we obtain "the profit of freight, and have an opportunity "of being otherwise serviceable to our friends." ---After this distinct avowal on the part of Mr. Fairlie, that British ships should return empty to Europe, in order that he might employ his own, we trust that it will be no longer contended that the ships are the *means*, and not the *end*. We have further to observe, that Mr. Fairlie was a partner in the house established under the firm of David Scott and Co. and it is probable is, or was, a partner in the house of Messrs. David Scott, Jun. and Co. of which Mr. Lennox was the avowed manager and a partner. This circumstance naturally calls for another observation on the following fact.--- The 1st of March, 1800, Messrs. Fairlie, Gilmore, and Co. offer to the Board of Trade in Bengal, four ships; and according to the regulations of that Board, they mention the names of the owners of those four ships.

	Tons.	Owners.	
Mornington	742	William Fairlie,	of Calcutta.
Eliza Ann -	480	Allan Gilmore,	
Aurora - -	555	J. H. Ferguson,	
Exeter - -	503	William Lennox,	of London.
	2280		

We have thus two facts distinctly proved, which apply to almost every part of the question, and destroy, in every instance, the speculative reasoning and visionary projects of the Indian agents. We see distinctly British capital employed in India, and what is more important, who are the parties prepared to rise up, and enjoy the exclusive trade to India on the ruins of the Company. We wish that we could, at the same time, penetrate the whole of the plans, and foresee the extent of the mischief; but that is impossible.

Having thus ascertained that the ships are the *end*, and not the *means*, it may be necessary to shew the extent and importance of those Indian-built ships, which dwindle into insignificance, when compared with any mass or description of British ships they are attempting to rival or displace.---By a return from Calcutta, dated the 30th of December, 1799, it appears that the ships built and building, fit for the English trade, and sailing from that port, were no more than twenty-six ships, burden 19,695 tons.--- There is no occasion to mark the insignificance of these ships by a comparison with the total mass of British shipping; it will be sufficient to state that the number employed by the Company consists of one hundred and twenty-two ships, burden 106,048 tons.---The Company

advertiſed for offers from builders and owners, for a few ſhips they wanted in the month of July laſt, when no leſs than one hundred and ten ſhips, burden 69,250 tons, were offered, of which the Company could employ at that time no more than fourteen ſhips, burden 8700 tons. This exhibits a proof that neither timber, capital, enterpriſe, nor artificers, are ſo much wanted, as to render it neceſſary to look to India for teak ſhips, to ſupply the wants of the Company or of the public.---If there is any well-founded claim on Government at this time, it is the fair and juſt claim of Britiſh ſhips and ſeamen, to provide (and not to deprive them of) the means of employment, in return for the great and meritorious ſervices rendered during the war. Britiſh ſhips of four or five hundred tons and upwards, are fallen above thirty per cent. in value, in conſequence of peace. There are few ſervices, except that of the Eaſt India Company, in which they can be employed; nor is there a chance for their being ſold, unleſs there ſhall be a demand for the commerce of France and Holland, and they are preciſely the deſcription of ſhips with which thoſe built in India will interfere. The number which are now unemployed muſt be increaſed very conſiderably, when the tranſports, and other private ſhips in the ſervice of the navy, are diſcharged; and yet theſe muſt give place to Indian-built ſhips. The views of the Indian agents are ſtill more conſpicuous, in that part of their plan wherein they propoſe to *confine* the trade to their own ſhips; that is, after having robbed the Britiſh ſhips and ſeamen of their birthright, they deſire to have thoſe Britiſh ſhips excluded, *for the benefit and advantage of the Company's excluſive trade*.---If enough has not been ſaid to refute the private traders, your Committee will beg leave to ſtate a ſhort compariſon between the general conduct of the owners of Britiſh and Indian ſhips. When the exigencies of Government, in 1795, required the large ſhips of the Company for the public ſervice, the owners ſurrendered them with cheerfulneſs at the requeſt of the Court on the moſt moderate terms; and this at a moment when the Directors in concert with the Board of Commiſſioners were taking the moſt active meaſures to reduce their advantages. The ſame readineſs and liberal conduct were manifeſted, when ſhips were wanted as tranſports to carry troops to the Weſt Indies. When the late expedition to Egypt was fitting out, Marquis Wellesley took up ſhips of the country, as well as thoſe of the Company. His Lordſhip had not communicated the ſlighteſt information to the Court of Directors in the month of November; but there are ample advices on the ſubject, and particularly to the Indian agents. Under theſe circumſtances, your Committee are obliged to have recourſe to private information, from the want of official documents. We are informed, the Gabriel, of 815 tons, manned with Laſcars, was engaged at 12,000 ſicca rupees per month; the Cuvera, of 932 tons, manned with Laſcars, was engaged at 14,000 ſicca rupees per month; and ſhips that carried no more than 150 military have been engaged for 6000 to 7000 rupees per month.---The Company was to bear all riſks on ſome of them, to employ the ſhips a certain time (in ſome caſes nine months), to pay freight for the dead weight, beſides other conſiderable advantages in favour of Indian ſhips.---Thoſe ſhips were in company with the Rockingham, one of the Company's regular ſhips of 800 tons, which carried 580 troops, and was full of ſtores, and which we ſhall take the liberty to compare with the earnings of the Gabriel, the neareſt in point of ſize, ſay, 1,500*l.* per month for nine months - - - - - - - £.13,500

The Rockingham 630*l.* per month for nine months - - - - - 5,450

Difference and loſs for nine months £.8,050

If this fact is well founded (and your Committee have no reaſon to doubt it, nor have they made any ſelection, as there may be other caſes ſtill ſtronger), it is the duty of the Court to exert every nerve to reſcue the Company and the public from the avarice and extortion of the owners of Indian-built ſhips.----Every impartial perſon would imagine that the Indian ſhip-owners would be content with this enormous profit: unfortunately for the Company, this is not the whole. Whilſt Lord Welleſley acknowledges that he cannot find cargoes for the ſhips ſent from Europe, and that three or four muſt be ſent to China (where they are not wanted), his Lordſhip has engaged that thoſe Indian ſhips ſhall be ſuffered to load with cargoes for Europe.

So many facts and arguments ariſe out of this important queſtion, that your Committee are compelled to treſpaſs on the patience of the Court with another comparative view of the caſe between Britiſh and Indian ſhips; for, under the preſent plan, the Indian ſhips may be conſidered as enjoying a *bounty* in preference to thoſe of Great Britain. In the year 1792, the *pretended* object of the private traders was to encourage the export of *Britiſh manufactures and produce*, and to meet which, the Company conſented to divide the ſuppoſed rate of freight of 20*l.* per ton in the following manner:—The export of Britiſh manufactures 5*l.*—the import of Indian manufactures and produce 15*l.*—At this moment the private traders contend that the imports from India are entitled to every degree of encouragement and protection; and therefore it is proper to examine in what manner their pretenſions will bear on the queſtion about the ſhips; and for this purpoſe, we will ſuppoſe, for the ſake of argument, that an Indian and Britiſh ſhip of 800 tons will coſt 25,000*l.* and ſail at a freight of 20*l.* out and home, divided as before mentioned:

The coſts of the Britiſh ſhip - £.25,000
Her freight at 5*l.* per ton - - 4,000

Will coſt in India - - - - £.21,000

The Indian ſhip, firſt coſt - -	£.25,000
Her freight at 15*l.* per ton - -	12,000
Her coſt in Europe - - - - -	£.13,000

This circumſtance merits particular attention; for, in one point of view, it may be conſidered as a deciſive proof in favour of Indian-built ſhips; but it reſts almoſt preciſely on the ſame baſis with the private trade: that is, if they enjoy a *preference* in the firſt inſtance, in that caſe they can trade, &c. to greater advantage. If the Company are at the expenſe of the eſtabliſhments, which are enormous, and will raiſe millions as a commercial capital, to pay political debts on the one hand, whilſt every other deſcription of Britiſh ſubjects are excluded on the other from participating with the Indian agents in their trade, there is no doubt but that thoſe agents will poſſeſs the real monopoly and benefit. So likewiſe with regard to Indian ſhips, if they can earn three quarters of the whole freight, after performing only half the voyage, they enjoy a decided preference over Britiſh ſhips, and which may operate to the excluſion of the latter. But will ſuch a ſyſtem be endured? And if it ſhall be propoſed to equalize the freight, it is fair to aſk what is to become of the encouragement held out to *Britiſh manufactures* by the act of 1792-93? Muſt we impoſe an additional freight of 5*l.* per ton on *all our exports*, in order to meet theſe Indian ſhips and traders on equal grounds? Are the public prepared to pay the ſame additional freight for their troops and ſtores (which will amount to an immenſe ſum) in time of war? In ſhort, the public intereſt, Britiſh manufactures, and Britiſh ſhips, muſt all yield to the intereſt of theſe individuals. With ſuch extenſive conſequences in view, your Committee can never perſuade themſelves that the chartered rights of the Company will be violated.—In this part of the ſubject, your Committee muſt again notice what relates to Britiſh ſeamen and Indian Laſcars; and ſtill more, when they view it as contributing to the introduction of the colonial ſyſtem in India. Every new light which can be thrown on thoſe truly important queſtions, induces your Committee to believe, that the fatal conſequences which they contemplated in the former Report, are but too juſt and too well founded;—they will not repeat what they have before urged, but refer the Court to their former Report on thoſe ſubjects. The cauſe of humanity, however, requires that ſome addition ſhould be made, in conſequence of an attempt to prove that Laſcars are dearer than Britiſh ſeamen. The attempt is curious; but although the fact is denied by your Committee, they will not waſte the time of the Court by much diſcuſſion on that point; they will only obſerve that *if* it were true, it would be for the *intereſt* of the owners of Indian ſhips to diſcharge the Laſcars at the firſt European port at which they arrive, and where they muſt inevitably periſh. The country where the ſhip is built, where the owner reſides, and where the voyage originates, muſt furniſh ſailors, who are natives of that country in the firſt inſtance. When the ſhip returns to India, after having performed her voyage with European ſailors on board, is it likely that the owners will keep thoſe ſailors on wages, while the ſhip earns nothing? It is for the *intereſt* of the owner that the ſailors ſhould deſert, which they will do, and, by rambling over the country, diſgrace the Britiſh name, and weaken the hands of Government. But when the ſhip is again fitted out, they muſt again employ Laſcars; and the manner in which theſe poor wretches are treated cannot be explained more feelingly than by the declaration of the Governor of Bombay, "that the "*mortality* had been ſo great on board the "country ſhips, that no more ſhould ſail with-"out European ſurgeons on board;" and the Company upon this occaſion were obliged, as probably will be the caſe in future, to furniſh ſurgeons at much inconvenience from their regular eſtabliſhment.—Theſe are ſhocking reflections; but the following ſtatement of the mortality on board two ſhips *lately* arrived, may place this part of the queſtion in a more correct point of view *.

	Laſcars embarked in India.	Died on paſſage.	Sick on arrival in England.
Lucy Maria -	86	22	20
Surat Caſtle -	123	36	45
	209	58	65

In conſequence of the inclemency of this climate, the diſeaſes they are expoſed to, and the voyage back to India, the mortality will be greatly increaſed; whilſt the few who reviſit their native ſhore may become cripples for life. Theſe ſhips are ſelected from a liſt of ſix, as having the greater number of men on board, and much the larger proportion of mortality; they are, however, by no means unuſual caſes †.

Extracts from a Letter to the Proprietors of Eaſt India Stock, reſpecting the preſent Situation of the Company's Affairs both Abroad and at Home; in Anſwer to the Statements given in the latter Part of the Third Report of the Special Committee of the Court of Directors, reſpecting private Trade, dated the 25th of March, 1802.

GENTLEMEN, *London, June* 8, 1802.

IF the Third Report of the Special Committee of the Court of Directors reſpecting private trade, dated the 25th of March laſt, and approved of on the following day by the whole Court, had been confined to a fair inveſtigation

* NOTE.—This melancholy ſubject is beyond the reach of the Court and of the Committee to penetrate, as the Company have no return nor control over the Laſcars; the above ſtatement muſt therefore be conſidered as imperfect, and ſhort of the truth.

† For the remainder of this Report ſee pp. 622, 712, and 742; where it is continued and concluded.

of that important queſtion;—if a diſpaſſionate attempt to eſtabliſh by facts and arguments the opinions entertained by the Committee on the one hand, and to refute and expoſe the doctrines of their adverſaries on the other, had been their ſole object; the Proprietors and the public would not be troubled with any obſervations from me upon their publication. In that caſe, the merits of the queſtion at iſſue, conſidered abſtractedly, might have been properly left, without further diſcuſſion, to be decided upon by thoſe to whoſe judgment the parties themſelves had reſpectively appealed; and with reſpect to its practical application, had any difference ariſen, ſo ſerious as not to yield to conciliatory meaſures, that difference could only have been ſettled, either by the Court recurring to ſuch legal proceedings as it is competent, under the exiſting laws, to inſtitute in this reſpect, or by the paramount authority of Parliament. In either caſe, it certainly would not have afforded me any ground on which I could preſume to treſpaſs upon your attention. But when the authors of this Report, inſtead of keeping within the limits of the queſtion, are ſo hurried away by the impetuoſity of their zeal againſt the private traders, as, in the warmth of their attack, not only to forget the ſervices, but to trample upon the character of the moſt ſteady and faithful friend of the Company, of the man under whoſe direction and guidance, during eighteen years, the Indian empire has been raiſed, from a ſtate of weakneſs and confuſion, embarraſſment and diſtreſs, to a ſituation of power, order, ſtability, and efficient reſource, greater, perhaps, by a compariſon with its ſituation in 1783, than any country ever attained within ſo ſhort a period;—when, not ſatisfied with this unexpected charge, which, as we may have occaſion to ſhew hereafter, is at once an impeachment of their own conduct, judgment, and conſiſtency, and a ſevere reflection upon the ſincerity of that gratitude which they ſo lately unanimouſly profeſſed to feel for the ſervices of that diſtinguiſhed ſtateſman; the authors of this Report further repreſent the ſituation of the Company's affairs to be ſo deſperate, as to render idle and futile the conſideration of a plan he had ſuggeſted for their relief: ſo deſperate, indeed, in their view, as to exhibit, even in the diſtreſſes of 1783, when Mr. Dundas began his adminiſtration, a contraſt of proſperity and eaſe, when compared to the ſtate in which he left the Company's affairs, on retiring from office: when ſuch ſtatements as theſe are officially publiſhed, as the deliberate ſentiments of the truſtees to the public for the executive management of our Indian empire (for in this light I muſt conſider the Court of Directors), and prefaced too with a ſolemn engagement, that not only the "truth, but *the* "*whole truth*, ſhould be ſubmitted to the con- "ſideration of his Majeſty's miniſters, the "proprietors, and the public;" ſurely it is high time, not only for thoſe who have a direct and immediate intereſt in the concerns and welfare of the Company, but for every man who knows how to appreciate the value and importance of India to this country, to examine into the grounds of theſe ſtatements; to ſatisfy himſelf how far the compariſons between the preſent and former periods have been fairly and impartially made; and whether the preſent criſis be really of ſuch a nature, as either to preclude relief altogether, or to render that ſpecies of relief, ſuggeſted by Mr. Dundas, in his Letter of the 30th of June laſt, ſo incommenſurate to the extent of the difficulty, as to be at firſt ſight obviouſly nugatory, and inapplicable to the occaſion.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

When the uſual annual accounts of the affairs of India were laid before Parliament in the laſt ſeſſion, it muſt be recollected that Mr. Dundas was no longer in office. It was not, therefore, neceſſarily incumbent upon him to bring them particularly under the view and cognizance of Parliament. Many conſiderations, however, ſuggeſted to him by his zeal for the future intereſts of the Company, induced him to undertake the laborious taſk, not only of ſtating thoſe accounts according to the eſtabliſhed form of preceding ſeſſions, but, at the ſame time, to wind up his Indian adminiſtration; firſt, by a general but comprehenſive retroſpect of the principal meaſures and occurrences which had influenced the ſituation of the Company's affairs during the laſt ſeventeen years; and ſecondly, by pointing out the principles and outlines of a plan, which appeared to him well adapted, and adequate to meet and overcome a difficulty, which, amidſt ſo many flattering proofs of commercial and political proſperity, he fairly admitted was of a magnitude to require the utmoſt attention and exertions of his ſucceſſor in office, and of the Company to check and ſubdue; namely, the amount and accumulation of the Indian debt. This general explanation of the affairs of the Eaſt India Company was ſubmitted to the Houſe of Commons on the 12th of June laſt. On the 30th of the ſame month, he was induced, in his letter of that date, to tranſmit to the Court of Directors a ſeparate and more detailed ſtatement of the plan he had previouſly ſuggeſted to the Houſe of Commons for the reduction of their Indian debt: ſhewing what would be its progreſſive effect for that purpoſe, and embracing, as the Letter itſelf ſtates, "a general view of the conſequences it might "be expected to produce in the proſpect of "the Company's affairs during the continu- "ance of the preſent charter." His motive for taking this ſtep was, as he himſelf declares, "The hopes he entertained, that it might "lead to a more ſpeedy and accurate con- "ſideration of this important ſubject." So far from his laudable expectation being fulfilled, no notice whatever appears to have been taken of this letter, until it appeared to the Special Committee to afford them materials for a

general attack upon the whole adminiſtration, ſervices, and views of its author. The members of this Committee are certainly neither the firſt, nor the only perſons in the world, who have begun by neglecting, and ended by ſcoffing at, the parting advice of an old, experienced, and tried friend; and, perhaps, like others, they one day may have to regret the folly, if not the baſeneſs, of ſuch conduct. Unfortunately, in the preſent caſe, the fault will be with them and their colleagues only, but the regret may extend to all thoſe who are intereſted directly or indirectly in the proſperity of our Indian empire.

To come, however, more immediately to the ſubject: "Mr. Dundas," ſays the Report, "on retiring from office, has repreſented India "and the affairs of the Company in the moſt "proſperous ſituation, and, in the event of "peace, capable of reducing the debt in India "within reaſonable and proper bounds, many "years before the expiration of the Company's "charter. The letter above referred to being "in the nature of an appeal to public opinion, "unwillingly forces itſelf upon your Committee's notice. That Mr. Dundas has not "properly appreciated the importance and "extent of the claims of the Indian agents, "your Committee truſt they have diſtinctly "proved in this and their former Reports; "and they have too much reaſon to fear that "the excluſive trade, as regulated by the act "of 1793, is not only neceſſary, but indiſpenſable as a reſource to ſave the Company "from deſtruction. It muſt always be remembered, that every part of Mr. Dundas's "plan, whether it relates to the flattering proſpects held out to the Company at home, or "to the relief and proſperity of the empire in "India, *depends wholly and ſolely upon the Company's commerce;* but whilſt the means of "applying every commercial aid with ſpeed "and effect, are far beyond what he could "have expected on the 30th of June laſt, in "conſequence of the peace; yet the few "months which have intervened, have been "more than ſufficient to convince the Court "that Mr. Dundas was miſtaken as to the real "ſituation of the Company's affairs in India; "for *the whole of his eſtimates are completely "deſtroyed* in conſequence of the advices ſince "received from thence."—The firſt fallacy we are compelled to take notice of in this quotation from the Report is, "*That every part of "Mr. Dundas's plan depends wholly and ſolely "upon the Company's commerce.*" This is a miſ-ſtatement ſo groſs and ſo palpable, that it is impoſſible to conceive how it can have found its way into the Report. The very firſt ſentence of Mr. Dundas's Letter, from which the Committee draw this concluſion, expreſsly ſtates, that his plan "depends upon a due "combination of the *revenues* and commerce "of the Eaſt India Company;" and in the ſubſequent developement of it, the firſt requiſite he ſtates as the foundation and *ſine quâ non* of the whole is, "an arrangement abroad, ſo "that a full million from the ſurplus of the "revenues" (i. e. the revenues belonging to the Company in their *political* character, as ſovereigns of the ſoil in India) "ſhall, at the "commencement, be applicable to the pur-"poſe of inveſtment."—With reſpect to Mr. Dundas's repreſentation, that India and the affairs of the Company are generally conſidered in a proſperous ſituation, as the Committee have not condeſcended to argue upon the aſſertion, or ventured openly to deny it, except in ſo far as relates to their finances; though by implication they might, indeed, be underſtood to regret the overthrow of Tippoo, and our new alliances in India, it is unneceſſary to dwell upon that part of the ſubject; particularly as the general expoſition, by which, as we have already obſerved, Mr. Dundas concluded his laſt budget, is ſo deciſive upon every topic connected with the improvement of our political power and commercial connexions in India, as to appear equally ſatisfactory and unanſwerable. Such, indeed, is the importance and value we attach to that ſummary review upon each of thoſe points, that we thought it would be highly acceptable to our readers, and illuſtrative of the general ſubject, to ſubjoin it as an appendix to this Letter.

Let us paſs then to the great object of inquiry, the finances of India. "The whole of "Mr. Dundas's eſtimates," we are told, "are "completely deſtroyed, in conſequence of the "advices ſince received from India." Theſe, indeed, are ſweeping words, and a ſhort way of getting rid of the whole plan. We cannot, however, ſo eaſily conſent to conſign that plan to oblivion, or concur in the wiſdom of that childiſh policy which the Directors ſeem to have purſued on this occaſion, in exaggerating diſtreſs, and dealing out alarm with one hand, whilſt with the other they peeviſhly reject the aſſiſtance offered them, as if they were more anxious to excite compaſſion for, I know not what, imaginary evils of their own invention, than to find a remedy for thoſe which really exiſt.—But what is this advice from India which has come ſo ſeaſonably to ſpare the Directors the trouble of conſidering Mr. Dundas's plan, and to render it completely nugatory, and almoſt ridiculous in their opinion? Why, that the Indian debt *bearing intereſt*, which in his Letter he eſtimated at fourteen millions, is, by this time, there is reaſon to believe, increaſed to about ſixteen *. What effect this addition of two millions has on the calculations on which his eſtimate is formed, will be ſhewn

* The debt at intereſt, by the accounts laid before Parliament by the Court of Directors, dated the 5th of May, 1801, was only 12,301,57*l* ſterling. Mr. Dundas, therefore, in taking it at fourteen millions on the 30th of June following, made an allowance for an addition of nearly 1,700,000*l*. The floating debt in 1800 was taken at two millions, and is now, and will probably remain, at about that amount.

preſently. But, in the firſt place, it is obvious that any augmentation of debt, only renders ſome plan calculated to produce the ſame effect, if not by the ſame means as his, ſtill more preſſing than before this advice was received. In the next, it will not be contended that, ſuppoſing Mr. Dundas's plan to have been practicable and expedient when the debt ſtood at fourteen millions, it neceſſarily ceaſes to be ſo by the mere addition of two millions to the amount. On the contrary, it muſt be obvious to every one who has looked at that plan at all, that the very ſame requiſites on which it is founded, and by the exiſtence of which it can alone be attempted, would, if they are forthcoming, be equally applicable to the reduction of the debt, whether it be fourteen, ſixteen, or even twenty millions. The only *neceſſary* difference in the final reſult would be, that in whatever ſum the debt, ſo to be paid off, may exceed fourteen millions, that ſum muſt be deducted from the balance which, according to Mr. Dundas's eſtimate, would otherwiſe be forth-coming at the end of the charter; ſo that, taking the debt at ſixteen millions, the balances which in the three different caſes, upon which eſtimates are given, in the Appendix to Mr. Dundas's Letter, Numbers I. VI. and VII. being in the

Firſt - - -	£.20,672,028
The ſecond - -	15,122,028
The third - -	18,022,028

would, in each, be two millions leſs at the expiration of the charter. The only other alteration this augmentation of two millions to the Indian debt, might occaſion in the above eſtimates, would be to protract, for two years, the period at which that debt would be reduced within the intended limits of four millions and a half; but this is by no means a *neceſſary* conſequence; as the liquidation of the Indian debt might, if it ſhould be found more expedient, be accelerated, ſo as to diſcharge the two additional millions before the period at which the *decennial loan* will become payable. This might be done by adding to the remittances in bullion from this country, or by drawing additional bills from India; and conſequently in either caſe, by diminiſhing the caſh balance at home, between the preſent period and the year 1807-8, in ſuch proportion as it might, under all circumſtances, be thought proper, in order thereby to add in ſo much to the amount (one million) of debt propoſed to be diſcharged in India, in each year preceding this laſt-mentioned period, until the whole of the two additional millions ſhould be reduced. It will appear, by an inſpection of the eſtimate, that the only effect of this would be to diminiſh, in whatever proportion the payments were ſo increaſed, the current balance remaining at the end of each year, until the diminution reached two millions, which, as we have already ſtated, would be the final reſult upon the whole of the concern. Theſe are points depending upon figures alone, and which, conſequently, unleſs their accuracy can be diſputed, admit of no difference of opinion. The remaining queſtion then to be diſpoſed of is, whether the requiſites or data, upon which Mr. Dundas's plan was formed, with a view to the reduction of a debt of fourteen millions, can be expected to be forth-coming, now that the debt is ſwelled to ſixteen.—The two points which, when his plan was formed, it became moſt material carefully to aſcertain, and which may ſtill be conſidered as the moſt important, are: Firſt, The poſſibility of an arrangement in India, ſo that a million, from the ſurplus of the revenues, ſhall, at the commencement of the operation, be applicable to the purpoſe of inveſtment. Secondly, The practicability of procuring ſuch a ſupply of bullion as may be neceſſary in aid of the other reſources of exports, bills from India, &c. to complete, in the moſt advantageous manner, the ſum required in Mr. Dundas's plan for the prime coſt of the inveſtment from India and China, to four millions ſterling.—It may be objected, that the foreign commerce with India will be ſo much increaſed, in conſequence of the reſtoration of peace, that it will be impoſſible for the Company to carry the prime coſt of their annual inveſtment from India and China to four millions. This objection has been anticipated, and, we think, fully anſwered in Mr. Dundas's Letter of the 30th of June; to which we beg leave to refer on this ſubject; only remarking, that even admitting a reduction to be made in the annual inveſtment to the amount of one fourth, or one million, the only effect of it would be, not to invalidate the principle of Mr. Dundas's plan, but only to retard, in ſome degree, the rapidity of its ſucceſs, as is arithmetically proved by the eſtimate No. VI. in the Appendix to that Letter, formed upon the ſuppoſition of this reduced inveſtment. To return, therefore, to the two difficulties we have adverted to, I can ſcarcely think, with reſpect to the firſt, that any real doubt can exiſt, peace being now generally reſtored, that ſuch proper retrenchments and reductions in the military eſtabliſhments, in the extraordinaries of the army, in the Company's marine, and in various other heavy expenſes incident to war, may be effected without riſk, as will with economy, and the other reſources pointed out in Mr. Dundas's Letter, produce, at leaſt, the neceſſary ſurplus of one million ſterling.—Suppoſing the permanent additional charge for intereſt upon the two millions added to the debt, to be 175,000*l.* making the annual intereſt of the whole about 1,400,000*l.* *; and even allowing that no reduction can be effected in the rate of intereſt in any part of it; ſhall I be ſeriouſly told, that, under the preſent circumſtances of Europe and of India, a diminution of annual charge to the extent of 175,000*l.*

* In eſtimating the debt at intereſt to be fourteen millions, Mr. Dundas reckoned the annual charge on that account to be 1,225,000*l.*

cannot, for so great an object, possibly be effected, over and above those reductions of expense, for which credit is taken in the estimate, No. IV. of the Appendix to Mr. Dundas's Letter, and exclusive also of the other resources suggested in the Letter itself; by the aid of which the net surplus, stated in that estimate at 800,000*l.* may be carried to one million sterling? Let it be recollected, that in that estimate the annual expenditure of India, exclusive of interest upon any part of the debt, then taken at fourteen millions, is reckoned at no less a sum than 8,851,260*l.*; and consequently that the only question is, whether a sum not amounting nearly to one fiftieth part of the annual receipt or expenditure of India, may not, either by an augmentation in the one, or a diminution in the other, or by the joint effect of both, reasonably be relied upon, in addition to the surplus stated in that estimate, as soon as the peace arrangements can be completed. Let it also be recollected, that the date of that estimate, "prepared," as Mr. Dundas says, "by the joint labours of Mr. Wright, the "Company's auditor, and of the accountant "to the Board of Control, with such *abun-* "*dant caution, as not to admit of any surplus* "*that does not appear to be clearly warranted,*" is antecedent to several orders, which, it is understood, were sent out last season for material reductions in some of the establishments: and that it is expressly stated in a note to that very estimate, "*that in the calculations upon* "*which it is formed, the military establishments* "*are supposed not to be reduced more than by* "*the orders actually sent out, previous to the* "*30th of June,* 1801."—What farther reduction* may be in contemplation since the peace, or to what extent it may ultimately be carried, consistently with the internal security and general defence of our Indian empire, are considerations upon which it is quite unnecessary to enter with a view to the present question; as I am perfectly certain it will not be contended by any one, either in or out of the direction of your affairs, supposing a surplus of one million could be relied upon when the debt was at fourteen millions, that the interest of two millions, since added to that debt, cannot possibly be provided for, either by this or some other mode of retrenchment, without breaking in upon that surplus which forms the first and most essential requisite of the whole plan. Under all these favourable circumstances, it would be a waste of time to attempt, by further explanation, to shew that a surplus of one million sterling may from this moment be reserved in India, and rendered applicable to the purchase of investments, provided positive and explicit orders shall be sent out for that purpose.—The other difficulty, that of procuring bullion, might have been great, though not, it is conceived, unsurmountable, had the war continued; but now that peace is restored, I believe it will not be urged as being of a very serious nature. The whole quantity requisite for the first year may, I make no doubt, be easily procured between this period and the dispatch of the ships of the ensuing season.

The next point to which the Committee proceed, is the comparison which they say "they will *venture* to make between the period "of distress in the Company's affairs, in the "year 1783, when Mr. Dundas began his ad- "ministration, and the state in which he has "left the Company's affairs on retiring from "office." Their statements are as follows:—"The Report of the Court of Directors, dated "the 23d of January, 1784, and laid before "the House of Commons (which was approved "and defended by Mr. Dundas), *states dis-* "*tinctly the revenues and debts of India, accord-* "*ing to the last accounts which could be obtained* "*at that period.*

"The net revenue of India, exclusive of the profit on salt and opium, was - -	£.2,091,546
"The salt and opium, though they have produced much more, was at that time estimated at only - - -	400,000
"Net surplus at that time -	£.1,491,546
"This surplus was subject to *charges, and particularly to the interest of the debts in India.*	
"The salt and opium are estimated at no more than 400,000*l.* but produced, for an average of above twenty years, 800,000*l.* per annum.	
"By the accounts laid before the House of Commons, the 5th of May, 1801, the surplus net revenue was - -	£. 664,397
"It appeared at the same time that the interest upon debts bearing interest was - -	1,082,204
"Leaving a deficiency of -	£. 417,807

"Your Committee are aware that the defi- "ciency is much larger, not only from addi- "tional interest on debts, but for expenses "which are not included; but the difference "against the annual *political* income of the "Company between the periods of 1783-4 "and of 1801-2 is very considerable."—The first part of this comparison, therefore, rests entirely upon the Report of the Court of Directors, dated the 23d of January, 1784, in which, according to the Committee, "the re- "venues and debts of India are *distinctly* stated, "according to the last accounts which could

* By the estimates of the army, presented within these few days to the House of Commons, it appears that all the King's regiments of infantry in India, amounting to fifteen, are forthwith to be reduced from 1375 men each (their present establishment), to 753, officers included. Without presuming to give an opinion on the expediency of so great a reduction as is here proposed, we may derive, at least, this inference from the fact, that it would produce a saving far exceeding 175,000*l.* per annum.

" be obtained at that period." How far that ſtatement was, at the time it was drawn up, really *diſtinct*, ſatisfactory, or correct, and how far it is in this caſe fairly applicable, as a point of compariſon, is therefore a queſtion we have now to examine; and firſt as to its being *diſtinct*. Since this aſſertion, ſo contradictory to every recollection I had upon the ſubject, firſt came under my notice, I have uſed my beſt endeavours, by referring to the public proceedings of the Court of Directors, and of the Houſe of Commons in 1783 and 1784, to aſcertain whether any thing, bearing the ſmalleſt reſemblance to a *diſtinct* ſtatement of the Company's affairs, in any one reſpect whatever, could be ſaid to exiſt at that period. The reſult of all my reſearches, and of much inquiry in other quarters, is (and I boldly defy any one to diſprove the fact), that ſuch was the confuſion at the preciſe moment mentioned in the Report, that, notwithſtanding the moſt anxious and unremitting inveſtigation, whole years elapſed, after the commencement of Mr. Dundas's adminiſtration, before the real ſituation of the finances of India could be poſitively aſcertained. Inſtead of *diſtinct* ſtatements, I find in thoſe very documents not only that jarring and oppoſite opinions prevailed at home, even among the Directors themſelves, reſpecting the ſtate of their affairs, but that abundant and undeniable proofs exiſt, in almoſt every page, of the extreme confuſion and diſtreſs which pervaded every department in India at the concluſion of the war in 1783. Were not the payments of all the civil branches of the ſervice greatly in arrear? Were even the pay and allowances of the troops in a better ſituation? Have the authors of the Report entirely forgotten the calamities which threatened the very exiſtence of our power in India, in conſequence of the arrears then due to the army? When no ſufficient proviſion could be made for this ſervice, the laſt that in any country can with impunity be poſtponed; when at the ſame time the credit of the ſeveral preſidencies was exhauſted, and their outſtanding ſecurities depreſſed in a moſt alarming degree; will any man affirm that the finances of India were not in the laſt ſtage of diſtreſs, and that the power of Government itſelf was not tottering upon the brink of diſſolution? Such, indeed, was the extent of arrears which had accumulated in every department, and of the diſorder that prevailed in every branch of the ſervice, that no *diſtinct* account could be procured till the year 1786, and that the only account which could be made up at home in January, 1784, of the debts owing by the Company in India, was to the following periods, viz.

For Bengal	- -	February, 1783,
Madras	- -	March, 1782,
Bombay	- -	Auguſt, 1782.

The actual accounts, as to the receipts and diſburſements, were in arrear to a greater degree; for Bengal particularly, the laſt account received of this deſcription was to April, 1781. The Madras accounts do not appear to have been received to a later date. Thoſe of Bombay were received to 1780 only.

I think I have already ſtated more than enough to ſhew that the only *diſtinct* concluſion which could be formed at that period (the date of the Directors' Report in January, 1784) was, that the revenues of India had long ago been completely abſorbed by the war; and that the debts had increaſed, and were increaſing, in an amount of which it was impracticable to diſcover or eſtimate the extent.—Was the proſpect of the Company's affairs at home, at the ſame period, much more promiſing? Under this head the authors of the Report admit that the duties payable to Government had fallen in arrear to the amount of near one million ſterling, and that they were obliged to ſolicit Parliament *in forma pauperis* to ſuſpend for a further time the payment of this ſum, and of bills to a very conſiderable amount, drawn upon them from India, and which, when due, they had no funds in their treaſury to diſcharge. " *Trifling as that relief may appear,* " *when compared with the wants of the preſent* " *day,*" ſays the Report, " it was ſufficient to " extricate the Company from every difficulty " abroad and at home." To this flippant remark we ſhall at preſent only give this ſhort anſwer: That we defy the authors of this Report, with all their ſophiſtry, to make out of *the wants of the preſent day*, ſuch a caſe as would induce any one man in Parliament to countenance a propoſal, either for ſuſpending one farthing of any duties owing to Government, or for granting them one hour for the diſcharge of any bills drawn upon them beyond the period of their reſpectively becoming due.

After this general deſcription of the ſtate of the Company's affairs, abroad and at home (as far as any thing could be known of the former), in the year 1783, I might be ſatisfied, perhaps, to put the queſtion to the common ſenſe of any man, whether he can believe that there exiſted in India, at the very moment when public credit was annihilated, and *the army in the field left unpaid*, a net ſurplus of revenue to the amount of 1,491,546*l.* ſterling! Certainly ſuch an aſſertion is too abſurd to be credited; and here, perhaps, I might leave this part of the ſubject, if I did not feel it equally a duty to expoſe the effrontery of the authors of this Report, in offering ſuch a ſtatement to you and to the public.—In the firſt place it may be neceſſary to ſtate the full extent (as far as figures are concerned) of the impoſition attempted by this compariſon of their affairs in 1783 and 1801. It will appear thus, by adding the net ſurplus of the revenue, ſaid to exiſt at the firſt period, amounting to - - £.1,491,546
To the deficiency in the laſt - 417,807
That the difference againſt the year 1801, or the defalcation of net revenue, at the concluſion of Mr. Dundas's adminiſtration, would be no leſs a ſum than - £.1,909,353

" ſubject," as the Report further obſerves, " to conſiderable increaſe by ſtill further de- " mands for additional intereſt on debts and " expenſes not included."---This is the only inference that can be drawn from the mere in- ſpection of the figures; we ſhall, therefore, now proceed to detect the groſs artifice on which the principle of this compariſon is founded; ſo groſs, indeed, that we are equally at a loſs to ſtate it in its full extent, or to keep within the bounds of propriety in pointing it out to the reprobation of the reader. Let him poſſeſs but a knowledge, however ſuperficial, of public affairs, as liable to be affected by the difference of peace and war. If to this he add right feelings and an unprejudiced mind, we have no doubt that he will ſhare our indigna- tion when he is informed, on the one hand, that the ſtatement of the pretended ſurplus of 1783, is taken not from any aſcertained ac- count of the receipts and expenditure of India as they then exiſted, but from an eſtimate of what *poſſible* ſurplus might thereafter be crea- ted, ſuppoſing, 1ſt, the debt to be at that mo- ment four millions and a half, and without any allowance for intereſt, inſtead of more than *ten*, as it afterwards proved to have been; and, ſecondly, every reduction of expenſe to have been made that profound peace would admit of, and the moſt rigid economy would require; including, under this head, many re- trenchments to a very large amount, that were found, in fact, to be utterly impracticable. On the other, that the eſtimate of 1801-2 is taken from an account of the actual expendi- ture of one of the years of a moſt extenſive, complicated, and burdenſome war, and in- cludes the intereſt of the whole debt of India, to the full extent, at which it then really ex- iſted; and theſe are the widely different cir- cumſtances which the Court of Directors offer to their conſtituents and the public, as grounds of a fair compariſon! a compariſon as juſt in point of principle, and as concluſive in point of fact, with reſpect to the affairs of India, as would be, with reſpect to the financial proſpe- rity of Great Britain, a ſtatement of the balance between our ordinary revenue upon a reduced ſcale of expenditure, in a year of profound peace, compared with the balance between the ſame ordinary peace revenue and our total ex- penditure, both ordinary and extraordinary, in a year of moſt expenſive and general war.— If any one entertains a doubt whether *this pre- tended net ſurplus*, ſtated to be really exiſting in 1783, was, in fact, a mere viſionary eſtimate, of what it was conjectured might, at ſome future period, poſſibly be realized, let him turn to the Report of the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, of the 22d of June, 1784; not made during the period of the attack on the Company's charter, but formed under the ſuperintendence of thoſe who had ſupported it in the ſtruggle, and were moſt friendly to its intereſts. It is there ſtated, " That the immenſe " revenues from Bengal had been unable, *du- " ring three years, to furniſh any inveſtment;* " that conſiderable aſſiſtance muſt be given by " Bengal to Madras and Bombay, both to ſup- " ply the deficiencies of revenue, and to diſ- " charge the intereſt, at leaſt, of their bond " debts; that in examining the Directors' eſti- " mate of one year's net produce of the terri- " torial poſſeſſions in India, in *time of peace*, " they thought it a juſt attention towards the " Directors to obſerve, that the ſubject is in- " volved in a degree of *darkneſs and uncer- " tainty*" (mark this apology and deſcription of what is now offered as a *diſtinct* and correct ſtatement), " by the delay of the Company's " ſervants abroad in tranſmitting actual ac- " counts of their annual receipts and ex- " penſes." After an examination of the de- tail of the Bengal revenues, the Committee proceed to the eſtimated expenſes, and remark " That they do not mean to expreſs a doubt, " that it may be both proper and practicable " to reduce the ſeveral charges within the " limits preſcribed, but *ſuch reduction is cer- " tainly not to be effected by merely preſenting a " ſpeculative ſyſtem of reforms to the Houſe:* " under theſe circumſtances," they add, " *the " actual accounts afford, perhaps, the beſt crite- " rion;* and though they will forbear to frame " an eſtimate founded on thoſe accounts, *it " ought to be remarked, that the ſeveral reduc- " tions of expenſe aſſumed by the Directors, are " ſtated and credited, as if actually in force, from " the moment when their Report was dated.*"— This was the judgment of the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, on what the Direc- tors of the preſent day bring forward as ſtating DISTINCTLY *the revenues of India, according to the laſt accounts which could be obtained at that period.* In point of fact, ſuch was the confu- ſion then exiſting, that *three* years elapſed, from the commencement of Mr. Dundas's ad- miniſtration, before any correct account could be procured from India; and when at laſt it was obtained, the debt at the cloſe of the war in 1783, inſtead of being four millions and a half at that period, as ſtated by the Directors, was, as we have already obſerved, upwards of *ten*, and their Report in many other reſpects was proved to be equally fallacious and un- founded.—It may not be irrelevant to the ſub- ject here to obſerve, that this debt, ſo enor- mous when compared with the reſources of that period, was, immediately ſubſequent to the year 1786, put in a train of being liquid- dated, and was in fact conſiderably reduced before the renewal of the war, by the applica- tion of nearly the ſame principle that is now propoſed by Mr. Dundas, in his Letter of the 30th of June, though under regulations leſs perfect, and by a mode leſs efficacious, than are there ſuggeſted for the reduction of the preſent debt; to the liquidation of which it is in the power of the Directors to proceed, with means certainly available from this mo- ment, and much more applicable to the pur- poſe than any which exiſted, not immediately,

but *three* years after the concluſion of the former war.

Having now ſhewn the real nature and value of this pretended *net ſurplus* of revenue, amounting to 1,491,546*l.* in 1783, it remains to be aſcertained what, *per contra*, was in fact the *real deficiency* at that period. If, inſtead of preſenting an over-ſanguine eſtimate, formed at the time upon falſe data, of what, in profound peace, the revenue of India might eventually become, as what it "*then actually was, according to the laſt accounts that could be obtained at that period*," the authors of the Third Report had really made thoſe laſt accounts (ſuch as they were) the baſis of their compariſon, with the laſt accounts received in 1801, their proceeding would have been leſs unfair; though, for two reaſons, it would ſtill have been open to objection; 1ſt, that, owing to the accounts for the former period being ſo much in arrear, they had not then reached to that ultimate ſtage of diſtreſs, at which, by the joint effect of accumulated expenſe and diminiſhed revenue, they arrived in 1783, whilſt the accounts of 1801 were brought up to the lateſt poſſible period of the preſent war.—Secondly, becauſe ſeveral conſiderable charges of a permanent nature, which did not exiſt at all in 1783, have ſince been thrown upon the revenues of India, partly by neceſſity, and partly by ſome neceſſary expenſes attending great and laudable improvements introduced into the ſyſtem of our Indian government; improvements which reflect no leſs honour upon the liberality and juſtice of the Company, than upon the wiſdom and humanity of the illuſtrious characters who had the merit of bringing them under conſideration. Under the one or the other of theſe heads, muſt be included the new arrangements in favour of the Company's ſervants military and civil; the increaſed pay of the troops, both native and European; the new ſyſtem of juriſprudence, and other ſubſtantial benefits conferred upon the Company's ſubjects in India; the effects of which, upon the happineſs and proſperity of thoſe diſtant poſſeſſions, are, I believe, univerſally acknowledged by every man, who has attended to the riſe and progreſs of the Britiſh empire in India.—Allowing, however, both theſe advantages in favour of 1782, to be ſunk in the compariſon, let us ſee how it would then ſtand.—If the following ſtatement be not perfectly accurate, it is certainly not deficient from being under the mark (far otherwiſe), but from the want of preciſion we have already noticed in the accounts of this laſt-mentioned period.—It muſt be obvious, that by taking the difference between the calculations of ſuppoſed future expenditure, which gave as a reſult a net ſurplus of 1,491,546*l.* and the real expenditure as it actually ſtood, according to the laſt accounts that could be obtained at that period, and then deducting from this difference the above pretended ſurplus, the remainder will ſhew the real deficiency. The Reports we have already referred to from the Court of Directors and the Houſe of Commons in 1783 and 1784, furniſh the following materials for this purpoſe:

Bengal.—The military charges in the firſt caſe are taken at - - -		£.1,500,000
According to the eſtimate of the Bengal Government for the year 1783, given in the Appendix to the Report of the Houſe of Commons, they cannot be computed at leſs than - - - -		3,000,000
The military charges may therefore be taken at a greater amount by - - - -		1,500,000
The civil charges are ſtated at - - - £.350,000		
By the laſt year of account made up to 1780-1 in the Appendix above referred to, they were - - -	580,000	
The difference in this caſe is - - - - -		230,000
The marine charges are eſtimated at - - -	60,000	
On the average of three years, to April, 1781, they were 120,000*l.* taking the laſt of theſe years as in the civil Charges, ſtate them at	77,000	
The difference is - - -		17,000
Buildings and fortifications - - - - -	100,000	
On the average of three years, to April, 1781, they were 123,000*l.* in the laſt of theſe years, they were 114,000*l.* taken at that amount - -	114,000	
The difference is - - -		14,000
Whence it will appear that the charges of Bengal ſhould have been taken at a larger amount by - - -		1,761,000
The effect of which is, that inſtead of a ſurplus from the revenues of that Preſidency of 1,194,689*l.* as ſhewn in the eſtimate of 1784, the deficiency would have amounted to - - - -		566,311

At *Madras*.—Corrections will be required both in the revenues and charges—The authority of the Report of the Committee of the Houſe of Commons will be made uſe of on nearly the ſame principles as in the Bengal accounts.

	£.	£.
The net revenues and cuſtoms are ſtated at	600,000	
By the accounts ending April 1781 they were	398,000	
The difference is		202,000
The military charges are eſtimated at	600,000	
In the year 1781, they were	872,000	
Being more by		272,000
Civil charges	60,000	
If the arrears due the 30th of April, 1781, appertained to that year, theſe charges might be taken at 100,000*l.* The eſtimate given by Lord Macartney, calculated on three years of peace, may perhaps be the ſureſt guide—in that they were ſtated at 120,000*l.* ſay, however	100,000	
Exceeding the Directors' eſtimate by		40,000
Buildings and fortifications	70,000	
On the average of 10 years this amount was exceeded by 6,000*l.* but as, on other occaſions, the laſt year of account in the war has been moſtly taken, the ſame rule will be now obſerved. In the year 1780-1 they were	42,000	
Being leſs than the eſtimate		28,000

Inſtead, therefore, of a ſurplus revenue at Madras, eſtimated by the Directors at 152,857*l.* a deficit would be exhibited amounting to 313,143*l.* making a difference from the reſult in the eſtimate of — — — — £.486,000

Bombay.—The accounts of this Preſidency at the time the Committee under their Report were not made up to a later period than April, 1780; a different mode of ſtatement will therefore be adopted.

The revenues were eſtimated at		£.130,000
As the war expenſe will be taken, it is fair likewiſe to take the war receipt. On the average of the years 1782-3 and 1783-4 the revenues amounted to		500,000
Being more than eſtimated		370,000
The charges eſtimated at	£.356,000	
On the ſame average were	903,000	
Exceeding the eſtimate		574,000
Whence the ſurplus charge of Bombay, eſtimated by the Directors at 226,000*l.* being diſcovered to amount to 403,000*l.* a difference from their eſtimate will appear, amounting to		177,000

The expenſe of Bencoolen is eſtimated at 50,000*l.* which may certainly be conſidered as too low; but does not appear to require any remark.

The Reſult of this Examination may be ſhewn at One View, as follows.

	Court's Eſtimate.	Corrected Account.	Difference.
BENGAL—Surplus Revenue	£.1,194,689		
Deficient ditto	—	£.566,311	£.1,761,000
MADRAS—Surplus Revenue	172,857		
Deficient ditto	—	313,143	486,000
	1,367,546		
BOMBAY—Deficient Revenue	226,000	403,000	177,000
Net Surplus	1,141,546		
BENCOOLEN—Charges	50,000	50,000	
Remaining Surplus Revenue	1,091,546		
Total Deficient Revenue	—	1,382,454	2,424,000

	Court's Eſtimate.	Corrected Account.	Difference.
Brought over	£.1,091,546	£.1,332,454	£.2,424,000
Add Revenue from Salt and Opium, as eſtimated by the Directors in the Third Report -	400,000		
Deduct ditto, as by Report in 1784 - - -	---	450,000	50,000
Surplus Revenue, as eſtimated in the Third Report	1,491,546		
Deficient ditto, as by corrected account - -	---	882,454	2,374,000
Add Intereſt on the Debts, as by the Report of the Committee of the Houſe of Commons	---	400,000	400,000
Total Deficiency -	---	1,282,454	
Whence the total difference between the figures exhibited by the Court of Directors, as the Net Surplus in 1783, and the amount at which it ought to have been ſtated appears to be - - - - - - -	---	---	2,774,000

It may be ſaid, that the Court of Directors in this Third Report, after giving their view of the net ſurplus in 1783, at the ſum of - - - - - - £.1,491,546

Stated "*that it was ſubject to "charges, and particularly to in-"tereſt.*" Could they form no eſtimate of the amount of theſe additional demands on the reſources? Could ſuch a note be ſufficient to afford any idea of their amount? What part of the general claſs of readers, even amongſt the Proprietors, could form an idea of the *amount of theſe charges and of the intereſt?* But even ſuppoſing the authors of the Third Report had thought it worth while, for the ſake of *ſtill greater diſtinctneſs*, if not of more impartial juſtice, ſo far to rectify their own *diſtinct ſtatement* of the net ſurplus as it ſtood in 1783, by deducting the ſpecific amount of intereſt then known to be 400,000*l.* per annum, inſtead of ſtating generally that it *was liable to ſome charge on that account*, their pretended net ſurplus would even then have ſtood at 1,091,546

Inſtead of a real deficiency of - 1,282,454

Making the difference - - 2,374,000

The following alteration then ought to be made in the compariſon of the two periods by the Directors:

The deficit in 1783, on a corrected ſtatement, has been ſhewn to be - - - - -	£.1,282,000
That in 1800-1 is ſtated at - -	417,000
The difference in favour of 1800-1 in this view, is - - -	865,000
Inſtead of being againſt as before ſtated in the ſum of - -	£.1,909,000
Making a difference in the whole reſult, as already ſhewn, amounting to - - -	*2,774,000

The minute preciſion of this ſtatement, in every particular, will not be inſiſted upon; the principle is the great point for which it is drawn, viz. a compariſon with an eſtimate calculated under the circumſtances of war.

After the full explanation we have now given upon this head, it appears almoſt ſuperfluous to notice the inſinuation, that the Report of the Court of Directors of the 23d of January, 1784 (in which this *pretended ſurplus* was diſcovered), was approved and defended by Mr. Dundas. It is true that Mr. Dundas, at that eventful period, ſhewed himſelf a firm, zealous friend, and a powerful protector in Parliament of the rights and privileges of the Company, againſt the attempts then carried on for ſetting aſide their charter, and transferring to other hands their patronage, their authority, and the immediate management of the affairs of the Indian empire. Taking this line in Parliament, he certainly conſidered many of the particular objections urged againſt the Report, as being unfounded or exaggerated; and he ſtated (if credit may be given to the Parliamentary Regiſter for the accuracy of the debate) that, *ſhould peace continue*, and ſhould the ſyſtem then in contemplation be carried into effect, there was, he truſted, a *probable chance* of the Company ſpeedily emerging from debt, and growing into wealth. This opinion it was afterwards his good fortune to ſee realized, and confirmed under his own adminiſtration of their affairs; but the caution with which it was given as to the future, ſufficiently indicates

* Other charges of his Majeſty's ſhips, &c. ſhould have been taken into the account, but the annual expenſe could not well be aſcertained: if they had been included, the difference on the firſt view now given muſt have been greater.

what appeared to him the real ſtate of their affairs at that moment. Beſides, Mr. Dundas was a member of that very Committee of the Houſe of Commons, whoſe opinion of this ſurplus, even as an eſtimate for the future, and not, as what till now it never was aſſumed to be, an account of revenue then exiſting, we have already given. The real truth is, that in 1784, the Eaſt India Company did that, which other great commercial eſtabliſhments have done, under circumſtances of ſimilar embarraſſment. Their truſtees, acting in their behalf, laid open their affairs, and, as is uſual on ſuch occaſions, made ſuch a ſtatement as appeared to them beſt adapted to ſhew, that they had reſources in reſerve which would ultimately *bring them round* (to uſe a common but appropriate expreſſion), provided a further time was given them by their creditors for the payment of engagements then due, and they were allowed to continue in the management of their affairs. Such is the real hiſtory of their Report of 1784.—In 1802, on the contrary, when no one doubted your reſources, or queſtioned your ſolidity, theſe ſame truſtees think themſelves at liberty to trifle and ſport with your credit. They hoiſt a ſignal of diſtreſs which they do not feel, and which they know does not exiſt—for what?—Is it a ſnare to bring "the miniſters, the proprietors, and the public" down to their aſſiſtance againſt the private trader?—If it be, ſuch a trick is as pitiful and unfair in diſcuſſion, as it would be mean and unlawful in war.—Is it becauſe their late leader, after receiving for eighteen years repeated proofs of their warm approbation, and ſharing with them the well-earned applauſe of joint ſucceſs, is ſuppoſed to differ from them upon this queſtion, that they have ventured to attack his public character, to miſrepreſent his actions, and to deny and revile his ſervices, in this his moſt diſtinguiſhed career?—Did they expect by ſuch a conduct to invalidate the juſt weight and authority of his opinions in the exiſting diſpute? If they did, they probably by this time are ſenſible of their miſtake; and if they acted from ſome better impulſe, they owe to their own characters to ſtate what that impulſe was. Without recurring to ſuch unlawful weapons as theſe in their defence, could they not be contented with proving (as they appear to think they have done to perfect demonſtration), 1ſt, That the real object of the private trader is not the *trade* itſelf, but to be at liberty to carry it on in *Indian* inſtead of *Britiſh* built ſhips? and 2dly, That the former are more expenſive to build, more expenſive to fit out, and more expenſive to navigate than the latter? Surely they might have been ſatisfied to have reſted their triumph over the poor private trader, and his ally the Indian agent, on arguments ſo conſiſtent and ſo unanſwerable. But then, we are told in the Report, theſe deluded enemies had given juſt and great offence by intercepting the fortunes of individuals, which would otherwiſe have found their way into the Company's treaſury at Calcutta. If they have done this to the diſtreſs of the Company, for the chance of embarking ſo much additional capital in a loſing trade of Indian ſhips, it unqueſtionably ſhews, on their part, a very rancorous, but a very fooliſh ſpirit of hoſtility. Suppoſing, however, the fact to be true, with due deference to the authors of the Report, I muſt ſtill be allowed to doubt whether, with a view to bring thoſe capitals to flow again in their accuſtomed channel, it was good policy in them to make ſuch a diſplay of the diſtreſſed ſituation of their affairs. This brings us again to the ſubject.

The authors of the Report ſeem to think it poſſible, "that objections may be made "againſt this compariſon of 1783 and 1801; "but then," they add, "there can be none "when a compariſon is made between differ-"ent parts of Mr. Dundas's own adminiſtra-"tion;" and, therefore, candidly and impartially they chooſe their periods, and then proceed to make it as follows:

"In 1793, on the renewal of the charter,
"the Directors eſtimated the final ſurplus in
"India as applicable to inveſtment,
"To be - - - - - £.1,409,127
"Deduct the proceeds of the
"Europe exports - - 350,000

"Remains a political ſurplus of * 1,159,127

"It is true that Mr. Dundas objected to this "eſtimate, which, in his opinion, was much "too low; but if to that ſum ſhall be added "the preſent deficiency of 417,807*l.* there will "appear againſt the Company, in their annual "*political* income, a difference of a million and "a half, which may eaſily be ſwelled to two "millions ſterling annually, when the arrears "of debt are funded, and bear an intereſt."—This ſecond compariſon, at leaſt, is not open to one material objection to which the former was liable. We are as ready to admit that a net ſurplus of 1,159,127*l.* might actually be depended upon in 1793, as we were prepared to ſhew, in the former inſtance, that, inſtead of any ſurplus, an alarming deficiency really exiſted in 1783. A reference to the accounts of theſe two periods leaves as little doubt of the one as of the other. We alſo admit that Mr. Dundas gave his opinion that the above eſtimate was taken too low; and we may even add that this opinion was confirmed by the adjuſted accounts of the years 1792-3, 1793-4, and 1794-5, in each of which the balance exceeded the amount

* By a ſimple miſtake of *ſubtraction*, the authors of the Third Report have here added 100,000*l.* to the ſurplus of 1793, as it will be obvious to every one by a mere inſpection of the figures, that it ought to be only 1,059,127*l.*—Allowance, however, having been made in the eſtimate of 1793 for the commercial charges, amounting to about 104,000*l.* and thoſe charges not being included in the other point of the preſent compariſon, we ſhall proceed to argue upon the ſuppoſition of the political ſurplus in 1793 having been as great as is here ſtated—as, in fact, it would have been, had no deduction been made for commercial charges.

ſtated in the eſtimate; although the amount of charges for each of theſe three years was greater than had been reckoned upon; thereby confirming, on the one hand, in the fulleſt manner, Mr. Dundas's conjecture, and on the other, manifeſting in the moſt ſatisfactory point of view, the rapid increaſe of the reſources and proſperity of India. In ſhort, the reſult of the firſt ten years of Mr. Dundas's adminiſtration was, that, inſtead of a deficit, amounting as we have proved at the commencement of that period to - - - - £.1,282,000
A ſurplus was created of - 1,159,000
Making in the whole a difference ———
in favour of the Company of - 2,441,000

As far as the character of that adminiſtration is the object of diſcuſſion, it may, I think, at leaſt up to this period, ſafely reſt upon this ſhort ſtatement; from the reſult of which, however, we derive another inference, more general in its importance, and equally concluſive and ſatisfactory in itſelf. It is this—that an empire, which in the courſe of ten years was capable of being raiſed from the ſtate of extreme diſtreſs, in which, as we have demonſtrated, it was plunged at the concluſion of the former war, to the ſtate of eaſe and affluence, in which we find it in 1793, and which in that interval (be it alſo remembered) was involved in a ſevere conteſt with Tippoo Sultaun, cannot ſurely, under the comparatively trifling difficulties which have enſued from the war now happily terminated, but afford the moſt flattering proſpects for the future; poſſeſſing, as that empire actually does, not only its former, but many new ſources of wealth, as well as many new ſecurities againſt the interruption of internal peace, and for the efficient collection and realization of its revenues; provided the principles which operated its relief on the former occaſion continue to be obſerved and applied in the preſent caſe, with that diſcernment, wiſdom, and perſeverance, which marked the former period. Without denying the facts upon which this obſervation reſts, can any man look at the calculations by which it is ſuggeſted, and the preſent ſtate of the Company's credit at home, compared with their credit in 1783, and not be convinced that the plan laid down in Mr. Dundas's Letter of the 30th of June, is not only practicable, but eaſy in its execution, when compared with the meaſures ſomewhat ſimilar in their principle, which led to the reſult of 1793? The accuracy of the eſtimate of this laſt period, as given in the Report, being therefore admitted, we have only to ſtate upon what principle that eſtimate was formed; and to remind the reader that the other point of the compariſon is the ſame in this, as in the former inſtance, namely, the eſtimated amount of expenditure in 1801, a year of moſt extenſive, complicated, and burdenſome war;—to enable every one to decide for himſelf, whether this ſecond compariſon is, as the Report ſays, *ſo entirely free from every objection*. The title of the paper from which this eſtimate of 1793 is taken, is as follows: "An Eſtimate of the "Company's Affairs in India and in Europe, "with a View to aſcertain what will be the "probable Surplus reſulting from the whole, "in Time of PROFOUND PEACE."

After the view we have taken of the firſt, it cannot be neceſſary to add one word to ſtamp the character of this ſecond compariſon; we ſhall therefore proceed in our ſubject.

The political ſurplus in 1793, on the peace eſtimate has been admitted to amount to - - - £.1,159,000
On a war eſtimate for the year 1800-1, the deficit has likewiſe been admitted to amount to - 417,000
Exhibiting a difference between a calculation on peace, in 1793, and in war in 1800-1, amounting to - - - - - 1,576,000

It cannot be denied that if the war had continued, and no retrenchments could have been made, the increaſe of debts, and the probable addition of ſome charges, might have operated to cauſe the difference ſoon to reach the ſum of two millions, as ſtated by the Directors. The Company, in preparing the eſtimate for 1793, aſſumed, as we have ſeen, upon the continuance of *profound peace*; and certainly in 1792, when that eſtimate was formed, they were well warranted in that expectation. In Europe, they might reſt upon the authority of the Miniſter, Mr. *Pitt*, who, not only by his language, but by his proceedings in Parliament, had manifeſted his confident hopes, that this bleſſing would be continued to us. In India, the Company had lately brought to a glorious concluſion, a war by which they had deprived their inveterate, and in fact their only dangerous enemy in that quarter, of half his dominions, and had acquired to themſelves a conſiderable addition of revenue. Under theſe circumſtances, their proſpects might be ſtated with great confidence; and although the war with France took place very ſoon after, the effects of it, owing to many circumſtances, were felt in India for a conſiderable time, no otherwiſe, than by the expulſion of the French from all their ſettlements in that quarter. The intrigues of that power, however, throughout Hindoſtan, were not the leſs active on that account. The late Tippoo Sultaun was not only their ally, but meditating revenge for the diſgraces and loſſes he had experienced; that implacable enemy of the Company's power was inceſſantly employed in attempting to raiſe confederacies againſt them in India. Theſe and many other occurrences, in the number of which we muſt not omit to mention the French expedition to Egypt, and their intended co-operation from thence with Tippoo, excited the vigilance of the Miniſter of India, and called forth thoſe exertions, both in Europe and in Aſia, to which, under Providence, the Company is indebted for the ſpeedy overthrow of that tyrant, the entire conqueſt of his dominions, and all the fortunate conſequences, by which the future ſafety of India is, I truſt, effectually

ſecured, both againſt the hoſtile deſigns of any European, or the attempts of any native power. Had the meaſures of the Governor General, at that criſis, been marked by leſs of foreſight, deciſion, and energy of character, than they were; had the correſponding preparations of the Indian Miniſter in Europe been calculated with leſs wiſdom, perſiſted in with leſs perſeverance, or purſued with leſs activity and zeal than belong to Mr. Dundas's mind, the reſult probably might have been ſuch, as would have left the authors of this Report very little reaſon to animadvert upon the *extenſion of their military eſtabliſhments, and the abſorption of their revenue for political purpoſes.* Then indeed there would, in all probability, have been no room for diſcuſſion between them and us reſpecting the ſtate of our Indian concerns. The difference between the Directors and the private traders, the object of ſo much controverſy, and the pretence for ſo much miſrepreſentation, might have been ſunk in the common ruin of both; and in this iſſue at leaſt of the conteſt, however calamitous in other reſpects, the Directors would have been ſpared both the trouble of expreſſing their approbation, when the eſcape from danger being recent, the impreſſion of it was ſtill freſh upon their minds; and the diſgrace of recalling that approbation, nay, of converting to cenſure the very grounds of their gratitude, as ſoon as the ſhip was well anchored, and whilſt the pilot was ſtill in ſight, who had ſteered it through the ſtorm.

We have now followed the authors of the Third Report through two of their comparative ſtatements; the firſt between an eſtimate of a *very reduced peace eſtabliſhment*, formed under the preſſure of ſevere diſtreſs, at the concluſion of one war; and an *eſtimate of the moſt expenſive year of a war*, then unconcluded: the ſecond between this laſt eſtimate, and one formed in the midſt of, and with a view to the continuance of *profound peace.* We have taken the liberty to correct the firſt, as far as our information would enable us, by comparing one war eſtimate to another; and with reſpect to the ſecond, as the preliminaries of the preſent peace had been ſigned a conſiderable time before the date of their Report, it would have been no great ſtretch of candour in thoſe ſame Directors, who, for their firſt compariſon, had gone back ſo many years, to revive a peace eſtabliſhment which never exiſted but in the records of their own diſappointed ſpeculations, or detected fallacies, to have looked forward for a few months to what, on ſufficient grounds, may be expected to be the real peace eſtabliſhment for the enſuing year. The path was open to them; it had in part been explored by their own auditor, who could have ſhewn them the way through the whole; but unfortunately at the entrance ſtood the War Eſtimate of 1801, better ſuited to their purpoſe, and here they ſtopped.—Aided, however, by Mr. Wright's reſearches, we have already given the grounds, on which we rely with perfect confidence, upon a net ſurplus revenue of one million ſterling, within the firſt year of the preſent peace, or as ſoon as the retrenchments ariſing out of it can be effected. Satisfactory as the inference to be drawn from this winding-up of the war may appear as to the future, it cannot be deemed a fair ground of compariſon with 1793; inaſmuch as the one exhibits the reſources of India, as they had gradually grown out of ten years of economy and peace *; the other as they may fairly be aſſumed to ſtand within the firſt year after the concluſion of a long and expenſive war. Notwithſtanding this ſtriking difference in the circumſtances of the compariſon, which render it inadmiſſible, abſtractedly taken, as a criterion by which an opinion may be formed of the laſt eight years of Mr. Dundas's adminiſtration, it may be uſeful in other points of view to look at the relative ſituation of India at theſe two periods. The net ſurplus in 1793 ſtood, as we have already ſtated (fully concurring in that particular with the Report), at - - - - - - - - - £. 1,159,127

We have ſhewn that, upon a moderate peace eſtimate, it may be taken for the enſuing year at leaſt at - - - - - - - - 1,000,000

Being a diminution of only - - 159,127
after nine years of war.

In what manner then, it may be ſaid, allowing ſo trifling a defalcation of net revenue, do you provide for the increaſed intereſt of the debt, and the increaſed permanent charges of Government in India during that period? My anſwer is equally ſhort as to the fact, and ſatisfactory as to the real proſperity of India: *By the increaſed reſources of the permanent revenue*, which was eſtimated for the year 1793 at 6,963,000*l.*, for the year 1800-1 at 9,912,000*l.*; with every reaſon to confide in a further increaſe. This increaſe of permanent revenue, amounting to near *three millions ſterling*, will be found amply ſufficient, not only to defray the increaſed intereſt of the debt, but, as a very ſhort explanation will ſatisfy the reader, to meet ſuch other permanent charges, as may require to be provided for in the peace eſtabliſhment of 1803, over and above thoſe of 1793.—What may be the exact amount of the whole increaſed expenſe cannot, indeed, be aſcertained with preciſion until all the arrangements of the preſent peace ſhall be ſettled and carried into effect.—The moſt material, however, are the following—1ſt, The increaſed intereſt on the debt contracted during the whole of the war, ſuppoſing the debt bearing intereſt to be ſixteen millions, may be eſtimated at £. 838,000—Secondly, The increaſed charge occaſioned by the new ſyſtem of juriſprudence eſtabliſhed

* It is true the firſt ſeparate war with Tippoo Sultaun occurred in this interval; but that was an Indian war only, of ſhort duration, and of which the expenſe was in ſome degree refunded to the Company by that tyrant himſelf, as the price of the reſtoration of peace.

in the Company's territories in India, may be eſtimated at 200,000*l.* That this ſyſtem, ſuggeſted by the true principles of juſtice, and founded in a wiſe and liberal policy, is well calculated to give ſtability to property, ſecurity and protection to induſtry, to improve the morals, and to increaſe the comforts of the Company's ſubjects in India, are facts ſo well confirmed by experience, and ſo generally admitted by all parties, that no juſtification can be neceſſary for an expenſe, by which ſuch benefits have been conferred upon the inhabitants of Britiſh India.

Thirdly. The increaſed pay and other amelioration, in the ſituation of the army, both officers and privates, Europeans and natives, ſince 1793, form an additional charge, which, upon the preſent ſcale of military eſtabliſhments in India, cannot be reckoned at leſs than 700,000*l.* liable however to be diminiſhed with the diminution of thoſe eſtabliſhments. For this, however, or for any reduction in the rate of intereſt, we will take no allowance for the preſent.—Under theſe three heads, therefore, the additional permanent charge may be eſtimated at 1,738,000*l.* leaving the difference between this ſum, and the total amount of the augmentation in the revenue, applicable to defray other additional charges to which the peace eſtabliſhment of 1802-3 may be incident, over and above the peace eſtabliſhment of 1793.

This difference amounts to no leſs a ſum than - - -	£.1,211,000
To which muſt be added the further ſum of - - -	159,127
Being the difference between the eſtimated net ſurplus of 1793, and that of 1802-3, making a total of - - - - -	1,370,127

A ſum, ſurely, amply ſufficient, independent of the proviſion made for the *permanent* charges above ſtated, to defray what may be found the neceſſary exceſs of the preſent, above the laſt peace eſtabliſhment.—On the other hand, allowing the whole of this ſum for the additional expenſe of the preſent peace eſtabliſhment; but ſuppoſing the additional *permanent* charges, under the three firſt heads, had not been incurred, the net ſurplus of revenue, even upon this increaſed peace eſtabliſhment, would, at this time, have been 2,738,000*l.*

The authors of the Report, not ſatisfied with the two compariſons of which we have now diſpoſed, proceed to a third, which they preface with the following remark: "The diſ-"ferences of opinion which may ariſe on the "queſtion of income, in conſequence of the "numberleſs details neceſſary for the pur-"poſe of forming an eſtimate, cannot exiſt on "the ſubject of *debts*, which are compriſed "within a few lines." To a certain extent, the firſt part of this obſervation may apply, even to eſtimates formed upon correſponding principles, but can be no excuſe for thoſe in the Report, formed upon principles as diametrically oppoſite as the extremes of peace and war; or as the preſent conduct of its authors to all the ſentiments they have hitherto profeſſed. However, "*debts are compriſed within* "*a few lines*;"—"they admit of no difference "of opinion;" and, therefore, from under their ſhelter, the Directors think they may, without riſk, except to the Company's credit, ſtrike their finiſhing blow at the reputation of the late Miniſter for India.—A compariſon between the debt of India, as it ſtood at the end of the former war, and as it now ſtands, appears to them all that is neceſſary for this purpoſe. At the former period they admit its amount to have been 10,000,000*l.*—The preſent debt at intereſt, we have already obſerved, may be taken at not leſs than 16,000,000*l.*—Some of the perſons who have ſigned this Report, are, we believe, deeply engaged in trade, and at the head of great and thriving commercial or banking eſtabliſhments. Will any one of theſe gentlemen allow us to ſuppoſe, that, of late years, he has greatly enlarged the ſcale of his concerns; one conſequence of which would be, however proſperous the general affairs of the firm, an increaſe in the uſual amount of its out-ſtanding demands, or current engagements.—Now, if any partner or confidential clerk in this houſe ſo ſituated, ſhould unexpectedly, and prefaced with a ſolemn engagement "to "ſpeak the truth, and *the whole truth*," publiſh to the world, accompanied with other alarming circumſtances, a ſerious ſtatement of the rapid proportion in which the debts of the houſe had increaſed within theſe late years, artfully inſinuating, amongſt many other very intelligible hints, that the aid, "*which on a* "*former occaſion of difficulty afforded effectual* "*relief, is trifling, indeed, when compared with* "*the wants of the preſent day*;" and as artfully avoiding to mention any increaſe of aſſets to meet the increaſe of debts,—what would the other parties concerned think of the honour and honeſty of ſuch a proceeding? how far might it go to affect the credit of that houſe, both at home and abroad, with thoſe not intimately acquainted with its concerns, until ſome ſatisfactory explanation could be given?—At the criſis when the caſh payments of the Bank of England were ſuſpended, what would have been thought by the proprietors and the public, of the guardians of its credit, if eight directors of that inſtitution, forming a committee for the ſpecial purpoſe, we will ſuppoſe, of *watching and counteracting the country banks*, had forthwith publiſhed a report, in which, after ſome diſcuſſion upon that ſubject, and, of courſe, *recommending their ſuppreſſion*, they had endeavoured to enforce their advice, by aſſuming a tone of deſpondency and alarm, and making a melancholy diſplay of their debts, carefully ſuppreſſing, at the ſame time, all mention of the aſſets by which the payment of ſuch debts was ſecured? Theſe are caſes in point, from which, leaving to the reader to draw his own concluſion, we ſhall proceed to inquire, what, in fact, was the ſtate of the Company's

assets at the commencement and at the close of Mr. Dundas's administration; upon the result of which depends the whole of this third comparison. For this purpose we propose, after having examined the state of what may properly be called *Indian or foreign debt*, at each of these periods, to attempt the discovery if some counterbalance cannot be found to the increase of this debt in the latter, in the decrease of that at home, and in the amelioration of the assets generally; and, as connected with the questions both of income and debt, some remarks will be offered in addition to those already made; from the whole of which it is hoped the public will be enabled to draw a more correct inference as to the situation of the Company, at the periods under discussion, than they could have done, if the statements and insinuations of the Directors had been suffered to pass without refutation.

The debt in India, in 1786 (for it was not till then that the extent of arrears occasioned by the former war was known), has been stated at - -	£.10,000,000	
It must be considered, that whatever is due at home for bills drawn from India and China properly appertains to the foreign concern, inasmuch as the amount would otherwise be owing abroad; this in the next year (1787), commonly taken in connexion with the preceding year, amounted to -	4,200,000	
The debt owing in China in 1786 was - - - - -	510,000	
So that the aggregate foreign debt, in 1786, might be taken at - - - - - -	14,710,000	
The debt in India, including the floating debt, has been admitted to amount at this present time to - - - - - -	18,000,000	
The amount due on bills of exchange, from India and China, in March, 1802, is - -	967,000	
Total foreign debt at this time	18,967,000	
Increase from 1786 to 1801-2 -	4,257,000	
The debt at home, exclusive of what was owing on foreign bills, was on the 31st of January, 1787 - - -	4,249,000	
In March, 1802, on the same principles, it was - - -	3,855,000	
Being a decrease of	394,000	
In 1786, the amount of the assets in India was - - -	5,277,000	
On the 30th of April, 1800, it was, - - - - - -	£.11,569,000	
Shewing an increase of	6,292,000	
In 1786, the assets in China amounted to - - -	203,000	
In 1800 they were - -	1,226,000	
Increase - -	1,023,000	
The increase of assets abroad on the comparison, is - - - -	7,315,000	
In 1787, the amount of the assets at home was £.8,832,000		
Deduct sundry sums from their having been wrote from the home accounts of 1794, in consequence of the act of 1793, being for the expense of the Manilla expedition, expenses of French prisoners, and hospital expenses of his Majesty's troops - - -	422,000	
	8,410,000	
On the 1st of March, 1802, the home assets, exclusive of the claims on Government, amounting to 3,573,000*l.* stated by Mr. Dundas to be subject to adjustment, were - - -	13,229,000	
Shewing an increase of assets at home of -	4,819,000	
So that the whole increase of assets generally in the period of Mr. Dundas's administration is found to be - -	12,134,000	
Adding the decrease of debts at home -	394,000	
The total will be -	12,528,000	
From whence deduct the increase of debts in India - - -	4,257,000	
The amelioration of the whole concern on the comparison now made will then be -	* 8,271,000	

* Within the periods of this comparison, it is true, 3,700,000*l.* sterling has been raised by the increase of the Company's capital stock: but even deducting this from the general state of the concern, as it now stands, at the conclusion of a very long and expensive war, it would still be improved to the amount of 4,571,000*l.* sterling, independent of the Company's claim upon Government.

Comparisons of this description have been made by Mr. Dundas in his budget-speeches; —a considerable difference, however, will appear between them and that now made, from the entire exclusion of the claims of the Company upon Government, for stores, supplies, &c. for which credit is taken in the accounts laid before the House. They have been now excluded in consequence of the remarks in Parliament last year respecting them, and in consequence of the explanations given by Mr. Dundas in the last and preceding speech, that they were liable to reductions, when the final adjustment should be made.---This comparison, therefore, it may be remarked, exhibits the most unfavourable view that could be given of the property of the Company in the periods now under consideration; inasmuch as part of the claims on Government may, on the ultimate balance, return to the credit of the Company. The Indian debt is taken at its full amount, according to the late additional loans, although it may be conjectured, upon very just grounds, that a great portion, *if not the greatest*, will find its way into the Company's warehouses, and finally into their treasuries; as the demand for what is termed *political purposes*, can only have taken a proportion of the money borrowed. It can in fact be proved that the loans may, in the greatest part, be attributed to the measures adopted in India for *continuing the investments to Europe*; for the whole amount of the deficit of the revenues to answer the charges from the year 1797-8 to 1799-1800, on the adjusted accounts, and for 1800-1 on the estimate, appears to have been about 2,200,000*l.*—This last observation leads us to a topic upon which great stress is laid in the Report, and upon which, indeed, the Directors appear to rest the great burden of their complaints, namely, *that the increased debt in India has been incurred entirely for political, and not for commercial purposes*. These two interests the authors of the Report affect to speak of, not only as perfectly distinct and separate, but almost as opposite and irreconcilable. Instead of considering them as affording mutual support and assistance to each other, they seem to behold in the one the decided enemy of the other; and then forgetting that they are sovereigns, and not well recollecting on what grounds and by what aids they are enabled to be merchants, they hastily declare for the latter, and peevishly rail at the former. Since the nature of our empire in India, from being so much the object of general attention and public discussion, has been better understood, and particularly since the renewal of the charter, in which the attributes of the Company's power, and the duties imposed upon them as sovereigns, are so clearly chalked out and defined; in which the appropriation of the revenues they enjoy, in this latter capacity, is expressly pointed out and prescribed, and the connexion between their political power and that appropriation, on the one hand, and their existence, privileges, and concerns, as a stock Company, carrying on trade, on the other, is provided for and established, it could scarcely be expected that this exploded distinction, no less false in theory, than inapplicable in practice, would have been revived.----Can the Court of Directors seriously imagine that the Company is annually to derive, for a long tract of years, the benefit of above a million sterling, drawn from the territorial revenues of India, towards purchasing their investment, and yet that every expenditure for the defence of those very territories is unconnected with all objects of commerce? Can they point out any practical line of separation that can be drawn between the political and commercial concerns of the Company, as long as the possession, the revenues, the government, and the defence of India are vested in them? If, for that defence, or for any political object necessary to the general security of their empire, extraordinary exertions are requisite, is it no part of their duty, is it no condition of the tenure under which they govern, that they shall provide for those exertions? Is it not, on the contrary, expressly stipulated in the act of 1793, that the revenues should be applied, in the first place, to the purposes of *government and defence?* Does not that act go further, and, anticipating the case of the occasional absorption of the revenues for these purposes, mark out the mode in which any new debt shall be liquidated? At the time that act was passed there existed, as there will now again exist with the return of peace, a surplus revenue; but was that surplus declared to be a commercial resource for any other reason than because the Company's commerce was the most eligible channel through which it could be remitted to England, in the double view of increasing their profit by the sale of the goods in Europe, and of aiding the revenues of the state by the duties to which those goods are liable in Great Britain?---It would be superfluous to enter into a further examination either of the general spirit, or of the specific provisions of that act, to shew that no distinction can be made as to what part of the debt may be termed political, and what commercial; although, if such a distinction could be admitted at all, it would unquestionably follow, from the circumstance of its being expressly stipulated by the hundred and seventh section of the act, that the *expenses of defence and civil government shall, in the order of preference thereby established, precede every other expense whatsoever*, that every rupee of the loans made in India this war, which has been employed in aid of the bullion, the proceeds of the exports from Europe, and the bills drawn upon the treasury at home, but exclusive of any surplus revenue from India, to complete the annual investments, is strictly and in the letter of the act of Parliament, a debt for *commercial purposes only*.—Under this head, I believe, if the inquiry were gone into, would be included a very considerable portion of the augmentation made to the Indian debt this war, instead of

the whole having been abſorbed, as the Directors inſinuate, for *political purpoſes only*; but the whole diſtinction is idle and nugatory, and cannot poſſibly be entertained. The true criterion of the Company's proſperity unqueſtionably muſt be their providing the greateſt poſſible inveſtment for Europe, without recurring to loans or extra reſources in India, and with the leaſt poſſible demand upon their treaſury at home, and *vice verſâ*;—but how is this to be attained? By the ſtate of the political affairs being ſuch as to admit of the greateſt poſſible increaſe of that ſurplus revenue, every farthing of which is derived to them, not in their *commercial*, but in their *political* capacity.—It therefore follows, on every principle of reaſon, juſtice, and common ſenſe, as well as from the poſitive enactment of the ſtatute, that, however cloſe the connexion between the political and the commercial character of the Company, the advantages of the latter are a conſideration ſecondary and ſubordinate to the diſcharge of the duties impoſed by the former. What then muſt we think of the affectation in the authors of this Report, to aſcribe all the greatneſs, all the wealth, and all the power of the Company to their commercial purſuits, and to impute all their difficulties and embarraſſments to their having been unneceſſarily engaged in political concerns, as if the latter were a mere ſupererogation to the former?—It is true this view of the ſubject enables them, with equal modeſty and juſtice, to inſinuate, that the happy reſults of the one are entirely due to their own ſuperior management and ſkill; and the contingent inconveniences and expenſes of the other, to the ill-adviſed plans and ſuperfluous interference of the late Indian adminiſtration. When their empire, after defraying all the charges incident to their ſovereignty, yielded them a net ſurplus tribute of between one and two millions ſterling, annually, in aid of their commerce, we heard nothing of theſe invidious diſtinctions; but no ſooner are they called upon, by the inevitable interruption of peace, to forego for a time, not according to the caprice of a miniſter, but under the expreſs proviſion of an act of Parliament, the benefit of this tribute, as merchants, and to appropriate it, together with ſuch other reſources, as the exigences of war might require, to the defence of their own rights, and the diſcharge of their moſt important duty, as ſovereigns; than diſtinctions are taken, and loud complaints made "*of their revenues being abſorbed, and their* "*debts augmented for political purpoſes.*" The natural concluſion is, that the Court of Directors would kindly undertake, for *their own profit*, to ſave the ſtate the trouble of drawing, for the benefit of the public, any ſurplus tribute, however conſiderable, which the territorial revenues of India might afford in time of peace; on condition, not only that their general funds, but that thoſe very revenues, ſhould be exempted from contributing to its defence in time of war. The preſent charter having provided otherwiſe, it is unneceſſary, at this moment, to argue upon the fairneſs of ſuch a propoſal, though, ſhould the Court perſiſt in their preſent ſentiments, it may become the baſis upon which, ſome years hence, they may, without inconſiſtency at leaſt, reſt their application for its renewal.

The authors of the Report have given an hiſtorical enumeration of the different foreign Companies trading to India, all of which have either diſwindled into inſignificance, or have been violently ſwept away by abſolute ruin, "whilſt," they add triumphantly, "the Engliſh Eaſt India "Company *was able to rear its broad front* "*with a proud and envied pre-eminence.*"—— With them we ſincerely rejoice in the contraſt; but we might, perhaps, if this were the proper occaſion, ſhew that it is the reſult, much more of their territorial ſovereignty, than of their commercial dealings. We might, perhaps, call in queſtion, whether the advantages ſecured to them as a trading Company, by their excluſive privilege, would have been ſufficient to counterbalance the diſadvantages incident to ſo great an eſtabliſhment, and to carry them ſafe through all the difficulties, loſſes, and embarraſſments, to which, in their commercial capacity, they have been expoſed, by the political convulſions of the laſt forty years. We might, perhaps, have our doubts whether, conſidering the extent of capital, and commercial ſpirit now exiſting in this country, it would have been thought expedient to continue the Company's excluſive privilege, could the ſubject have been diſcuſſed as a queſtion of trade only, abſtractedly of conſtitutional conſiderations at home, and of our territorial ſovereignty in India.—As a mere trading Company, therefore, they might, not improbably, either have ſhared the fate of foreign companies, or, dying a natural death, have been ere now forgotten; but as ſovereigns, "*they are able to rear their* "*broad front, with a proud and envied pre-emi-*"*nence.*" So out of humour, nevertheleſs, are the authors of the Report, with their *political power and dignity*, at this moment, that they can ſcarce keep their temper in adverting to that part of Mr. Dundas's plan, in his Letter of the 30th June, in which he propoſes, that the Company ſhall avail themſelves of the power they already poſſeſs, under the authority of Parliament, "for augmenting their capital "ſtock to the extent of two millions, and that "the additional money ſo raiſed, ſhall be ap-"plied excluſively to the liquidation of the "preſent Indian debt at intereſt." In their language, this is neither more nor leſs, than the monſtrous propoſal of raiſing four millions ſterling here*, in order to pay *political debts* in

* At the preſent prices, and notwithſtanding the gloomy ſtatements of the Third Report, the ſale of two millions of India ſtock would produce conſiderably more than four millions ſterling; and as it is propoſed to ſell only one fourth part of it annually for four years, there is every reaſon to think, ſhould peace be continued, that it would produce a reſource very little ſhort of five millions in the whole.

India. In plain English, it is simply this:---that the Company, having it in their power to raise money in England, at a rate of interest, which, upon the average of the four next years, would probably not exceed 4½ per cent. and owing debts in India, for which they pay *ten* and *twelve* (and which, for whatever purposes contracted, they must continue to pay), they should avail themselves of that power for the general and more speedy relief of their affairs.---The advantage of this arrangement is so obvious, and so easily capable of arithmetical demonstration, both as to its principle and its effects, that it would be a waste of time to dwell upon it here, though it may not be unnecessary to request the Directors to consider a little more coolly what may be the consequences of not adopting it in the present interval of peace. The subject is too delicate for detailed explanation; and those who know any thing of India, will understand my reasons for abstaining from examining too minutely into what might be the result of a new war, before the debt in that quarter had been considerably reduced, and when the necessities of the state might preclude the Company from raising money, by extending its capital at home. In this view of the subject, the Directors may not improperly be compared to the trustees of a private estate, which, after a long, inevitable, and expensive litigation, is secured with considerable additional advantages to the right owner. The net rent, however, is absorbed in paying the interest of several large sums they were obliged to take up, upon ruinous terms, to pay the expenses of the suit. A friend ventures to suggest whether it may not be proper, with a view, as well to the immediate relief of the owner, as to the more speedy liberation of his estate, to raise the money at a cheap rate in another quarter, and to pay off these usurious debts. The trustees can object neither their want of legal power, or the difficulty of finding a lender; but precisely because they cannot give these or any other good reasons against the measure, to which they are somehow unaccountably adverse, they resolve to abuse their friend for his advice, and to get rid of it at once by querulously asking (as if that were the whole question) how it can be expected of them to borrow money to pay the expenses of this lawsuit?---Such is the nature and value of the only objection made in the Report against a proposal for the liquidation of the Indian debt, to the payment of which the good faith of the Company is pledged, and in the speedy reduction of which are involved the most important interests of our Indian empire.----Six years have elapsed since Parliament granted to the Company the privilege of adding two millions to their present capital stock. During the continuance of the war, when every aid the floating capital of the country could afford, was called for by the necessities of the state, it was, perhaps, a laudable attention to the public interest on the part of the Court of Directors, to look rather to the resources of their own separate credit in India, than to interfere with the public credit at home. The former enabled them, during the whole contest, to provide, not only for the necessary charges of war, but also to make provision *for the increased demands of their investments and general trade*; and as it is for this last object, that a great part of the debt has been incurred, now that hostilities are over, and that the Company can recur to its credit at home, not only without inconvenience to the state, but with great advantage to itself, surely it appears but just and reasonable, that the Directors should avail themselves of it, in order to restore to their Indian treasury, a part of what they have drawn from it, in the shape of investment during the war, and thereby to relieve and invigorate their depressed credit in that quarter. The very favourable rate of interest at which they may borrow at home, compared with that which they must have paid during the war, would compensate to them the unfavourable terms, upon which, during that period, a part of their Indian debt has necessarily been contracted; but, instead of considering the subject in this point of view, instead of looking with satisfaction to the facilities the return of peace affords for the relief of their affairs in India, by a judicious use of their credit at home, the authors of the Third Report have acted, as if their only anxiety was, by crushing the Company's credit here, to prevent the adoption of any plan for its relief abroad. The only certain mode of frustrating the suggestions offered by Mr. Dundas for effecting this latter object is to sap the foundations of the confidence the Proprietors and the public have, of late years, placed in the resources and general prosperity of the Company; and, unquestionably, if the authors of the Third Report had succeeded in shaking that confidence, as much as it was shaken in 1783, when, as they affect to believe, "*a relief, trifling indeed, when compared with the wants of the present day, was sufficient to extricate the Company from every difficulty abroad and at home;*" they would be relieved in the most effectual manner from any immediate apprehension of recurring to their credit at home.

I have now gone through the discussion of the principal topics which, in the view to which I limited myself in this letter, appeared to me, for the sake of the public interest, as well as in justice to the Proprietors, and to the character of the late Minister for India, to require some explanation. The search and investigation to which I have been led for this purpose, have added (if I may be allowed the expression) to the conviction I previously felt, that our Indian empire is in a situation of solid and growing prosperity; and that, by a due combination of the territorial resources of the Company in the East, and of their commercial wealth and credit in Europe, not only every existing embarrassment might speedily be relieved; but, should peace be continued, that the splendid advan-

tages, pointed out by Mr. Dundas, in his Letter of the 30th of June, might ſtill be realized before the expiration of their charter. I have probably been guilty of great preſumption in ſuppoſing I could convey to the public mind any part of the impreſſion which has thus been ſtrengthened and confirmed in my own; but if, by expoſing the miſrepreſentations of the Directors, both as to men and meaſures, I ſhall have ſo far ſucceeded in counteracting any ſiniſter apprehenſion they were too well calculated to excite among the Proprietors, with reſpect to their own immediate intereſts, my intentions will be fulfilled; and that character, which the Directors have not ſcrupled to attack, will appear deſerving of the eſteem and gratitude, which it has long commanded from every friend to the welfare of the Company, and the general proſperity of our Indian empire. It might indeed have been expected that in mentioning his name, the firſt feelings of the ſame Directors, who had ſhared his labours and witneſſed his exertions during eighteen years, would have been an affectionate remembrance of the happy cordiality and mutual good-will, which, for the whole of that long and trying period, ſubſiſted invariably between him and them. But ſince they have unaccountably choſen to be the firſt to diſfigure the faireſt monuments of his ſervices and of his fame, and the beſt ſupport of the Company's proſperity; the wiſh, an honeſt one at leaſt, to reſtore what they have mutilated, and in doing ſo, to re-eſtabliſh their own credit, in ſpite of themſelves, will, I hope, excuſe the preſumption of the attempt, even by hands as unſkilful as mine. I am, &c. &c.

The following (ſaid to be the Inſtructions of the Nabob of the Carnatic to his Agents in London) is the Paper referred to in the Debates of the Houſe of Commons, p. 774 and 775.

From his Highneſs the Nawab Walajah Omeer ul Hind Tajool Omrah Omeer ul Mule Mein ud Dowlah Mahomad Ally Huſſein Cawn Bahador Juffer Jung, &c. to James Stuart Hall and Samuel Johnſon, Eſqs.

WHEN I look round me, and perceive the many dangers which beſet me, I am overwhelmed with difficulties; every object occaſions new alarm; and my little experience in buſineſs, my unacquaintance with the world, and my great want of friends in a trial ſo ſerious, leave me little to overcome the difficulties which preſent themſelves. Though a ſtranger in perſon, yet I would perſuade myſelf, that, in relation and character, I am not wholly unknown; nor will you forget the anxious ſolicitude, with which my ever honoured and lamented father recommended his only offspring to you, at your departure from theſe regions—a pious ſolicitude! which ſeemed to anticipate the awful and melancholy moment which has ſince enſued.—Apprized, as I am, of the eſteem in which you were held by his late Highneſs the Nabob, of your unalterable concern for his true intereſts, and of your friendſhip for his family, I naturally turn to you in this embarraſſment of my affairs; and moſt earneſtly entreat the benefit of your advice and endeavours, to extricate me from ſurrounding perils.—I have not truſted to a ſtranger's aid, to make known theſe circumſtances, which it is my firſt wiſh to be communicated to you. I will detail them to you with my own hand; I will trace the unhappy events which have happened, and the evils which they have introduced in their train. I will explain to you the ſentiments to which they have given riſe, the reſults to which they have already led, and the conſequences which they may eventually occaſion. Theſe will not only direct your ſervices (of which I conſider myſelf ſecure) to proper objects, but will be the means (for I am confident in the juſtice of my claims) of obtaining the redreſs I am ſeeking. A true and faithful account of my ſituation, to whom it may be required to be made known, will be all-ſufficient to the ſucceſs of my application.

In order that you may have a complete knowledge of all that has happened, it will be neceſſary to begin with circumſtances apparently remote, though certainly not unimportant, nor unconnected with the preſent ſituation of affairs. I ſhall, therefore, firſt acquaint you, that early in the month of June laſt, his Highneſs the Nabob of the Carnatic was ſeized with very dangerous ſymptoms, which continued, with little variation, for the ſpace of ſeveral days; and were ſufficient to alarm his family and friends for his Highneſs's ſafety and life. It pleaſed the Almighty to allow his Highneſs an interval of a few days of quiet and tranquillity, to arrange and ſettle the particulars of his houſe, and to provide for the ſucceſſion of his dominions; and ſo ſerene and untroubled a moment of freedom from bodily pain and infirmity did his Highneſs enjoy, that his family and ſervants had a moſt reaſonable hope that he might be able to overcome the violence of the attacks. After a few days, however, the diſeaſe returned with an increaſe of violence, and diſappointed all the expectations and prayers which had been kindly conceived and fervently offered up for his Highneſs's recovery. Tears will not allow me to deſcribe with exactneſs the ſcene that followed. You will, in a word, learn, that his Highneſs lay on the extreme bed of ſickneſs, awaiting the ſummons from an eventful life, with a dignified patience and reſignation; affording a ſtriking leſſon, never to be forgotten! of the vanity of ſublunary greatneſs: and in this painful and agonizing ſtate he continued, until the 15th of the ſucceeding month; when his ſpirit and ſoul forſook him, in their way to a higher glory, and more perfect happineſs.—On the 5th of July, about ten days previous to the melancholy event which I have laſt mentioned, a large body of troops, conſiſting of European and native infantry and cavalry, to the number

of eight hundred men, with a proportionate number of artillery, ſupplied with requiſite ſtores and field equipage of every denomination, were ſent by Government (under the command of Colonel M'Neil, one of the Company's officers, to take poſſeſſion of the garden and palace of Chepauk, under the pretence of defending them againſt any inſult or violence which the deceaſe of his Highneſs the Nabob might poſſibly produce: a meaſure which had been adviſed and adopted, without any communication either with his Highneſs or his miniſters, until the very moment of its execution, when Major Grant, the town-major of Fort St. George, was ſent to the ſick chamber of his Highneſs, to acquaint him with the inſtant approach of the troops, and to explain to him the reaſons which had determined that extraordinary act of Government.—It will not be neceſſary for me to attempt a relation of the various emotions, under the conflict and agony of contending paſſions, which this ſudden and unſeaſonable communication unfortunately excited. You will be able to form ſome conjecture about them, if you advert to the ſituation and condition of his Highneſs at that moment, and to the hand which executed the meaſure.—Whether from this, or ſome other cauſe, I am too deeply and dearly intereſted to dare to form an opinion. His Highneſs's diſorder augmented daily in violence, and ended in the unfortunate way which I have before been obliged to ſtate.---The troops, notwithſtanding the repreſentations and laſt entreaties of his Highneſs, ſurrounded his Highneſs's apartments, and the inmoſt receſſes of his palace, at the time of his demiſe; and although but one mind manifeſted itſelf amongſt his Highneſs's relations, and the miniſters of his affairs, although the moſt uninterrupted order and regularity every where appeared, and a ſpirit of loyalty, I am proud to ſay it, univerſally ſhewed itſelf to his Highneſs's ſucceſſor, yet the military force ſtill kept its poſition, under the ſame inſtructions; and ſeemingly with a view to dictate the order and terms of the ſucceſſion.---Under theſe unhappy circumſtances did an old and honourable ally draw his extreme breath!---In this degrading ſituation did his unoffending ſucceſſor begin the cares of his government and dominion.---Decent attentions had ſcarcely been paid to the inanimate form of his Highneſs, to prepare it for its ſhroud, when Mr. Webbe (the ſecretary of Government), and Colonel Cloſe (the preſident of Myſore), were ſent to the palace, under the inſtructions, as they repreſented, of the Right Honourable the Governor. His Highneſs departed this life at about a quarter paſt ten; and at a quarter paſt one o'clock, of the ſame day, I was adviſed of the approach of the Commiſſioners of Government. I am thus circumſtantial in my detail, as I cannot but conceive, that it will tend to ſhew the features of the policy which was intended to be adopted in the beginning, and which has eventually terminated in the utter ſubverſion of every thing like right and juſtice.—Though ſecure, from the poſition of the force about the palace, of every acceſs to it; and of the knowledge of every act, which might paſs within it; yet, at the ſacred hour of ſorrow, and into the chamber of hallowed affliction, did theſe cold Commiſſioners obtrude themſelves; not with the tender offices of friendſhip or condolence, but with offers of indignity and inſult.—It would not be believed, unleſs ſolemnly aſſerted, and I do aſſure you on the honour and faith of a prince unuſed to any ſubterfuge or compromiſe, that at this melancholy juncture, I was drawn by peremptory meſſages from the ſide of the great deceaſed, to anſwer to the countleſs interrogatories of Commiſſioners, inſtructed to examine me. I hope I ſhall not ſuffer in the eyes and contemplation of good men, in yielding to importunities ſo unworthy of myſelf and them; which nothing leſs than the peace and tranquillity of my family, and the fear of pollutions (which I cannot bring myſelf to think of), could poſſibly have led to. But they are paſt, and I will endeavour to be calm.—Attended by ſeveral of my principal officers, I went to the apartments where the Commiſſioners were waiting: when I was immediately accoſted by one of them, with an inquiry, as to the diſpoſition which his Highneſs had made of his affairs. I anſwered with calmneſs, but not without a ſenſibility natural to my ſituation from the bounty of my royal predeceſſor, that ſuch diſpoſition was clear, ſhort, and unequivocal; and was contained in a written paper, which had been executed in quadruplicate, the ſeveral parts of which had been ſent, many days previous to his Highneſs's demiſe, to their ſeveral deſtinations. One of them had been forwarded to his Majeſty the King of Great Britain; one to the Court of Directors; one to the Governor General; and the remaining part was firſt delivered to his Highneſs's chief miniſter, and had by him, ſince the deceaſe of his Highneſs, been delivered into my poſſeſſion, where it then remained.---The Commiſſioners requeſted to ſee the paper, to which I had immediately alluded; when one of my officers, ſtruck with the impropriety of the requeſt at ſuch a ſeaſon, could not reſtrain himſelf from obſerving, that the preſent moment was devoted, as well by feeling as cuſtom, to the indulgence of grief; and he truſted that they would not again advert to the paper, or to circumſtances to which it had relation, but would ſuffer the interval allowed to humane and religious conſiderations, not to be moleſted with worldly cares or reflections: that after three days, his Highneſs would be happy to produce the will, and conſult with them on the objects connected with it, ſo far as they related to the Company. But the Commiſſioners would not hear this conſiderate ſuggeſtion, but inſiſted, with a firmneſs to which I was unuſed, on the immediate production of the paper.---Fearing that ſome poſſible doubts might have been entertained, as to the reality of the paper, if it had not

been produced at the time when demanded, I gave it to their hands, with as little reluctance as the occaſion would permit; they examined it in my preſence, and in the preſence of my officers, with a particular and ſcrupulous care; obſerving, when it was returned to me, "That his Highneſs had appointed me to the entire dominion and government of the Carnatic; and (with very ſmall exceptions) to the poſſeſſion of all his property; but that, in contemplation of my youth, he had placed me under the guardianſhip of two of the noblemen or cawns about his Highneſs's perſon, who were to fill the office of regents, until I ſhould arrive at my nineteenth year." I inſtantly obſerved to them, "That I had been long ſenſible of this diſpoſition of his Highneſs's affairs; that I was well aware and greatly thankful for the kind and tender precaution of his Highneſs, in committing my inexperience into ſuch able and worthy hands; that I well knew and highly reſpected them, and was ready, in all things, to abide by their counſel and advice;" and concluded with remarking, that "ſince his Highneſs had ſo diſpoſed of me, and had ſo conſigned the buſineſs of the government, it were unneceſſary that I ſhould be conſulted further, at a moment ſo inauſpicious. The Regents, I was ſure, had not leſs inclination to meet and forward the deſires of the Company, than what I now felt, and ſhould ever continue to feel; being the firſt and earlieſt impreſſion I had received, and would, I hoped, be the laſt that would remain with me." On this I was preparing to depart, when the Commiſſioners deſired that I would yet remain; having ſomething important to communicate to me, and which they begged to deliver in private, or at leaſt in the preſence only of the Regents and myſelf. On this my officers and ſervants were inſtructed to withdraw; when the Commiſſioners proceeded in the manner in which I ſhall now ſuccinctly and clearly relate.—On the immediate departure of my principal ſervants, the officers of Government produced a letter, repreſented by them to have been written by the Marquis of Welleſley, and intended for his late Highneſs the Nabob; which accuſed my royal grandfather, and my much-revered father, of an improper and unjuſtifiable correſpondence with the Sultan of the Myſore; and concluded with demanding an immediate ſurrender of all the country of the Carnatic, for an alleged breach of treaty. After the reading of this correſpondence, they remarked, that the territory of his Highneſs had been forfeited to the Company, by the act which had been ſtated in the letter; and that, of conſequence, he had no manner of right to diſpoſe of it by will; yet to ſhew that the Company had every diſpoſition to ſerve and protect the ſon, whom his Highneſs had ſo favoured, they were fully inclined to make a very liberal proviſion for him, on condition of his previous ſurrender of all the dominions which had been nominally willed to him. The Regents being preſent, were as much moved as myſelf, at the extraordinary communication which had been juſt made to us. And although we were fully convinced, that no unauthorized correſpondence had ever taken place between his late Highneſs or his predeceſſor, with the Sultan of the Myſore, yet we were ſo much agitated and afflicted at the ſerious manner in which the charge was preferred, as not to be able to afford a cool and diſpaſſionate anſwer. After ſtating our internal impreſſions, that neither of the reſpected perſonages to whom alluſion had been made, could have been engaged in a clandeſtine communication with any foreign power in enmity with the Britiſh intereſts, and our great mortification at the propoſal which had been offered, as founded on that ſuppoſed fact, we begged for a few days conſideration of the terms which had been ſuggeſted, which was conceded to us, after ſome diſcuſſion.

Every inquiry was made in the interval, to aſcertain the correſpondence, which had at any time taken place of the nature already mentioned, when no veſtige could be traced, which could throw the ſlighteſt ſtigma on the venerable names which had been implicated in ſo unfortunate a charge. The only correſpondence which had ever occurred between the parties in queſtion, and which could have given riſe to the ſuſpicion entertained by the Company, happened at the inſtance of the Earl Cornwallis, after the termination of the war ſo ſucceſsfully conducted by his Lordſhip againſt the late Sultaun; and related to a family connexion, which, from well-known circumſtances, never took place. This correſpondence naturally produced mutual communications of courteſy on ſeveral domeſtic events, which concerned either of the parties perſonally, as occaſions happened; but nothing that could affect any intereſts connected with national or public conſiderations. The Regents, at the conference on the next evening, being confirmed in their firſt impreſſions of the rectitude of his late Highneſs's conduct, in the particular referred to, ſtated in perſpicuous terms, the ſteps which they had purſued to inveſtigate the truth of the accuſation which had been alleged to have been contained in the letter of the Marquis of Welleſley; and that they had found on a full inveſtigation, that there was not the ſmalleſt foundation for the charge which had been urged; but, on the contrary, that the only correſpondence which had occurred between his Highneſs and the late Sultaun, had been carried on with the knowledge and conſent of the executive local government, and had been forwarded officially by them; and in proof of this aſſertion, referred the Commiſſioners to their own immediate records. The Regents then expreſſed their concern, that the matter of this accuſation had not been made known and inquired into in the lifetime of his late Highneſs, when it might have been fairly and candidly explained and anſwered. This circumſtance alone led them to hope that the Company did

not ferioufly believe that a correfpondence of fuch a defcription had in reality happened; though they might have felt themfelves authorized in requefting an explanation concerning it: and under this conviction, they could not but conclude that the terms propofed to them at their laft conference would be given up, as they were applicable to a fituation of things which did not exift. The Regents next profeffed themfelves moft ready to receive any propofals which might ferve to promote a good underftanding in refpect to the exifting engagements, or might render them more convenient to either of the fubfcribing parties; though they were not fenfible how they could be improved: at the fame time they were apprehenfive that a new arrangement might give rife to difcuffions which had been long fet at reft by the fubfifting treaty. The Commiffioners ftill ftood on their firft ground, and infifted, in peremptory language, on the propofal which they had before made. Seeing there was no poffibility of diverting them entirely from this object, the Regents confidered of an expedient, which, in their expectation, might have induced the Commiffioners to have foregone their propofal, at leaft in the extent in which it had been moved. Being well aware, from an intimate knowledge of his late Highnefs's affairs, that the preceding Governors of Fort Saint George had looked for poffeffion of the Tinevelly and fome of the adjacent countries as more convenient to their affairs; and fenfible that the prefent Government, from the nature of the propofal made, had fimilar views, though in a more extended fhape, they determined, under the peculiar circumftances in which they ftood, to meet their defires, as much as they could, conffitent with their own honour and the intereffs which they had been given in charge. With this intention, they propofed to deliver into the hands of the Company, for their entire management and control, the whole of the Tinevelly and Madura provinces to the fouthward, and Ongole and Palnaud to the north; on the condition that the Prince of the Carnatic fhould be allowed, in his periodical kiffs, the amount rent of fuch diftricts, agreeable to the fchedule No. 2, annexed to the treaty of 1792, being a yearly fum equal to the full amount of the fubfidy claimable by the Company by virtue of fuch treaty. To the propofal of the Regents, the officers of Government gave a fhort reply—"That it would not in any way do"—and that nothing fhort of the demand which had been made, could be accepted or confidered. In confequence of this difpofition on the part of the Commiffioners, the Regents requefted a further time to reflect, and were indulged to the next day. I fhall not trouble you with the particulars of the next or the fucceeding meeting on the day following; for you will find them circumftantially related in the Journal of the Regents, which I have directed to be forwarded with this. You will readily anticipate, that although the Regents have been difpofed to have rendered up more of the countries (which really was the cafe), on a like condition with thofe already tendered by them, they could not unworthily bring themfelves to make an unqualified and unconditional furrender of thofe rights, which it was their duty to protect and guard. The meetings, therefore, to which I have laft requefted your attention, paffed without effect. Seeing that the Regents were inflexible in their duty, and conceiving, from my want of knowledge in public concerns, that I might poffibly be rendered an inftrument, as I cannot but confider, to my own undoing, the Commiffioners at the laft conference, and towards the conclufion of it, fent a note to Lord Clive, who thereupon appeared at the palace; but inftead of going to the apartment where the negotiations had hitherto been carried on, his Lordfhip went to the tent of Col. M'Neil, in charge of the troops about the gardens, and immediately requefted my attendance on him. I cheerfully complied with his Lordfhip's requeft, and went to the tent. His Lordfhip then accofted me with feeming kindnefs, and begged "I would well confider the Company's proffered terms, which, if then neglected, would evade my acceptance for ever; that they were now offered for the laft time; that a liberal allowance fhould be made out of the collections (but which his Lordfhip did not particularize), if I would liften favourably to his propofals; but that if I did not incline to them, I fhould be reduced from the grandeur which awaited me, into an humble and private ftation."—I obferved to his Lordfhip "that I was not acquainted with matters of fo high concern: that I was indeed an utter ftranger to bufinefs; that my royal predeceffor had wifely committed me to the care and attention of others, and had recommended my conformity to their advice; that in refpect to my father's will, and to the perfons to whom my affairs were trufted, I could not think of anfwering for myfelf the important propofitions made to me;—but, from regard to his Lordfhip's character, and to the intereffs which he repreffented, I was inclined, not only to give my ready attention to what his Lordfhip communicated, but would advife the Regents (if it were compatible with their honour and my own fafety) to overlook any formal difficulty which might ftand in the way of their acquiefcence; for this purpofe, I would beg leave to acquaint them with what had paffed, and would appoint an early day when his Lordfhip fhould have my anfwer."—His Lordfhip obferved that he would wait on me again the next day, at the fame place, and took his leave. In confulting with the Regents and the Cawns, and Omrahs of Empire, before whom the whole of what had paffed at the preceding conferences was laid, I was fully advifed of the dangers to which my affairs and family might be expofed, by the acceptance of terms fo difreputable and fo vague:

an

an advice, which I had no reaſon to ſuſpect of prejudice or infidelity, and by which, after the moſt mature conſideration, I was determined to govern my conduct. Accordingly, when the Governor came the next evening, I acquainted him ingenuouſly, "that I could not accede to the offer which he had yeſterday the goodneſs to make me; that I had every perſonal good wiſh for the proſperity of the Company, and for the real and ſubſtantial intereſts of the Britiſh nation, which I had been taught to admire from my earlieſt years; but that I could not ſacrifice my own and my family's rights for any ſuppoſed benefit to the Company, or any proviſional good which I was given to expect. Beſides, the mode of ſurrender dictated, and the ground on which it profeſſed to be founded, was ſuch, that I could not adopt it, without rendering a credit to ſuggeſtions, highly diſhonourable to thoſe whom, by duty and religion, I was bound to honour and revere. I had already ſhewn an inclination to attend to the Company's requiſitions, in ſo far as they could be attended to; and was much induced by my own ſentiments, to extend the propoſal which had been made on my behalf, even to a greater latitude, on the principle of the footing on which it had been made. My motives, therefore, for the non-acceptance of his Lordſhip's offer, could admit of no doubt. That I had the higheſt perſonal conſideration for his Lordſhip, and would hope that the frank and explicit anſwer, which I had now given him, would not occaſion offence." While I was delivering what I had to ſay, a number of troopers rode round the tent with drawn ſwords; and an unuſual guard of Sepoys were poſted at the door, who traverſed conſtantly to and fro, and a certain degree of confuſion ſeemed to reign around. I endeavoured, nevertheleſs, to preſerve a coolneſs and conſiſtency of demeanour, requiſite for the occaſion; and have to thank Heaven, that my reaſon and fortitude were not to be ſhaken by a circumſtance calculated to move them; and which, from after-practices, I am ſorry to add that I cannot but imagine was contrived with that view. After I had concluded what I had to anſwer, his Lordſhip replied, "That I was extremely badly adviſed; that I had ſacrificed my beſt intereſts to ſpecious appearances, and that I ſhould rue the rejection of his propoſal; that it was the very laſt time that he ſhould addreſs me on the ſubject"—and with a few words of form, he departed the tent. I have taken ſome pains to acquaint you with the foregoing circumſtances, as well by myſelf, as by the more detailed accounts of the Regents, as they tend to ſhew the true grounds of the diſagreement which exiſted between me and the Government; and which have been made the pretence of diſpoſſeſſing me of a throne to which, by perſonal right, as well as by the will of my royal predeceſſor, I was lawfully and indiſputably entitled.

From the detail of which you are in poſſeſſion, you will readily perceive the policy on which the Madras Government have acted; that they had an ambitious deſign from the beginning, of poſſeſſing themſelves of the whole dominions of the Carnatic—a deſign which the circumſtances of the times ſeemed peculiarly to favour. Apprehenſive, however, of the opinions of the European and Aſiatic world, they determined on arriving at their ends by means the leaſt alarming and ſuſpicious. They therefore firſt betook themſelves to him who they well knew, if he could be brought to conſent, could give not only effect and legality to their unbounded views; but they ſoon experienced, from the wiſe precautions of his predeceſſor, that he was not left a ready inſtrument to their purpoſes (though not indiſpoſed in ſentiment to accept any reaſonable terms), and judging from the latter circumſtances (which ſhewed a pliancy of character) that he might yet be made what the Government deſired to ſee him, they endeavoured by promiſes, allurements, and threats, to mould him to their wiſhes. But ſeeing in the event, that all their ſtratagems failed, while their ambition remained unabated, they reſorted to other expedients, that ſeemed to promiſe, if not a more honourable, at leaſt a more ſucceſsful iſſue. Their ambition ſtill exhibited its original mixed character; it poſſeſſed not any of that daring, open, and dazzling quality, which leads the world to overlook the means in the ſplendour of the event; but a lofty and towering mind, with a diminutive and half-aſſured ſpirit, which affects, but can never perfect a great or admirable achievement.—Diſappointed in their firſt expectation, the Government ſought to accompliſh their object by the inſtrumentality of the next immediate prince to the Muſnud of the Carnatic; and unmindful of the order and ſucceſſion, and of the diſpoſition of his late Highneſs, did not ſcruple to open negotiations with him for filling the Imperial ſeat. But I ſhall not trouble you at any length on the many ſubterfuges uſed on this occaſion; or on the meaſures adopted, through an oblique medium, of obtaining their originally intended end.—On the 23d of July (about eight days after the demiſe of his late Highneſs), the Commiſſioners of Government, whom I have had ſo often occaſion to mention, ſent for Huſſain ul Dowlak, (ſon of the Ameer, and nephew of his late Highneſs) to the tent of Colonel M'Neil, and entered into a conference with him for ſome hours. They repeated their viſits every day, ſom times bringing with them large ſupplies of money, until the inſtant, when the Ameer's ſon was removed with great ceremony, and under a ſtrong eſcort of the Company's cavalry, to a houſe provided for him by the Government; at which place, a treaty was deviſed and executed, alienating, as I am told, the whole territories and countries of the Carnatic to the poſſeſſion of the Company.—During the time even when theſe tranſactions were paſſing, ſeveral repreſentations were made to me, through Colonel M'Neil, of the favourable

diſpoſition of Government to me, and of the advantages which would be loſt by my refuſing to meet their wiſhes; that he was well aſſured that the Ameer's ſon would readily accept any terms which the Government ſhould graciouſly grant to him; but as I had delivered my ſentiments publicly to the officers of Government, and at open conferences, I declined to hear any private propoſals; and ſo informed the Colonel, obſerving at the time, that I implicitly believed whatever he told me reſpecting the Ameer's ſon; for I well knew that he would receive what the Company would be pleaſed to give him, in lieu of the territories of the Carnatic; for he would be receiving every thing, when he had nothing in reality to return.---I need not acquaint you (for it is a common conſequence of the policy I have been deſcribing), that every means were uſed to ſpread diſſenſions in the family, and provoke counter-claims, in order to give the Government a colour for interference; and notwithſtanding the variety of contending intereſts, which this ſtratagem put in motion, I am happy to ſay, that a ſenſe of juſtice finally prevailed, and that there was but one opinion as to the ſucceſſion, which ought to be conſulted, and but one ſentiment on the conduct of Government as to the meaſures adopted by them. And thinking that the united ſenſe of the family and of the Mahomedan lawyers might have had a weight and influence, I encloſed two written inſtruments to the Government, declarative of their ſentiments on the act which Government were about to ſanction: copies of which papers are encloſed for your further information. And hearing ſhortly after, that Government intended to place the Ameer's ſon on the Muſnud at all events and at all conſequences, I requeſted the Regents, in a public letter (a copy of which accompanies), to addreſs the Right Honourable the Governor in Council on the ſubject of my affairs, recapitulating what had paſſed at the conferences with me and them, profeſſing our joint wiſhes to form ſuch an alliance with the Company, as might inſure our mutual intereſts, and begging that they would open a negotiation with us in writing, and in a direct way, which they had always previouſly declined, and we would endeavour to ſatisfy their expectations as far as our means would allow. But to the addreſs of the Regents the Government did not return an anſwer.---Being informed on the 29th, that a public notification had been made through the different ſtreets of Madras, that the Ameer's ſon would be placed on the Muſnud on the 31ſt inſt. under the influence of Government, I immediately addreſſed the Governor, with the advice of the Regents, on the ſuggeſted meaſure, and propoſed to accept the terms which had been at firſt offered—a meaſure which my mind revolted at; but which ſeemed to be demanded by the trying exigencies of the moment; and I felt confident within myſelf, that if my offer had been accepted, the liberality o the Britiſh nation would have never held me bound by conditions which had been ſo compulſorily impoſed on me; or would have ameliorated a ſituation which had been produced by means which neither honour nor juſtice could bear to contemplate. My addreſs was wholly and totally diſregarded. I cannot repeat the ſcene which followed; that inſulted every noble feeling, and outraged every right. I have endeavoured, under the mortifying events which have happened, and the variety of ſenſations which have poſſeſſed me, to acquaint you of the unhappy ſituation in which I find myſelf expoſed, and I am afraid that I have ill ſucceeded. I need not endeavour to impreſs you with the horrors of the ſituation to which I feel myſelf reduced. You have but to picture to yourſelves the height of human grandeur, and the ſad and miſerable reverſe of it! the higheſt and loweſt condition of which humanity is capable! But even the meaneſt ſubject of the very worſt government poſſeſſes a bleſſing which my fortune and fate forbid! He owns the gratifying ſenſation of knowing himſelf ſafe amidſt the ſociety of his fellows: while I, alas! have no friendly nor kindly ſociality; none of thoſe relations and ties which are made to ſecure the comforts and happineſs of life---an unit, as it were, in the ſum of the people of the Carnatic, I am delivered into the hands of an enemy, who has but one act to execute, to finiſh his career.---If I fail of your active ſervices, your zealous and ſtrenuous ſupport, there is but one ſhort ſtep to inevitable deſtruction; let me entreat and implore, that you take the immediate time to ſeek the removal of the ills which are about to overwhelm me. From the diſtance which intervenes, from my ignorance of the fit and proper means of remedy, and from my ſenſibility of the injuries with which I am ſeverely galled, I know not what courſe to try. In your judgment, experience, and cooler determination, I confide and reſt.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

THE Houſe (according to order) reſumed the adjourned debate upon the motion, that the amount of the public funded debt, on the 1ſt of February, 1793, was 238,231,248*l.* excluſive of long and ſhort annuities for lives, to the amount of 1,373,550*l.* of which ſums, ſtock, to the amount of 10,242,100*l.* had been purchaſed by the Commiſſioners for redeeming the national debt, and the annuities, to the amount of 79,880*l.* had fallen in, and been carried to their account, reducing the actual amount of the debt on the 1ſt of Feb. 1793, to 227,989,148*l.* and the annuities to 1,293,670*l.* and that, on the 1ſt of February, 1802, ſtock, to the amount of 39,885,308*l.* had been purchaſed by the Commiſſioners, and ſtock, to the amount of 18,001,148*l.* had been transferred to them on account of land tax redeemed, and annuities, to the amount of 125,707*l.* had fallen in; redu-

cing on the 1st of February 1802, the actual amount of debt existing before the war to 180,344,792*l.* and the annuities to 1,247,843*l.*

And the question was again proposed.

And the previous question being put, that that question be now put;

It passed in the negative.

A motion was made, and the question being proposed, that the total amount of stock created since the 1st of February 1793 (including the amount created by sums borrowed in the present session of Parliament, and after deducting 20,490,003*l.*, purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt) on the 1st of February 1802, is 338,138,360*l.*; of which sum the interest on 7,502,633*l.* is payable by the emperor of Germany; and the interest on 22,348,000*l.* is payable by Ireland: and that annuities have been granted, since the 1st of February 1793, to the amount of 550,460*l.* of which 9,791*l.* is payable by Ireland, and 230,000*l.* by the Emperor of Germany.

And the previous question being put, that that question be now put;

It passed in the negative.

A motion was made, and the question being proposed, that the total amount of the public funded debt (including the amount created by the sums borrowed in the present session, and after deducting 60,375,311*l.* purchased by the commissioners, and 18,801,148*l.* transferred to them on account of land tax redeemed) was, on the 1st of February 1802, 518,483,152*l.*; of which sum 29,064,226*l.* is on account of Ireland and the emperor of Germany; leaving a funded debt charged on Great-Britain of 489,418,926*l.*; and that the amount of annuities charged on Great-Britain (after deducting what have fallen in) was, on the 1st of February 1802, in short annuities and for lives, 543,200*l.*; and in long annuities 1,015,410*l.*

And the previous question being put, that that question be now put;

It passed in the negative.

A motion was made, and the question being proposed, that, under the heads of treasury, army, ordnance, barracks, and advances from civil list (after deducting the surplus of ways and means of 1801) outstanding demands, as far as the same can be made up, remained to be provided for, on the 5th of January 1802, to the amount 3,264,235*l.*

That the unfunded debt in exchequer bills, unprovided for, or provided for out of funds which have proved insufficient, was, on the 5th of January 1802, 13,744,443*l.*

That the debt of the navy remaining to be provided for, was, on the 5th of January 1802, 9,073,070*l.*; and, that the total amount of demands outstanding, navy debt and exchequer bills unprovided for, or provided for out of insufficient funds, was, on the 5th of January 1802, 26,031,748*l.*; of which sum 11,771,836*l.* has since been made good out of the supplies of the present session, leaving an unfunded debt of 14,309,912*l.* to which 5,000,000*l.* of exchequer bills, voted in the present session, being added, makes a total of unfunded debt hereafter to be provided for, of 19,309,912*l.*

And the previous question being put, that that question be now put;

It passed in the negative.

A motion was made, and the question being proposed, that the total debt may be stated as follows: *viz.*

	£
Total amount of the public funded debt unredeemed - - - -	518,483,152
1,015,410*l.* long annuities, valued at 25 years purchase - - -	25,385,250
Unfunded debt - - - - -	19,309,912
	563,178,314
Of this sum, Ireland and the Emperor of Germany are chargeable with the interest on - -	29,064,226
Leaving a total debt charged on Great-Britain (exclusive of 543,000*l.* short annuities, and any further sums necessary for winding up the expenses of the war) of - - - - - - - -	534,114,088

And the previous question being put, that that question be now put;

It passed in the negative.

A motion was made, and the question being proposed, that the sum applicable to the reduction of the total funded debt was, on the 1st February 1793, 1,427,143*l.* and, on the first February 1802, 5,809,330*l.* to which must be added 26,390*l.* being 1 *per cent.* on part of the loan of the present year; making a total of 5,835,720*l.*, of which sum 5,587,399*l.* is applicable to the reduction of the debt charged on Great-Britain, and, being appropriated by act of Parliament to accumulate at compound interest, will redeem a sum equal to the amount of debt created since the 1st of January 1800, in about 16 years, supposing all stocks to be purchased at par, and in about 12½ years, supposing the 3 *per cents.* to be purchased at 75.

And the previous question being put, that that question be now put;

It passed in the negative.

A motion was made, and the question being proposed, that the annual charge incurred by the permanent debt, on the 5th of January 1793, was 10,325,866*l.* including 1,000,000*l.* applicable to the reduction of the debt:

That the annual charge incurred by the permanent debt created since the 5th of January 1793 (exclusive of the interest payable by Ireland, and including the charge incurred by the loan of the present session, but exclusive of 48,000*l.* interest on deferred stock) is 13,557,600*l.* of which sum, 2,462,100*l.* is the 1 *per cent.* sinking fund on the capital of the said debt, applicable to the reduction thereof; and that a further charge of 497,735*l. per annum* is guaranteed by Parliament, in default of payment of the interest of certain loans by his Majesty the emperor of Germany.

And the previous question being put, that that question be now put;

It passed in the negative.

A motion was made, and the question being proposed, that the net produce of the permanent taxes existing previous to the war was, on the 5th of January 1793, 14,284,000*l.*; and, on the 5th of January 1802, 13,221,682*l.*:

That the net produce of the permanent taxes imposed since the 5th of January 1793 was, on the 5th of January 1802, 9,187,288*l.*

And, that the total amount of the permanent taxes was, on the 5th of January 1802, 22,408,970*l.*

And the previous question being put, that that question be now put;

It passed in the negative.

A motion was made, and the question being proposed, that the total official value of all imports into Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January 1793, was 19,659,358*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1793, was 18,685,390*l.*

That the total official value of all imports, in the year ending the 5th of January 1802 (supposing the imports from the East-Indies, of which no account has been made up, to be the same as in the preceding year) was 32,317,032*l.*; and, on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1802, was 26,964,036:

That the total official value of British produce and manufactures, exported in the year ending the 5th of January 1793, was 18,336,851*l.* and, on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1793, was 14,771,049*l.*:

That the total official value of British produce and manufactures, exported in the year ending the 5th of January 1802, was 25,719,979*l.* and, on an average of six years, ending the 5th January 1802, was 21,631,050:

That the total official value of foreign merchandize, exported from Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January 1793, was 6,568,346*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th January 1793, was 5,469,014*l.*

That the total official value of foreign merchandize, exported in the year ending the 5th of January 1802, was 16,523 480*l.*; and, on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1802, was 14,104,700*l.*

And the previous question being put, that that question be now put;

It passed in the negative.

A motion was made, and the question being proposed, that the total sum to be raised in Great-Britain in the year 1802, may be estimated as follows, *viz.*

	£	£
Interest of the public funded debt, charges of management, and sinking fund, on the 5th of January 1802, after deducting interest payable by Ireland - -	£22,444,564	
Interest, &c. to be incurred and paid between the 5th January 1802 and the 5th January 1803, on stock created by loans of the present session to the amount of 30,351,375*l.* - - - - -		665,422
Interest on exchequer bills, estimated to be the same as paid in the year ending 5th January 1802 - - - - - - - -		1,121,890
Proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, according to the articles of union, of the civil list, and other charges on the consolidated funds of Great-Britain and Ireland, amounting together to 1,560,472*l.* - -		1,376,888
Civil government of Scotland, pensions on revenue, militia, and deserters warrants, bounties for promoting fisheries, &c. &c. estimated at - - - -		1,000,000
Charges of management of revenue, estimated to be the same as in the year ended 5th January 1802 - - - - - - - -		1,871,861
Supplies voted for 1802, on account of Great-Britain exclusively - -	£8,409,473	
Proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, according to the articles of union, of the supplies voted for Great-Britain and Ireland (amounting in the whole to 31,259,209*l.*) -	27,261,063	
Total amount of supplies for 1802, to be defrayed by Great-Britain -		35,670,536
Advance to Ireland - - - -		2,000,000
Interest payable for loans to Emperor of Germany - - - -		497,735
Making in the whole the sum of		£66,648.896

And the previous question being put, that that question be now put;

It passed in the negative.

	£
A motion was made, and the question being proposed, that the interest of the public funded debt, charges of management, and sinking fund, after deduct- interest payable by Ireland, is	23,520,003
That the interest on exchequer bills, exclusive of three millions not at present bearing interest, cannot be estimated at less than	450,000
That the interest on navy debt cannot be estimated at less than	150,000
That of the present charges on the consolidated funds of Great-Britain and Ireland, the proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, is - - - - - -	1,376,888

	£
That of the miscellaneous charges of Great Britain and Ireland, the proportion to be defrayed by Great Britain cannot be estimated at less than	397,060
That the charges of the militia of Great Britain cannot be estimated at less than	22,000
That of the charges of Chelsea and Kilmainham hospitals, and widows pensions in Great Britain and Ireland, the proportion to be defrayed by Great Britain cannot be estimated at less than	262,948
That of the half pay of the army of Great Britain and Ireland, the proportion to be defrayed by Great Britain cannot be estimated at less than	400,000
	26,776,899
That of the charge of the navy (supposing the number of seamen employed to be reduced from 70,000, their present amount to 30,000, for the year 1803) the proportion to be defrayed by Great Britain cannot be estimated at less than	3,514,613
	£.30,291,512

And the previous question being put, that that question be now put;

It passed in the negative.

A motion was made, and the question being proposed, that, supposing the produce of the old permanent taxes to be the same as in the year ending the 5th of January 1800, being their highest amount, and the new permanent taxes to produce the sum for which they were laid, the income applicable to the peace establishment of Great Britain, may be estimated as follows: viz.

Old permanent taxes	£.15,740,000
New permanent taxes, including 1801	10,395,246
Taxes imposed in present session	4,000,000
Land and malt	2,558,000
Estimated profit on lottery	360,000
	£.33,053,246
Which sum, being so raised, after deducting certain estimated charges, to the amount of	30,291,512
would leave towards the charge of the army ordnance, and contingencies, a surplus of	£.2,761,734

And the previous question being put, that that question be now put;

It passed in the negative.

A motion was made, and the question being proposed, that the actual charge of the army and ordnance for Great Britain and Ireland, for six months, ending the 5th of January 1803 (exclusive of army extraordinaries, militia, half-pay, Chelsea, &c.) to be defrayed by Great Britain, is 2,414,876l. being after the rate of 4,829,750l. per annum.

That, supposing a reduction to take place to the amount of 20,000 men, with a proportionate reduction in the barracks and ordnance departments, the total charge to be defrayed by Great Britain for the army and ordnance (exclusive of army extraordinaries, militia, half pay, Chelsea, &c.) may be estimated for the year 1803, at — £ 3,812,960

And that upon such an establishment, the charge of army extraordinaries to be defrayed by Great Britain, cannot be estimated at less than — 600,000

Making (exclusive of contingent charges, and of 497,000l. interest due by the emperor of Germany, and guaranteed by parliament) a sum of — 4,412,960

Which, after applying the estimated surplus of taxes — 2,761,734

would leave a deficiency to be provided for, of — £.1,651,226

And the previous question being put, that that question be now put; it passed in the negative.

The house (according to order) resumed the adjourned debate upon the motion, that the amount of the public funded debt was, on the 5th of January 1786, 238,231, 248l., exclusive of long and short annuities, and annuities for lives to the amount of 1,373,550l.: that, on the 1st of February, 1793, stock to the amount 10,242,100l. had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt, and annuities to the amount of 79,880l. had fallen in, and had been carried to their account; reducing the actual amount of the debt on the 5th of January 1793 to 237,989,148, and the annuities to 1,293,670l. and that, on the 1st of February 1802, stock to the amount of 39,885,308 had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt, and annuities to the amount of 125,707l. had fallen in and been carried to their account, and stock to the amount of 18,001,148l. had been transferred to them on account of land-tax redeemed; reducing the actual amount of debt existing before the war, on the 1st of February 1802, to 180,344,792 l., and the annuities to 1,247,843 l.

Resolved,—That the amount of the public funded debt was, on the 5th of January 1786, 238,231,248; exclusive of long and short annuities and annuities for lives, to the amount of 1,373,550: that on the 1st of February 1793, stock to the amount of 10,242,100 had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; and annuities to the amount of 79,880 l. had fallen in, and had been carried to

their account; reducing the actual amount of the debt, on the 5th of January 1793, to 227,949,148 l. and the annuities to 1,293,670 l.: and that on the 1st of February 1802, stock to the amount of 39,885,308 l. had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; and annuities to the amount of 125,707 l. had fallen in and been carried to their account; and stock to the amount of 18,001,148 l. had been transferred to them, on account of land-tax redeemed; reducing the actual amount of debt existing before the war, on the 1st February 1802, to 180,344,792 l. and the annuities to 1,247,843 l.

Resolved,—That the capital of the public funded debt created since the 1st of February 1793, as the same stood on the 1st of February 1802, together with the capital to be created by sums borrowed in the present session of parliament, and exclusive of 7,502,633 l. 3 per cent. Stock created by advances to the emperor of Germany, is 351,125,730 l.—That the amount of long annuities, created during the same period, is 320,461 l. per annum, exclusive of 230,000 l. annuity created by advances to the emperor of Germany, which will expire in the year 1820.—That of these sums, 22,348,000 l. capital, and 9,791 l. long annuities, are on account of Ireland; leaving a permanent debt of 328,777,730 l. charged on Great Britain.—And that, on the 1st of February 1802, 19,703,596 l. had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; reducing the said permanent debt, created since the 5th January 1793, to 309,074,134 l., exclusive of long annuities, to the amount of 310,670 l. per annum.

Resolved,—That the total amount of the permanent funded debt charged on Great Britain, after deducting the sum of 59,588,904 l. redeemed by, and the annuities fallen in, to the commissioners, and 18,001,148 l. transferred to them on account of land-tax redeemed, was, on the 1st of February 1802, 489,418,926 l. together with short annuities to the amount of 543,103 l. and long annuities to the amount of 1,015,410 l.

Resolved,—That the sum annually applicable to the reduction of the national debt of Great Britain, in pursuance of the act passed in 1786, was 1000,000 l. being about 1-238th part of the capital of the permanent debt then existing; and for 1793, was 1,427,143 l. being about 1-160th part of the permanent debt existing in 1793, and may, for the year 1802, be estimated at 5,800,000 l. being about 1-84th part of the permanent debt existing in 1802; which sum of 5,800,000 l. is appropriated by act of parliament to accumulate at compound interest, until the whole of the existing debt is discharged; which, supposing all the stocks to be purchased at par, and no further sums to be transferred for redemption of land-tax, cannot be later than the close of the year 1843.

Resolved,—That the annual charge incurred on account of the permanent debt on the 5th of January 1786, was 9,297,000 l. before any fund was created applicable to the reduction of the debt, and, on the 5th of January 1793, was 10,325,000 l. including 1,000,000 l. applicable thereto; in which sum of 10,325,000 l. was included, on the 5th January 1793, the interest of 10,242,100 l. capital stock redeemed; and the amount of annuities fallen in or unclaimed, which had been transferred to the commissioners, making together the sum of 387,143 l. and that the said sum of 10,325,000 l. was reduced on the 5th January 1802, by reason of stock transferred for redemption of land-tax, and by diminution in the charges of management, on account of sums redeemed by the commissioners, to 9,771,169 l. in which sum is included the interest on 39,885,308 l. capital stock redeemed, and the amount of annuities fallen in or unclaimed, and transferred to the commissioners, making together the sum of 1,334,186 l.

Resolved,—That the annual charge incurred on account of the permanent debt of Great Britain, created since the 5th January 1793) including 924,199 l. permanent interest and charge on loan of the present session, of which 48,761 l. 17s. will not become payable till after the 5th of January 1806, amounts to 13,597,594 l. per annum; of which 10,544,383 l. is for interest, annuity, and charges of management, of such part of the said debt as was unredeemed on the 1st of February 1802; and 3,053,211 l. arises from 1 per cent. sinking fund on the capital of part of the said debt and interest of stock redeemed, and is applicable to the reduction thereof; and that a further charge of 497,735 l. per annum is guaranteed by parliament, in default of payment of the interest of certain loans by his majesty the emperor of Germany.

Resolved,—That the annual charge on account of the permanent debt of Great Britain on the 1st of February 1802 (including 924,199 l. for interest and charges of the loan of the present session, and 200,000 l. now permanently added to the sinking fund) amounts to 23,568,763 l. whereof 5 587,397 l. is applicable to the reduction of the national debt. And that a further charge of 497,735 l. per annum is guaranteed by parliament, in default of payment of the interest of certain loans by his Majesty the Emperor of Germany.

Resolved,—That the amount of the outstanding demands unprovided for on the 5th of January 1802, exclusive of unfunded debt, and of the anticipation of certain duties annually voted, was 4,514,531 l. That the surplus of ways and means for the year 1801 was 114,000 l. and 99,886 l. remained unpaid and applicable to the public service on the grant to the Queen of Portugal; reducing the amount of demands unprovided for to 4,300,465 l. of which 4,018,420 l. has been provided for in the present session.

Resolved,—That the unfunded debt, exclusive of the anticipation in the usual form of certain duties annually voted, amounted, on the 5th of January 1793, to 8,925,422 l. and on the 5th of January 1802, to 21,179,170 l. exclusive of the anticipation of the loan of 1802, and of 3,000,000 l. advanced by the bank without interest, for the renewal of their charter, to be repaid in 1806;

of which sum of 21,179,170 l. 10,113,493 l. has been paid off or provided for in the course of the present session.

Resolved,—That the net produce of the permanent taxes existing on the 5th January 1784 then amounted to 10,194,259 l. and that taxes were afterwards imposed to defray the expenses of the war ending in 1783, amounting in 1786 to 938,000 l. making together 11,132,000 l.

Resolved,—That the net produce of the permanent taxes existing previous to the year 1784; adding thereto about 938,000 l. imposed as above stated in 1784 and 1785, and 137,000 l. arising from the consolidation act, and from duties imposed in 1789, was, in the year ending the 5th of January 1793, 14,284,000 l. on the 5th of January 1794, 13,941,000 l. on the 5th of January 1795, 13,858,000 l. on the 5th of January 1796, 13,557,000 l. on the 5th of January 1797, 14,292,000 l. on the 5th of January 1798, 13,332,000 l. on the 5th of January 1799, 14,275,000 l. on the 5th of January 1800, 15,743,109 l. on the 5th of January 1801, 14,194,539 l. and on the 5th of January 1802. (including 1,275,544 l. the amount of bounties paid on corn and rice imported) 14,497,226 l. which last sum, after deducting the duties arising from the consolidation act and those imposed in in 1789, exceeds the net produce of the permanent taxes on the 5th of January 1784, together with that of the taxes imposed in 1784 and 1785, by 3,228,226 l.

Resolved,—That the actual net produce of the taxes imposed since the 5th of January 1793, amounted, in the year ended the 5th of January 1802, to 9,187,288 l. and that the total net produce of the permanent taxes in the year ended the 5th of January 1802 amounted to 23,684,514 l. (including 1,275,544 l. paid for bounties on corn and rice imported.)

Resolved,—That the total gross receipt within the year (deducting repayments, discounts, and drawbacks, and also deducting all loans and monies paid to government) was, in the year 1797, 23,076,179 l. in the year 1798, 30,176,303 l. in the year 1799, 34,750,976 l. in the year 1800, 33,535,016 l. and in the year 1801, 35,368,376 l. being an increase, compared with 1797, of 12,292,197 l. compared with 1798, of 5,192,073 l. compared with 1799, of 617,400 l. and compared with 1800, of 1,833,360 l.

Resolved,—That the official value of all imports into Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January 1784, was 13,122,235 l. and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1784, was 11,690,829 l.—That the official value of all imports into Great Britain in the year ending the 5th of January 1793, was 19,659,358 l. and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1793, was 18,685,390 l. —That the official value of all imports into Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January 1802 (supposing the imports from the East Indies, of which no account has yet been made up, to be the same as in the preceding year) was 32,317,032 l. making an increase, as compared with 1783, of 19,194,797 l. and with 1792, of 12,657,674 l. and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1802, was 26,964,038 l. making an increase, as compared with the average of the 5th of January 1784, of 15,273,209 l. and with the average to the 5th of January 1793, of 8,278,618 l.—And that the real value of imports in the year ending the 5th of January 1802, supposing the imports from the East Indies to be the same as in the preceding year, may be estimated at about 53,680,000 l.

Resolved,—That the official value of British manufactures, exported from Great-Britain in the year ending the 5th of January 1784, was 10,409,713 l.; and on an average of six years, ending 5th of January 1784, was 8,616,660 l.: —That the official value of British manufactures exported from Great-Britain in the year ending 5th of January 1793, was 18,336,851 l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1793, was 14,771,049 l.:—That the official value of British manufactures exported from Great-Britain in the year ending 5th of January 1802, was 25,719,979 l., making an increase, as compared with 1783, of 15,310,266 l., and with 1792, of 7,383,128 l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1802, was 21,631,050 l., making an increase, as compared with the average to 5th of January 1784, of 13,014,390 l.; and, and with the average to 5th of January 1793, of 6,860,001 l.:—And that the real value of British manufactures exported in the year 1801, may be estimated at 41,770,000 l.

Resolved,—That the official value of foreign merchandize exported from Great-Britain in the year ending the 5th of January 1784, was 4,332,909 l., and on an average of six years ending the 5th of January 1784, was 4,263,930 l.: —That the official value of foreign merchandize exported from Great-Britain in the year ending the 5th of January 1793, was 6,568,348 l.; and on an average of six years ending the 5th of January 1793, was 5,468,014 l.:—that the official value of foreign merchandize exported from Great-Britain in the year ending the 5th of January 1802, was 16,523,480 l., making an increase as compared with 1783, of 12,190,571 l. and with 1792, of 9,955,132 l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1802, was 14,104,700 l., making an increase as compared with the average to January 5th 1784, of 9,840,770 l.. and with the average to January 5, 1793, of 8,636,686 l.:—and that the real value of foreign merchandize exported in the year ending the 5th of January, 1802, may be estimated at about 15,750,000 l.

Resolved,—That the number of registered vessels belonging to the British dominions, and employed in trade, in the year 1789, being the first year in which the register act had taken full effect, was 14,310; their tonnage 1,395,172, and the number of seamen navigating the same 108,962.—In the year 1792 the number of vessels was 16,079; their tonnage 1,540,145; and the number of seamen navigating the same 118,286; and, in the year 1801, the number of vessels was 19,772; their tonnage 2,037,317,

and the number of men 143,987;—being an increase of 5,462 ships, of 642,145 tons, and of 35,025 men, compared with 1789; and of 3,693 ships, of 497,172 tons, and of 25,701 men, compared with 1792.

Resolved,—That the total sum to be raised in Great-Britain in the year 1802, may be estimated as follows:—viz.

	£.
Interest of public funded debt, charges of management, and sinking fund, on the 5th of January, 1802, after deducting interest payable by Ireland	22,444,564
Interest, &c. to be incurred and paid between 5th January, 1802, and 5th January, 1803, on stock created by loans in the present session	665,422
Interest on exchequer bills	750,000
Proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, according to the articles of union, of the civil list, and other charges on the consolidated funds of Great-Britain and Ireland, amounting together to 1,537,739 l.	1,356,828
Civil government of Scotland, estimated as before; Pensions on hereditary revenue, estimated as before; Militia and deserters warrants, estimated as before; Bounties for promoting fisheries, linen manufactures, &c. including excess of corn bounties beyond 1,643,000l. re-paid by parliament	1,000,000
Charges of management of the revenue, the same as last year	2,024,697
Making the total permanent charges to be defrayed out of the gross receipt of permanent revenue	28,241,511
Proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, according to the articles of union, of the supplies voted for 1802 for Great-Britain and Ireland, amounting in the whole to 39,305,344 l., including therein the separate charges on Great-Britain	35,532,371
	63,773,882
Advance to Ireland £.2,000,000	
Interest payable for imperial loans 497,596	2,497,596
	£.66,271,478

Resolved,—That the gross receipt of the permanent revenue, after deducting repayments for over entries, drawbacks, and bounties in the nature of drawbacks, amounted in the year ended 5th January, 1802, to £. 29,220,536

Estimated produce, to the 5th April 1803, of the taxes imposed in the present session of parliament £. 2,400,000

That further sums are applicable to the service of the year 1802, as follows:

Repayments from Grenada, imprests, and lottery	862,000
And that the remainder of the supply for the year 1802 is provided for by a loan, on account of Great-Britain, of	23,000,000
And a loan for Ireland, of	2,000,000
And by exchequer bills, to be charged on supplies 1803	5,000,000
And expected additional produce of taxes that were deficient in 1801, compared with 1799	1,600,000
Surplus of ways and means 1801, and residue of grants to the Queen of Portugal	213,886
Interest on land-tax contracted to be paid for by instalments	25,000
Arrears of income tax	2,500,000

Making in the whole the sum of £.66,821,422

Resolved,—That it appears by a report of a committee of this house in 1791, that the actual expenditure (including the annual million for the reduction of the public debt) on an average of five years peace ending the 5th of January 1791, and including sundry extraordinary expenses for the armament of 1787, and for payments to American loyalists, and other articles of a temporary nature, amounted to £.16,816,985.

	£.
By the peace establishment was estimated by the said committee, at	15,969,178
With which estimate the actual expense of the year 1792 nearly agreed.	
In the above sum was included the charge of the public debt, amounting to 10,325,000 l., from which is to be deducted the charge of stock extinguished by the redemption of land-tax on the 5th January 1802	540,000
	15,429,178
That the additional permanent charge incurred by the debt created since 1793, exclusive of interest payable by Ireland, is	13,597,594
That the additional charge to be incurred for increased amount of exchequer bills outstanding is about	140,000
Interest of money for satisfying increased navy debt, at £.5 *per Cent.* is about	270,000
That the additional charge incurred on the consolidated fund is	390,000
That the additional charge incurred for a sum appropriated for	

the redemption of the public debt is - - - - - - - - - -	200,000
And that the increased expense of of the peace establishment (exclusive of any charges to be incurred by interest on further sums to be paid on winding up the expenses of the war, and of any augmentation which may take place in the naval or military establishments, but allowing for increase of pay and other expenses, may be estimated at -	700,000
And also exclusive of 497,000l. interest ou loans due by the emperor of Germany, and guaranteed by parliament)—may be estimated at - - - - - -	£.30,726,772

Resolved,—That, adding to the produce of the permanent taxes in the year ending the 5th of January 1802, the sum of 1,275,544l. paid for corn bounties; and the sum of 1,600,000l., being the estimated deficiency of certain duties in the same year; the income applicable to the peace establishment may be estimated as follows. viz

Old permanent taxes - - -	£.14,497.226
New permanent taxes - - -	9,187,288
Further produce of taxes that were deficient in 1801, compared with 1799 - - - -	1,600,000
Further produce of taxes 1801 -	864,319
Taxes imposed in 1802 - -	4,000,000
Land and malt, after deducting land tax redeemed - - -	2,060,000
	£.32,208,833

And that a further sum of 454,340l., arising from annuities which will expire at the periods under-mentioned, viz.

In 1805 - - - -	£.56,554
1806 - - - -	8,152
1807 - - - -	15,515
1808 - - - -	374,119
	£.454,340

will then also be applicable, as well as sush sums as may from time to time arise from the savings on the interest of stocks which may be reduced to a lower rate; and which, supposing the whole of the stocks to be reduced to 3 *per Cent.* would amount to 1.491,890l.: which sums are exclusive of any allowance for the profit a lottery, or for any participation of the territorial revenues of India.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, he rose in pursuance of the notice he had given on a former day, to submit several Resolutions on the subject of Finance, on which it was his intention to move that the Debate should be adjourned to Thursday, with an understanding that the Resolutions should be printed and ready for delivery to-morrow. He then submitted the following Resolutions:

1. That the amount of the public funded debt was, on the 5th of January, 1786, 238,231,248l. exclusive of long and short annuities, and annuities for lives, to the amount of 1,373,550l. That on the 1st of February, 1793, stock to the amount of 10,242,100l. had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; and annuities to the amount of 79,880l. had fallen in, and had been carried to their account; reducing the actual amount of the debt, on the 5th of January, 1793, to 127,989,148l. and the annuities to 1,293,670l. And that, on the 1st of February, 1802, stock to the amount of 36,885,308l. had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the nat onal debr, and annuities to the amount of 125,707l. had fallen in and been carried to their account; and stock to the amount of 18,001,148l. had been transferred to them, on account of land-tax redeemed; reducing the actual amount of debt existing before the war, on the 1st of February, 1802, to 180,344,792l. and the annuities to 1,247,843l.

2. That the capital of the public funded debt, created since the 1st of February, 1793, as the same stood on the 1st of February, 1802, together with the capital to be created by sums borrowed in the present session of parliament, and exclusive of 7,502,633l. three per cent. stock, created by advances to the Emperor of Germany, is 351,125,730l. That the amount of long annuities created during the same period, is 220,461l. per annum, exclusive of 230,000l. annuity, created by advances to the Emperor of Germany, which will expire in the year 1802. That of these sums 22,348,000l. capital, and 9,791l. long annuities, are on account of Ireland; and leaving a permanent debt of 328,771,730l. charged on Great-Britain: and that on the 1st of February, 1802, 19,703,596l. had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt, reducing the said permanent debt created since 5th January, 1793, to 309,074,134l. per annum, exclusive of long annuities to the amount of 310,670l.

3. That the total amount of the permanent funded debt charged on Great-Britain, after deducting the sum of 59,588,904l. redeemed by, and the annuities fallen in to, the commissioners, and 18.001,148l. transferred to them, on account of land tax redeemed, was, on the 1st of February, 1802, 419 418,926l. together with short annuities to the amount of 543,103l. and long annuities to the amount of 1,015,410l. after deducting the annuities provided for by Ireland.

4. That the sum annually applicable to the reduction of the national debt of Great-Britain, in pursuance of the act passed in 1786, was 1.000,000l. being about 1-238th part of the capital of the permanent debt then existing; and for 1793, was 1,427,143l. being about 1-160th part of the permanent debt existing in 1793, and may for the year 1802 be estimated at 5,800,000l. being about 1-84th part of the permanent debt existing in 1802; which sum of 5,800,000l. is appropriated by act of parliament to accumulate at compound interest, until the whole of the existing debt is discharged, which, supposing all the stocks to be purchased at par, and no further sums to be transferred for the redemption of the land-tax, cannot be later than the close of the year 1843.

5. That the annual charge incurred on account of the permanent debt, on the 5th of January, 1786, was

9,297,000l. before any fund was created applicable to the reduction of the debt, and of the 5th January, 1793, was 10,325,000l. including 1,000 000l. applicable to the reduction of the debt; in which sum of 10,325,000l. was included, on the 5th of January, 1793, the interest of 10,242,100l. capital stock redeemed; and the amount of annuities fallen in, or unclaimed, which had been transferred to the commissioners, making together the sum of 387,143l. and that the said sum of 10,325,000l. was reduced on the 5th of January, 1802, by reason of stock transferred for the redemption of the land-tax, and by the diminution in the charges of management on account of sums redeemed by the commissioners, to 9,771,169l. in which sum is included the interest on 8,885,308l. capital stock redeemed, and the amount of annuities fallen in, or unclaimed, and transferred to the commissioners, making together the sum of 1,334,186l.

6. That the annual charge incurred on account of the permanent debt of Great-Britain, created since the 5th of January, 1793, (including 924,199l. permanent interest, and charge on loan of the present session) of which 48,761l. 17s. will not become payable until after the 5th of January, 1806, amounts to 13,597,594l. per annum, of which 10,544,383l. is for interest, annuity, and charges of management of such part of the said debt as was unredeemed on the 1st of February, 1802, and 3,053,211l. arises from 1l. per cent. sinking fund on the capital of part of the said debt and interest of stock redeemed, and is applicable to the reduction thereof; and that a further charge of 497,735l. per annum is guaranteed by parliament, in default of payment of the interest of certain loans by His Majesty the Emperor of Germany.

7. That the amount of the outstanding demands unprovided for on the 5th January, 1802, exclusive of unfunded debt and of the anticipation of certain duties annually voted, was 4,416,220l. That the surplus of ways and means for the year 1802, was 114,000l. and 99,886l. remained unpaid, and applicable to the public service, on the grant to the Queen of Portugal, reducing the amount of demands unprovided for, to 4,202,334l. of which 3,920,289l. has been provided for in the present session.

8. That the unfunded debt (exclusive of the anticipation in the usual form on certain duties annually voted, amounted, on the 5th of January, 1793, to 8,925,442l. and on the 5th of January, 1802, to 21,179,170l. exclusive of the anticipation of the loan of 1802, and of 3,000 000l. advanced by the bank, without interest, for the renewal of their charter, to be repaid in 1806; of which sum of 21,179,170l. 10,113,493l. has been paid off, or provided for in the course of the present session.

9. That the net produce of the permanent taxes existing on the 5th of January, 1784, then amounted to 10,194,259l.; and that taxes were afterwards imposed to defray the expenses of the war ending in 1783, amounting in 1786 to 938,000l. making together 11,132,000l.

10. That the net produce of the permanent taxes existing previous to the year 1784, adding thereto about 938,000l. imposed as above stated in 1784 and 1785, and 137,000l. arising from the consolidation act, and from duties imposed in 1789, was, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1793, 14,284,000l.; on the 5th of January, 1794, 13,941,000l.; on the 5th of January, 1795, 13,858,000l.; on the 5th of January, 1796, 13,557,000l.; on the 5th of January, 1797, 14,292,000l.; on the 5th of January, 1798, 13,332,000l.; on the 5th of January, 1799, 14,275,000l. on the 5th of January, 1800, 15,743,109l. on the 5th of January, 1801, 14,194,539l.; and on the 5th of January, 1802, including 1,275,544l. the amount of bounties paid on corn and rice imported, 14,497,226l. which last sum, after deducting the duties arising from the consolidation act, and those imposed in 1789, exceeds the net produce of the permanent taxes, on the 5th of January, 1784, together with that of the taxes imposed in 1784 and 1785, by 3,228,226l.

11. That the actual net produce of the taxes imposed since the 5th of January, 1793, amounted, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1802, to 9,187,285l.; and that the total net produce of the permanent taxes, in the year ended the 5th of January, 1802, amounted to 23,684,514l. including 1,275,544l. paid for bounties on corn and rice imported.

12. That the total gross receipt within the year (deducting re-payments, discounts, and drawbacks; and also deducting all loans and monies paid to government) was, in the year 1797, 23,076,179l.; in the year 1798, 30,176,303l.; in the year 1799, 34,750,976l.; in the year 1800, 33,535,016l.; and in the year 1801, 35,368,376l.; being an increase, compared with 1797, of 12,292,197l.; and compared with 1798, of 5,192,073l.; compared with 1799, of 617,400l.; and compared with 1800, of 1,833,360l.

13. That the official value of all imports into Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1784, was 13,122,235l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1784, was 11,690,829l.: That the official value of all imports into Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 19,659,358l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 18,685,390l.: That the official value of all imports into Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1802, (supposing the imports from the East-Indies, of which no account has been yet made up, to be the same as in the preceding year) was 32,317,032l. making an increase, as compared with 1783, of 19,194,797l. and with 1792, of 12,657,674l. and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1802, was 26,964,038l. making an increase, as compared with the average to 5th of January, 1784, of 15,273,209l. and with the average to 5th of January, 1793, of 8,278,648l.; and that the real value of imports in the year ended the 5th of January, 1802, supposing the imports from the East-Indies to be the same as in the preceding year, may be estimated at about 58,680,000l.

14. That the official value of British manufactures exported from Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1784, was 10,409,713l. and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1784, was 8,616,660l.: That the official value of British manufactures exported from Great-Britain in the year ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 18,336,851l. and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 14,771,049l.: That the official value of British manufactures exported from Great-Britain, in the year ending 5th January 1802, was 25,719,979l.; making an increase, as compared with 1783, of 15,310,266l. and with 1792, of 7,383,128l. and on an average of six years ending the 5th of January, 1802, was 21,631,050l. making an increase, as compared with the average to 5th January, 1784, of 13,014,390l. and with the average to 5th January, 1793, of 6,860,001l. and that the real value of British manufactures exported in the year 1801, may be estimated at 41,770,000l.

15. That the official value of foreign merchandize exported from Great-Britain, in the year ended the 5th January, 1784, was 4,332,909l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th January, 1784, was 4,263,930l.: That the official value of foreign merchandize exported from Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th January, 1793, was 6,568,348l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th January, 1793, was 5,468,014l.: That the official value of foreign merchandize exported from Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1802, was 16,523,480l.; making an increase, as compared with 1783, of 12,190,571l. and with 1792, of 9,955,132l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1802, was 14,104,700l.; making an increase, as compared with the average to January 5th, 1784, of 9,840,770l.; and with the average to January the 5th, 1793, of 8,636,686l.; and that the real value of foreign merchandize exported in the year ended the 5th of January, 1802, may be estimated at about 15,750 000l.

16. That the number of registered vessels belonging to the British dominions, and employed in trade, in the year 1789, being the first year in which the register act had taken full effect, was 14,310; their tonnage 1,395,172; and the number of seamen navigating the same 108,962: in the year 1792, the number of vessels was 16,079, their tonnage 1,540,145, and the number of seamen navigating the same, 118,286; and in the year 1801, the number of vessels was 19,772, their tonnage 2,037,317, and the number of men 143,987; being an increase of 3,462 ships, of 642,145 tons, and of 35,025 men, compared with 1788; and of 3,693 ships, of 497,172 tons, and of 25,701 men, compared with 1792.

17. That the total sum to be raised in Great-Britain, in the year 1802, may be estimated as follows: viz.

Interest of public funded debt, charges of management, and sinking fund, on the 5th of January 1802, after deducting interest payable by Ireland,	22,444,564
Interest, &c. to be incurred and paid between 5th January, 1802, and 5th January, 1803, on stock created by loans in the present session.....	665,422
Interest on exchequer bills.....	750,000
Proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, according to the articles of Union, of the civil list, and other charges on the consolidated funds of Great-Britain and Ireland, amounting together to 1,537,739l.....	1,356,825
Civil governement of Scotland, estimated as before—Pensions on hereditary revenue, ditto—Militia and deserters' warrants, ditto—Bounties for promoting fisheries, linen manufactures, &c. including excess of corn bounties beyond 1,643,000l. repaid by parliament,.....	1,000,000
Charges of management of the revenue, the same as last year.....	2,024,697
Making the total permanent charges to be defrayed out of the gross receipt of permanent revenue.....	28,241,514
Proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, according to the articles of Union, of the supplies voted for 1802, for Great-Britain and Ireland, amounting in the whole to 39,305,344l. including therein the separate charges on Great-Britain.....	35,532,371
	63,773,882
Advance to Ireland..... 2,000,000	
Interest payable for imperial loans 497,596	
	2,497,596
	66,271,478

18. That the gross receipt of the permanent revenue, after deducting re-payments for over entries, drawbacks, and bounties in the nature of drawbacks, amounted, in the year ended 5th of January, 1802, to..... 29,220,536

Estimated produce to the 5th April, 1803, of the taxes imposed in the present session of parliament.....	2,400,000
That further sums are applicable to the service of the year 1802, as follows:	
Re-payments from Grenada, imprests, and lottery	862,000
And that the remainder of the supply for the year 1802 is provided for by a loan, on account of Great-Britain, of.....	23,000,000
And a loan for Ireland, of.....	2,000,000
And by exchequer bills to be charged on supplies 1803.....	5,000,000
And expected additional produce of taxes that were deficient in 1801, compared with 1799.....	1,600,000
Surplus of ways and means 1801, and residue of grants to the Queen of Portugal.....	213,886
Interest on land-tax contracted to be paid for by instalments.....	25,000
Arrears of income tax.....	2,500,000
Making in the whole, the sum of..	66,821,422

19. That it appears, by a report of a committee of this house, in 1791, that the actual expenditure (including the annual million for the reduction of the public debt) on an average of five years peace, ending the 5th of January, 1791, and including sundry extraordinary expenses for the armament of 1787, and for payments to American loyalists, and other articles of a temporary nature, amounted to 16,816,985.

But the peace establishment was estimated by the said committee at.....	15,969,178
[With which estimate the actual expense of the year 1792 nearly agreed.]	
In the above sum was included the charge of the public debt, amounting to 10,325,000l. from which is to be deducted the charge of stock extinguished by the redemption of land-tax, on the 5th of January, 1802.....	540,000
	15,429,178
That the additional permanent charge incurred by the debt created since 1793, exclusive of interest payable by Ireland, is.....	13,597,594
That the additional charge to be incurred for increased amount of exchequer bills outstanding, is about.....	140,000
Interest of money for satisfying increased navy debt, at 5l. per cent. is about...	270,000
That the additional charge incurred on the consolidated fund, is.....	390,000
That the additional charge incurred for a sum appropriated for the redemption of the public debt, is	200,000

And that the increased expenses of the peace establishment (exclusive of any charges to be incurred by interest on further sums, to be paid on winding up the expenses of the war; and of any augmentation which may take place in the naval or military establishments, but allowing for increase or pay and other expenses) may be estimated at..... 700,000

And also exclusive of 497,000l. interest on loans, due by the Emperor of Germany, and guaranteed by parliament, may be estimated at..... 30,726,772

20. That adding to the produce of the permanent taxes in the year ending the 5th of January, 1802, the sum of 1,275,544l. paid for corn bounties, and the sum of 1,600,000l. being the estimated deficiency of certain duties in the same year, the income applicable to the peace establishment may be estimated as follows:

Old permanent taxes.....	£.14,497,226
New permanent taxes.....	9,187,288
Further produce of taxes that were deficient in 1801, compared with 1799..	1,600,000
Further produce of taxes, 1801.....	864,319
Taxes imposed in 1802.....	4,000,000
Land and malt, after deducting land-tax redeemed.....	2 060,000
	32 208.833

And that a further sum of 454,340l. arising from annuities, which will expire at the periods undermentioned, viz.

In 1805.....	56,554
1806.....	8,152
1807.....	15.515
1808.....	374,119
	454,340

will then also be applicable, as well as such sums as may from time to time arise from the savings on the interest of stocks which may be reduced to a lower rate, and which, supposing the whole of the stocks to be reduced to 3 per cent. would amount to 1,491,890l. which sums are exclusive of any allowance for the profit of a lottery, or for any participation of the territorial revenues of India.

A List of the Public Bills which received the Royal Assent in the Course of the Second Session of the First Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Nov. 21, 1801.—An act for continuing and granting to his Majesty certain duties upon malt, mum, cyder, and perry, for the service of the year 1802.

An act for continuing and granting to his Majesty a duty on pensions, offices, and personal estates, in England Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed, and certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco and snuff, for the service of the year 1802.

An act to revive and continue until the 25th day of March, 1803, so much of an act made in the 41st year of the reign of his present Majesty, as relates to permitting the use of salt, duty free, in preserving of fish, and to discontinuing the bounty payable on white herrings exported; and to indemnify all persons who have issued or acted under any orders for delivering salt, duty free, for the purposes in the said act mentioned.

An act to repeal an act made in the 41st year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An "act to prohibit, until the first day of October, "one thousand eight hundred and one, and from "thence to the end of six weeks next after the "commencement of the then next session of par-"liament, any person or persons from selling any "bread which shall not have been baked twenty "four hours;" and to indemnify bakers and other persons who have sold, or exposed to sale, any bread within the time prohibited by the said act.

Dec. 11, 1801.—An act for granting annuities to satisfy certain exchequer bills.

An act for raising the sum of 500,000l. by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of the United Kingdom for the year 1802.

An act to rectify a mistake in an act made in the last session of parliament, intituled, "An act "for granting to his Majesty a certain sum of "money for the service of Great Britain, to be "raised by a lottery," and to amend so much of the said act as relates to the commencement of the drawing of the said lottery.

An act to continue until the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and two, so much of an act made in the thirty-ninth and fortieth years of the reign of his present Majesty, as relates to the reducing the duties upon worts, or wash brewed or made from melasses or sugar, or any mixture therewith, or to any distiller or distillers, or maker or makers of spirits; for reviving and continuing, for the same period, so much of the said act as relates to the reducing and better collecting the duties payable on the importation of starch; and for continuing, for the same period, an act made in the same session of parliament for prohibiting the making of low spirits from wheat, barley, malt, or other sort of grain, or from any meal, flour, or bran, in Scotland; and so much of an act made in the last session of parliament, as relates to the allowing the distillation of spirits in Scotland from melasses or sugar, at a lower rate of duty.

An act to repeal an act made in the thirty-ninth year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act to permit, until the first day of August, "one thousand eight hundred and two, the impor-"tation of certain naval stores from Hamburgh "and other parts of Germany."

An act to continue, until the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and three, and amend an act of the thirty-ninth year of the reign of his present Majesty, for prohibiting the exportation, and permitting the importation of corn, and for allowing the importation of other articles of provision, without payment of duty; and to continue, for the same period, an act of the last session of parliament, for prohibiting the exportation from Ireland of corn or potatoes, or other provisions, and for permitting the importation into Ireland of corn, fish, and provisions, without payment of duty.

An act to revive and continue, until the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and three, an act made in the thirty-third year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act

" for the relief of the captors of prizes with re-
" spect to the bringing and landing certain prize
" goods in this kingdom."

An act to regulate, until the twenty-first day of March, one thousand eight hundred and three, the number of private militia-men in the several counties, ridings, and places, therein-mentioned; and for supplying of vacancies in the milita.

An act to remove certain restraints upon the correspondence by letter between persons residing in Great-Britain and Ireland, and persons residing in certain foreign countries.

Dec. 15, 1801.—An act to prohibit the distillation of spirits from wheat in Ireland.

An act to permit, until the 10th day of July, one thousand eight hundred and two, the making of starch from rice or potatoes, or any mixture thereof, and the importation of any such starch from Ireland, free of duty.

An act to continue, until the first day of July, one thousand eight hundred and two, an act made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of his present Majesty, for permitting the importation of organized thrown silk, flax, and flax seed, into this kingdom, in ships or vessels belonging to any kingdom or state in amity with his Majesty.

Feb. 24, 1802.—An act for raising a further sum of money by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain, for the year one thousand eight hundred and two.

An act for continuing the premium allowed to ships employed in, and for enlarging the limits of the Southern whale fishery.

An act to amend so much of an act made in the twenty-ninth year of his late Majesty, George the Second, intituled, " An act for explaining, amend-
" ing, and rendering more effectual an act made
" in the twenty-second year of his present Ma-
" jesty, intituled, An act for making a free market
" for the sale of fish in the city of Westminster,
" and for preventing the forestalling and mono-
" polizing of fish, and for allowing the sale of
" fish under the dimensions mentioned in a clause
" contained in an act of the first year of his late
" Majesty's reign, in case the same are taken
" with a hook," as relates to the sale of eels.

March 19, 1802.—An act for raising the sum of one million, by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain for the year 1802.

An act to repeal the duties on cinnamon, imported by the East India company, and on cassia lignea of all sorts, and for granting new duties in lieu thereof; and to repeal the custom duties on certain hides and skins, and to repeal certain duties granted by an act of the last session of parliament upon box-wood imported, and granting new duties in lieu thereof.

An act to indemnify such persons as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments, and to indemnify justices of the peace, and others who have omitted to register or deliver in their qualifications within the time directed by law, and for extending the time limited for those purposes, until the 25th day of December, 1802; to indemnify members and officers in cities, corporations, and borough towns, whose admissions have been omitted to be stamped according to law, or, having been stamped, have been lost or mislaid, and for allowing them until the 25th day of December, 1802, to provide admissions duly stamped, to permit such persons as have omitted to make and file affidavits of the execution of indentures of clerks to attornies, and solicitors, to make and file the same, on or before the first day of Michaelmas term, one thousand eight hundred and two; to allow until the twenty-fourth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and two, persons who have omitted to pay the duties on the indentures and contracts of clerks, apprentices, or servants, to make payment of the same; to indemnify such persons as have neglected to obtain certificates of admission as solicitors, or attornies, notaries, or proctors, and for extending the time limited for that purpose, until two months after the passing of this act: to indemnify persons who have printed or published pleadings and other proceedings in courts of law or equity, upon which the name and place of abode of the printer has not been printed; and for indemnifying deputy lieutenants and officers of the militia, who have neglected to transmit descriptions of their qualifications to the clerks of the peace within the time directed by law, and for extending the time limited for that purpose, until the first day of September, one thousand eight hundred and two.

An act for making perpetual so much of an act made in the nineteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, as relates to the allowing a drawback of the duties on rum shipped as stores to be consumed on board merchant ships on their voyages; and to continue several laws relating to the permitting the exportation of tobacco pipe-clay from Great Britain to the British sugar colonies in the West Indies, until the twenty-fourth day of June, one thousand eight hundred and eight; to the giving further encouragement to the importation of naval stores from the British colonies in America, until the twenty-ninth day of September, one thousand eight hundred and twelve; to the regulating the payment of the duties on cinnamon, cloves, nutmegs, and mace; to the allowing the importation of certain fish from Newfoundland and the coast of Labrador, until the twenty-fourth of June, one thousand eight hundred and eight; and to the allowing the importation and exportation of goods from and to India and China, in ships not of British construction, during the continuance of the exclusive trade to and from the East Indies, granted to the East India company by an act of the thirty-third year of his present Majesty's reign.

An act for continuing, until the twenty-fifth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and four, the bounties granted for the encouragement of Greenland whale fisheries, and for continuing and amending the regulations respecting the same.

March 24, 1802.—An act for continuing until the twenty-fifth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and three, several acts of the last session of parliament, for continuing and granting duties to his Majesty in Ireland.

An act for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters, within the united kingdom, and the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, Sark and Man.

An act for the regulation of his Majesty's marine forces, while on shore, until the twenty-fifth day of May, one thousand eight hundred and two.

An act to empower his Majesty to cause certain countervailing duties, granted by an act of the thirty-seventh year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, " An act for carrying into execu-
" tion the treaty of amity, commerce, and navi-

" gation, concluded between his Majesty and the " United States of America," to cease or be suspended until the twenty-fifth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and three, under certain circumstances.

An act for continuing, until the twenty-fifth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and five, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, and amending several laws relating to the transportation of felons, and other offenders, to temporary places of confinement in England and Scotland respectively.

An act to authorize the East India company to make their settlement at Fort Marlborough, in the East Indies, a factory subordinate to the presidency of Fort William, in Bengal, and to transfer the servants, who, on the reduction of that establishment, shall be supernumerary to the presidency of Fort St. George.

An act to continue, until the twenty-fifth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and two, an act made in the last session of parliament, intituled, " An act to stay, until the twenty-fifth day " of March, one thousand eight hundred and two, " procedings in actions under the statute of King " Henry the Eighth, for abridging spiritual per- " sons from having pluralities of livings, and from " taking of farms."

An act to enlarge the powers, and explain and amend an act made in the twenty-second year of the reign of his late Majesty, King George the Second, intituled, " An act for the better repairing " the highways, and cleansing the streets within " the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, in the " county of Middlesex, and for better enlighten- " ing the open places, streets, lanes, passages, " and courts there, and regulating the nightly " watch and beadles within the said parish," and and for paving, repairing, and regulating certain footways, squares, streets, lanes, and other public passages and places in the said parish, and for removing nuisances, obstructions, and annoyances therein.

April 15, 1802.—An act for raising the sum of twenty-five millions by way of annuities.

An act for granting to his Majesty certain additional duties on windows or lights, and on inhabited houses, and for consolidating the same with the present duties thereon.

An act to continue, until the twenty-ninth day of September, one thousand eight hundred and three, several acts of the last sessions of parliament, for reviving, continuing, and amending several laws for the better collection and security of the revenues of Ireland.

An act for regulating, until the fifteenth day of February, one thousand eight hundred and three, the prices at which grain, meal, and flour may be exported from Great Britain to Ireland, and from Ireland to Great Britain.

An act for enlarging the terms and powers granted by several acts, of laying a duty of two pennies Scots upon every pint of ale and beer brewed and vended within the town of Dundee, and the liberties and suburbs thereof.

An act to amend and render more effectual an act made in the seventeenth year of his present Majesty's reign, for the better relief and employment of the poor of the parish of St. Mary, Islington, in the county of Middlesex.

April 30, 1802.—An act for granting to his Majesty certain additional duties on servants, carriages, horses, mules, and dogs, and for consolidating the same with the present duties thereon.

An act for granting to his Majesty additional duties on beer and ale brewed in, or imported into, Great Britain, on malt made in Great Britain, on hops grown in, or imported into, Great Britain, and on spirits distilled in Ireland, and imported into Great Britain, for repealing certain allowances to brewers of beer and ale, and for preventing frauds and abuses in the revenue of excise on beer, ale, and malt.

An act for extending the time for the payments of certain sums of money advanced by way of loan to several persons connected with, or trading to the islands of Grenada and St. Vincent.

An act to continue, until the first day of March, one thousand eight hundred and three, the restrictions contained in several acts of the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth years of the reign of his present Majesty, on payments in cash by the bank.

An act for continuing and enlarging the term and powers of two several acts, of the thirty-second year of the reign of his late Majesty, and of the twentieth year of his present Majesty, charging a duty of two pennies Scots, or one-sixth part of a penny sterling, upon every Scots pint of ale, porter, and beer, brewed for sale, brought into, tapped, or sold, within the town and parish of Kelso, in the county of Roxburgh, for the purpose therein mentioned.

May 4, 1802.—An act to enable the lords commissioners of his Majesty's treasury of Great Britain to issue exchequer bills on the credit of such aids or supplies as have been, or shall be, granted by parliament for the service of Great Britain for the year 1802.

An act for repealing the duties on income; for the effectual collection of arrears of the said duties, and accounting for the same; and for charging the annuities specifically charged thereon upon the consolidated fund of Great Britain.

May 7, 1802.—An act for granting to his Majesty certain duties on goods imported into, and exported from, Great Britain, and on the tonnage of ships and vessels entering outwards or inwards in any port of Great Britain to or from foreign parts.

An act for permitting French wines to be imported into Great Britain in bottles or flasks, under certain restrictions.

An act to continue, until three months after, any restriction imposed by any act of the present session of parliament on the bank of England from issuing cash in payments shall cease; an act, made in the parliament of Ireland, in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of his present Majesty, for confirming and continuing the restrictions on payments in cash by the bank of Ireland.

An act to require overseers and guardians of the poor to keep a register of the several children who shall be bound or assigned by them as apprentices, and to extend the provisions of an act passed in the twentieth year of the reign of his present Majesty, to the binding of apprentices by houses of industry, or establishments for the poor, which have been authorised so to do by subsequent acts.

May 10, 1802.—An act to continue until the twentieth day of May, one thousand eight hundred and three, and amend an act made in the last session of parliament, relating to certain duties on sugar and coffee exported; for permitting British plantation sugar to be warehoused; and for re-

gulating and allowing drawbacks on sugar exported.

May 24, 1802.—An act for enabling his Majesty to settle an annuity of 12,000l. on his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, and a like annuity of 12,000l. on his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, during his Majesty's pleasure.

An act for further continuing until the first day of February, 1806, an act made in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act to enable the lord high treasurer, "or commissioners of the treasury, for the time "being, to let to farm the duties granted by an "act made in the twenty-fifth year of his present "Majesty's reign on horses let to hire for travelling post, and by time, to such persons as should "be willing to contract for the same."

An act for continuing an act made in this session of parliament, intituled, "An act for punishing mutiny and desertion; and for the better "payment of the army, and their quarters, within "the United Kingdom, and the islands of Jersey, "Guernsey, Alderney, Sark, and Man."

An act for continuing until the twenty-fifth day of June, 1802, an act made this session of parliament, for the regulation of his Majesty's marine forces while on shore.

An act for defraying the charge of the pay of the militia in England, for the year 1802.

An act to indemnify persons who have omitted to qualify themselves for offices or employments in Ireland, according to law.

May 28, 1802.—An act for granting to his Majesty a certain sum of money, to be raised by lotteries.

An act for making allowances, in certain cases, to subaltern officers of the militia during peace.

June 3, 1802.—An act for raising a certain sum of money, by way of annuities or debentures, for the service of Ireland.

An act to repeal an act, passed in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of his present Majesty, for granting stamp duties on certain medicines, and for charging other duties in lieu thereof, and for making effectual provision for the better collection of the said duties.

An act for allowing, until the 20th day of May 1803, additional bounties on refined sugar exported, and discontinuing the duty thereon granted by an act of this session of parliament.

An act to amend so much of an act, made in the parliament of Ireland, in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An "act for vesting a certain fund in commissioners "at the end of every quarter of a year, to be by "them applied to the reduction of the national "debt, and to direct the application of additional "funds, in case of future loans, to the like pur"pose," as relates to the commissioners for carrying the same into execution.

An act to continue, until the 30th day of May, 1803, and amend an act, made in the last session of parliament, for regulating and allowing drawbacks on sugar exported from Ireland, and for allowing British plantation sugar to be warehoused in Ireland, and for granting an additional drawback on the exportation of refined sugar.

An act for extending the provisions of an act, made in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act for directing "the appointment of commissioners to administer "certain oaths and declarations, required by law, "to be taken and made by persons offering to "vote at the election of members to serve in par"liament," to all oaths now required by law to be taken by voters at elections for members to serve in parliament.

An act for the further encouragement of Irish mariners, and for other purposes relating thereto.

June 22, 1802.—An act to authorise the licensing an additional number of hackney coaches.

An act to enable the Lord High Treasurer or Commsssioners of his Majesty's Treasury of Ireland, for the time being, to sell, lease, convey, of dispose of, the parliament house in the city of Dublin, and all the premises and appurtenances thereunto belonging, to the Governor and Company of the Bank of Ireland.

An act to amend, and render more effectual, two acts, passed in the twenty-sixth and thirty-second years of the reign of his present Majesty, for the reduction of the national debt.

An act for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

An act for amending so much of an act passed in the seventh year of the reign of his present Majesty as relates to the secreting, embezzling, or destroying any letter or packet sent by the post, and for the better protection of such letters or packets, and for more effectually preventing letters and packets being sent otherwise than by the post.

An act to enable his Majesty to avail himself of the offers of certain yeomanry and volunteer corps to continue their services.

An act to revive, and further continue, until the 25th day of March, 1803, and to amend so much of an act made in the thirty-ninth and fortieth years of the reign of his present Majesty, as grants certain allowances to adjutants and serjeant majors of militia disembodied under an act of the same session of parliament.

An act to enable his Majesty to accept and continue the service of certain troops or companies of yeomanry in Ireland.

An act for making allowances until the 25th day of March, 1803, in certain cases, to subaltern officers of the militia of Ireland, during peace.

An act to authorise the sending and receiving of letters and packets, votes, proceedings in parliament, and printed newspapers, by the post, free from the duties on postage, by the members of the two houses of parliament of the United Kingdom, and by certain public officers therein named, and for reducing the postage on such votes, proceedings, and newspapers, when sent by any other persons.

An act to enable such officers, mariners, and soldiers, as have been in the land or sea service, or in the marines, or in the militia, or any other corps of fencible men, since the twenty-fourth year of his present Majesty's reign, to exercise trades.

An act for directing certain public accounts to be laid annually before parliament, and for discontinuing certain other forms of account now in use.

An act to amend the laws for the better regulation of the linen manufacture in Ireland.

An act for repealing several acts made in the thirty-fifth, thirty-sixth, thirty-ninth, and fortieth years of the reign of his present Majesty, relating to the admission of certain articles on merchandize in neutral ships, and to the issuing of orders in council for that purpose, and for mak-

ing other provisions in lieu thereof, to continue until the first day of January, 1804.

An act to continue until the twenty-ninth day of September, 1803, an act made in the parliament of Ireland in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of his present Majesty, for regulating the import, export, and sale of coffee, and securing the duties payable thereon; and also for securing the duties payable on licenses to persons in Ireland not being maltsters, or makers of malt, selling malt by commission, or otherwise.

An act for repealing an act made in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act for raising a body of miners in 'the county of Cornwall and Devon, for the de-"fence of the kingdom during the present war," and for the more effectually raising and regulating a body of miners for the defence of Great-Britain.

An act for the further regulating of the trials of controverted elections, or returns of members to serve in parliament, and for expediting the proceedings relating thereto.

An act for the trying and punishing in Great-Britain, persons holding public employments, for offences committed abroad, and for extending the provisions of an act passed in the twenty-first year of the reign of king James, made for the ease of justices, and others, in pleading in suits brought against them, to all persons either in or out of this kingdom, authorised to commit to safe custody.

An act to alter, amend, and render more effectual, an act made in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of his present Majesty, for the more effectual prevention of smuggling in Great-Britain.

An act to revive and continue, until the 5th day of April, 1804, and to amend several acts passed in the twenty-seventh, thirty-fifth, and thirty-ninth years of his present Majesty's reign, for the more effectual encouragement of the British fisheries, and to continue, until the 14th day of June, 1803, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, so much of an act of the sixth year of the reign of his present Majesty, as relates to the prohibiting the importation of foreign wrought silks and velvets.

An act to prevent British built ships to carry on the fisheries in the Pacific Ocean without license from the East-India Company, or South Sea Company.

An act to continue, until the 8th day of April, 1803, an act passed in the last session of parliament, for staying proceedings in actions under the statute of King Henry the Eighth, for abridging spiritual persons from having pluralities of livings, and of taking of farms; and also to stay proceedings in actions under an act of the thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth, touching leases of benefices, and other ecclesiastical livings with cure.

An act for vesting certain lands and hereditaments in trustees, for promoting the service of his Majesty's ordnance at Woolwich.

An act for repealing two acts made in the thirty-second and thirty-sixth years of the reign of his present Majesty, for the more effectual administration of the office of a justice of the peace, in such parts of the counties of Middlesex and Surrey as lie in or near the metropolis, and for the more effectual prevention of felonies, and for making other provisions in lieu thereof, and for increasing the salaries of the justices at the Thames Police-office, until the first day of June, one thousand eight hundred and seven, and from thence to the end of the next session of parliament.

An act for the preservation of the health and morals of apprentices and others employed in cotton and other mills, and cotton and other factories.

An act to amend an act made in the twenty-second year of the reign of his present Majesty, for the better relief and employment of the poor, so far as relates to the payment of the debts incurred for building any poor-house.

An act to extend the provisions of an act made in the thirteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act for repealing so "much of an act made in the twenty-third year "of his late Majesty King George the Second, as "relates to the preventing the stealing or destroy-"ing of turnips, and for the more effectually pre-"venting the stealing or destroying of turnips, "potatoes, cabbages, parsnips, pease, and car-"rots," to certain other field crops, and to orchards, and for amending the said act.

An act for repealing so much of an act made in the second year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled "An act for the better supplying the "cities of London and Westminster with fish, "and to reduce the present exorbitant price there-"of, and to protect and encourage fishermen," as limits the number of fish to be sold by wholesale within the said city of London, and for the better regulation of the sale of fish by wholesale in the market of Billingsgate, within the said city.

An act to remove doubts as to certain acts relating to the admeasurement of coals in the city and liberty of Westminster, and parts adjacent, and to revive and continue an act passed in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of his present Majesty, relating to the admeasurement of coals within the limits aforesaid, and to indemnify all persons who have acted in pursuance of any of the provisions of the said act.

June 26, 1802.—An act for raising the sum of five millions, by loans or Exchequer bills, for the service of Great-Britain for the year 1803.

An act for raising the sum of 1,500,000l. by loans or Exchequer bills, for the service of Great-Britain for the year 1803.

An act for granting to his Majesty the sum of 200,000l. to be issued and paid to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, to be by them placed to the account of the Commissioners for the reduction of the national debt of Great-Britain.

An act for settling and securing a certain annuity on Lord Hutchinson, Baron Hutchinson of Alexandria, and of Knocklofty, in the county of Tippetary, and the two next persons to whom the title of Baron Hutchinson shall descend, in consideration of his eminent services.

An act for repealing certain duties on paper, pasteboards, millboards, scaleboards, and glazed paper, imported into, or made in Great-Britain, and for granting other duties in lieu thereof.

An act for providing a proper salary for the office of Chancellor or Keeper of the Great Seal in Ireland.

An act for repealing the duties granted by an act made in this session of parliament on spermaceti oil, blubber, train oil, fish oil, or oil of seals, and granting other duties in lieu thereof; for repealing the duties granted by the said act on linen yarn made of flax, and on goods, wares, or merchandize imported by the East-India Company, and exported from the warehouse in which the same shall have been secured; for exempting

stone, the produce of Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, Sark, or Man, from duty; and for permitting merchandize, the produce of any of the colonies ceded to the French and Batavian Republics, to be imported for three years from the passing of this act, upon payment of certain duties.

An act for allowing the stamping certain deeds until the the 31st of December, 1802; for amending an act passed in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of his present Majesty, relating to duties on legacies and shares of personal estates; for exempting certain legacies from the payment of duty; for reducing the allowance on present payment of stamp duties, and for reducing certain stamp duties on policies for sea insurances.

An act for exempting from the auction duty estates and effects bought in for the owner, and goods imported in any British ship from any British colony in America, or from any part of the United States; for the better collecting and securing the duties of excise on wine, home-made spirits, starch, auctions, rum shipped as stores, and on goods or merchandize chargeable with duties of excise; for granting a further allowance of salt in the curing and preserving of pilchards and scads; and for allowing certain draining tiles to be made free of duty.

An act for enlarging the time for which horses may be let to hire without being subject to any annual duty; for explaining and amending several acts relating to the duties on horses, servants, and carriages; and for authorising the allowance in the accounts of the Receivers' General, of the several sums advanced by them, in pursuance of the acts for raising a provisional force of cavalry, and not reimbursed to them by assessment.

An act to repeal the additional duty of 6l. per centum on the duties payable on the importation into Ireland of certain goods imported by retailers or consumers; and for repealing and reducing certain duties on policies of sea insurance in Ireland.

An act to authorise the Commissioners of Excise to order the restoration of exciseable goods seized or detained by officers of excise.

An act for the regulation of his Majesty's royal marine forces while on shore.

An act for amending the laws relating to the militia in England, and for augmenting the militia.

An act to raise and establish a militia force in Scotland.

An act for consolidating the provisions of the several acts, passed for the redemption and sale of the land-tax, into one act, and for making further provision for the redemption and sale thereof, and for removing doubts respecting the right of persons claiming to vote, at elections, for knights of the shire, and other members to serve in parliament, in respect of messuages, lands, or tenements, the land-tax upon which shall have been redeemed or purchased.

An act to require persons licensed to keep lottery-offices in Ireland, to divide into shares a certain number of whole lottery tickets, and for empowering the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury of Great-Britain, to remit to the Exchequer of Ireland a certain sum of money out of the contributions for lotteries.

An act for regulating the trial of controverted elections, or returns of members to serve in the United Parliament for Ireland.

An act for repealing several acts for establishing regulations respecting aliens arriving in this kingdom, or resident therein, in certain cases, and for substituting other provisions in lieu thereof.

An act for repealing the rates and duties of postage upon letters to and from France and the Batavian Republic, from and to London, and for granting other rates and duties in lieu thereof; and for exempting from the duty of tonnage the ships and vessels to be employed in conveying the mails of letters from France to the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland.

An act to authorize the Lord High Treasurer or Commissioners of the Treasury in Great-Britain, and the Lord High Treasurer or Commissioners of the Treasury in Ireland; to order the use of the hydrometers, now employed in the management of the revenues, to be discontinued, and other instruments to be used instead thereof.

An act for enabling his Majesty to permit the importation and exportation of certain goods and commodities into, and from, the port Road Harbour, in the Island of Tortola, until the 1st day of July, 1803, and from thence until six weeks after the commencement of the then next session of parliament.

An act for authorising, and rendering valid, the discharge of certain militia men in Ireland, and for giving indemnity to the several counties and places in Ireland which may incur any expense in consequence of the discharge of certain militia men

An act to continue, until the 5th day of July, 1803, two acts, made in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of his present Majesty, and in the last session of parliament, for the further encouragement of the trade and manufactures of the Isle of Man, and for improving the revenue thereof.

An act more effectually to prevent the stealing of deer.

An act for increasing the rates of subsistence to be paid to inn-keepers and others on quartering soldiers.

An act for extending the provision of two acts of the thirty-fifth and thirty-eighth years of his present Majesty, so far as they relate to the encouragement of persons coming to Milford Haven for the purpose of carrying on the southern whale fishery.

June 28, 1802.—An act for granting to his Majesty certain sums of money out of the respective consolidated funds of Great-Britain and Ireland; for applying certain monies therein mentioned, for the service of the year 1802; and for further appropriating the supplies granted in this session of parliament.

An act for granting to his Majesty certain additional duties on goods imported into, and exported from, Ireland.

An act for defraying the charge of the pay of the militia in Ireland, until the 25th day of March, 1803; and for holding courts martial on serjeant-majors, serjeants, corporals, and drummers, for offences committed during the time such militia shall not be embodied.

An act to suppress certain games and lotteries not authorized by law: Also

Road and bridge bills, - - - - - - - - -	54
Enclosure bills, - - - - - - - - - - -	28
Building bills, - - - - - - - - - - -	10
Canal and internal navigation bills, - - - -	18

View of the Variations in the Price of the Quartern Loaf, as settled by the Lord Mayor of London. From January 6th, to June 30, 1802, inclusive.

Jan.		Feb.		March.		April.		May.		June.	
Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.
6	1s 1/4	3	1s.	3	10d. 1/2	7	11d. 1/4	1	9d. 1/2	2	10d.
13	1s. 1/4	10	11d. 1/4	10	10d. 1/4	10	10d 3/4	8	9d. 1/2	9	10d.
20	1s. 1/4	17	11d. 1/4	17	11d. 3/4	17	10d.	15	9d. 1/4	16	10d. 1/2
27	1s.	24	10d. 3/4	24	11d. 3/4	24	10d.	22	1d. 1/2	23	10d. 1/2
								29	9d. 1/2	30	10d.

View of the Variations in the Funds, as ascertained by the Value of 3 per Cent. Consols. From January 1, to June 30, 1802, inclusive.

Day.	Jan.	Feb.	March.	April.	May.	June.
1	——	68 3/4	69 1/8	71 1/4	76 1/8	——
2	69	68 3/4	68 3/4	72 5/8	Sund	75 3/4
3	Sund.	68 3/4	68 7/8	73 5/8	76 1/8	74 5/8
4	69 1/4	68 3/4	69	Sund.	76 3/8	——
5	69 3/8	69	68 1/8	74	76 1/4	74
6	——	68 7/8	67 3/4	77	76 1/2	Sund.
7	69 1/4	Sund.	Sund	77 3/8	76 5/8	——
8	69 1/4	68 7/8	68	76	76	——
9	69 1/2	69	67 7/8	75 3/4	Sund	74 1/4
10	Sund.	69 1/2	67 1/8	75 1/4	75 1/8	74 1/2
11	69 5/8	69 1/2	67 7/8	Sund.	73 5/8	75
12	69 1/4	69 1/2	67 7/8	76	74 1/8	74 3/8
13	69	69 3/8	67 7/8	76 1/8	75 1/8	Sund.
14	69 1/8	Sund.	Sund.	77	74 5/8	74 1/8
15	69 1/8	69 1/8	69	76 1/8	75	74 5/8
16	69 1/8	69 3/4	69 1/8	——	Sund.	75
17	Sund.	69 1/4	69 1/4	77	74 7/8	75 1/4
18	69	69 1/8	69 1/8	Sund.	74 5/8	75 1/2
19	69	68 7/8	69 1/4	——	74 1/2	76
20	69	68 7/8	69 1/8	——	74 5/8	Sund.
21	69	Sund.	Sund.	77 1/4	74 1/4	75 7/8
22	67 1/2	68 3/4	69	78	74 1/8	76 1/8
23	67 7/8	68 3/4	69 1/8	76 7/8	Sund.	76 1/8
24	Sund.	68 1/2	69 1/8	77	73 7/8	——
25	68 1/4	68 1/2	69 3/4	Sund.	73 7/8	76
26	68 1/2	68 3/8	69 1/2	76 7/8	73 1/2	——
27	68 1/2	68 3/8	69 1/4	77	73 3/4	Sund.
28	67 7/8	Snnd.	Snnd.	76 3/4	73 1/8	——
29	67 3/4	——	69 3/4	76 3/4	——	——
30	——	——	70 1/8	77 1/8	Sund.	——
31	Sund.	——	70 3/4	——	——	——

View of the variations in the Bills of Mortality. From January 5, to June 30, 1802, inclusive.

Epochs.	Christened.		Buried.										Total.	
	Males.	Females	under 2	2—5	5—10	10—20	20—30	30—40	40—50	50—60	60—70	70—80	80—90	90—100	Males.	Females
From Jan. 5, to Jan. 26.	729	661	489	204	81	51	119	171	192	167	146	101	38	7	859	908
From Jan. 26, to Feb. 23.	817	718	518	228	10	53	109	164	221	223	237	94	43	13	970	913
From Feb. 23, to March 23.	832	791	495	181	77	44	104	168	204	184	128	88	28	4	862	843
From March 30. to April 27.	984	878	478	201	81	37	120	150	186	171	135	75	26	5	868	798
From April 27. to May 25.	831	667.	356	140	57	38	78	121	144	133	84	61	27	5	632	612
From May 25, to June 22.	842	760	342	149	53	42	92	110	149	122	82	63	30	4	629	652

INDEX.

A.

Abbott, Mr. elected speaker of the house of Commons, 107.
Abercrombie, Cobbett's letter to the Rev. Mr. on the schisms in the church of England, 174.
Aberdeen, riot at, 699.
Abstract of the receipts and expenditures of the Irish treasury, 314.
Acatus, letter of, on the commercial views and projects of France, 609.
Account of the island of Trinidad, 857.
——— of Sierra Leone, 862.
——— Mr. Windham's, of the French Royalists, and of their treatment, 955.
——— of a society established in London for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, 1021.
——— of the dispute between the lord mayor and sheriffs of London, 1049.
——— of India in an alarming state, 763.
Acts passed during the last session of parliament, 1420.
—— passed in the last session of the American congress, 1175.
Addington, Mr. his resolutions about finance, 1406.
Address to the reader .... Mr. Cobbett's introductory, 1.
——— in answer to the King's speech, proceedings in the house of lords, on the, 7.
——— in answer to the King's speech, proceedings in the house of commons on the, 7.
——— to his Majesty, in the house of lords, on the civil list, 331.
——— to his Majesty, copy of the, moved by Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham, 572.
——— to the legislative body on the treaty of Amiens, by the consuls, 577.
——— Buonaparté's to the senate, 580.
——— of the mayor, &c. of London to the King, 659.
——— on the peace, presented to the King from various quarters, 664.
——— of the speaker of the house of commons to the King, 789.
Addington, Cobbett's letter to Mr. on the violations of the preliminary treaty, 262.
———, extract from Cobbett's letter to Mr. 834
Admiralty, letter from secretary of the, giving information of some change in the number of officers on board the peace ships, 571.
Advice to a young clergyman in the united church of England and Ireland, by J. Napleton, D.D. &c. &c. noticed, 686.
Affairs of India, proved to be in a bad situation under the direction of Mr. Dundas, 622, 712, 742.
—— of India, see India.
—— of the church, 1058.
Aix, disturbances at, caused by the Concordat, 630.
Alarmist, the, on the peace, 705.
Alexandria still possessed by the English, 282.
Alfred on the American treaty bill, 204.
Alien bill, debates in the house of lords on the, 769.
Algiers and France, treaty of peace between, concluded at Algiers, 168.
America, message of the president of the United States of, to both the houses of congress, 46.
——— the ill effects of the peace in the United States o , 59.
———, the French consuls in, authorized to grant French licences to American ships, navigated by American seamen, 90.
——— feels the fatal effects of the peace, 245.
——— recent and considerable fires in, 408.
——— the French will have great influence in the United States of, by the cession of Louisiana, 447.
——— table of the kind, value, and distinction of the exports from the United States of, 616.
——— the French at St. Domingo to be supplied with provisions from the United States of, 630.
——— the arrival of a French fleet in the United States of, for provisions, 660.
——— report of a committee of congress, respecting the naval affairs of the United States of, 661
——— letter of president Jefferson to Tom Paine inviting him to return to, 756.
——— to pay £600,000 in lieu of all demands under the treaty of 1794, 758.
——— the astonishing increase of the wealth and power of, 764.
——— displeasure of, at the conduct of France, 765.
——— Jefferson's report to congress on the trade of the United States of, 801.
——— a list of all the new books published in, 972.
American congress begin their session, 27.
——— congress, a report of the secretary of the treasury laid before the, 141.
——— congress, debates in the, on the countervailing duties, 239.
——— treaty act, proceedings on the, in the house of commons, 138.
——— treaty bill, interesting debates on the, in the house of commons, 229.
——— ports, all vessels sailing from, are prohibited from entering into the Havannah, 182.
——— population, commerce, and revenue, 237.
——— squadron for the Mediterranean, 245.
——— discriminating duties, statement of the claims, Lords St. Vincent and Grey indemnified against, 332.
—— —— ships, sixty sail of, laden with flour, put under requisition by the French at the Havannah, for supplying St. Domingo, 468.
——— war and peace compared with the late war and present peace, 505.
Americans, Mr. Cobbett's letter to the, on the cession of Louisiana, 199.
American States, 1166.
——— parties in, 1166.
——— Hamilton's examination of the president's message, 1168.
——— acts passed during the last session of congress, 1178.
——— essay on the American navy, 1181.
——— character of vice-president Burr, being an account of his conduct relative to Wood's

history of the administration of Mr. Adams, 1192.
American statistical table of the, 1200.
Americans the, alarmed at the cession of Louisiana, 797.
Amiens, definitive treaty concluded at, 321.
Amor Patriæ's letter against the new duty on the tonnage of ships, 439.
Analysis of the debates in parliament on the treaty of Amiens by X. 641, 673.
Anderson's short view of the administrations of the government of America, &c. &c. noticed, 688.
Andreossi, general, appointed minister at London from France, 758.
Animadversions on the curate of Blagdon's three publications, &c. noticed, 300.
Anti-jacobinism, the spirit of, noticed, 688.
Antwerp, trade begun at, 764.
Appointments, 127, 159, 191, 224, 255, 287, 320, 351, 383, 415, 479. 512, 543, 575, 607, 639, 702, 766, 798.
Armament an, fitted out at Brest, 42.
——— an, fitted out in great haste at Portsmouth, 211.
Army of Great Britain, statements of the distribution of the, 95, 223, 377, 799.
——— extraordinaries, proceedings on the, in the house of commons, 98.
——— debates in the house of commons on the reduction of the, 215.
——— navy, &c. receive the thanks of the house of commons, 371.
——— some regulations concerning officers in the, 632.
——— the, degraded by the introduction of negroes, 701.
——— supplies for the, voted in the house of commons, 719.
——— essay on the means of recruiting the British, 924.
———, promotions in, 1096.
Arrears in the civil list supplied by the house of commons, 333.
Arts, commerce and manufactures, account of the society for the encouragement of, 1021.
Assizes for Lent, dates for holding the, 212.
Austria, the emperor of Germany prohibits the importation of sugar into, 157.
Author of "A letter to the proprietors of India "stock, &c." note of the, to Mr. Cobbett, 751.

B.

Baden, death of the hereditary prince of, 26.
Balance of power, essay on the, 931.
Bale, the treaty of peace between France and Spain concluded at, 290.
Banks's, Sir Joseph, letter to the national institute, 327.
——— Misogallus's letter to Sir Joseph, 327.
Bantry Bay, trial and execution of the mutineers at, 28.
Bankrupts, alphabetical list of, 1131.
Barbary powers, naval preparations of the, 278.
Batavian republic, Great Britain, &c. definitive treaty, between the, 321.
——— republic and France, convention between the, explaining the 18th art. of the treaty, 361.
Bedford, Mr. Fox's eulogium on the duke of, in the house of commons, 261.
Beer and malt duty, debates on the, in the house of commons, 396.
Belgrade, anarchy and slaughter in, 278.
Bencoolen, debates in the house of commons on transfering the establishment at, to Madras, 235.
Berks, the county of, addresses the King on the peace, 570.
Berne, the leaders of a plot to restore the former government of the canton of, apprehended, 58.
——— fresh insurrections in the canton of, 600.
——— earthquakes in the canton of, 664.
——— restrictions and regulations of the press at, 753.
Bertolio's new political balance of Europe noticed, 125.
Beys, the, massacred in Egypt, 79.
Bill, copy of the, respecting the non-residence of the clergy, &c. &c. 1082.
Bills of indictment found against the fellows who attacked Mr. Cobbett's house, 671.
—— of mortality, 1432.
Births, 33, 63, 96, 128, 159, 192, 224, 255, 288, 352, 383, 479, 543, 575, 607, 639, 703, 767.
Bishops, the resignation of several French, sent in, 24.
Books, critical notices of new, 29, 92, 125, 186, 299, 619, 684.
——— Mr. Cobbett recommends a duty on the importation of, into this country, 179.
——— list of all the new, published in Europe, and America, 972.
Booksellers the, at Vienna punished for styling Louis XVIII. King of France, 55.
——— and printers' petition to the house of commons against the additional duty on paper, 132.
Bordeaux, observations of the council of commerce of, on the trade with England, 662.
——— letter from the prefect of, respecting Guadaloupe, 786.
Bourbon, proposition for the establishment of the princes of, 245.
Bowles's reflections on the conclusion of the war, &c. noticed, 29.
——— general, if supplied with arms and ammunition would be formidable to the French 736.
Bread, view of the variations in price of, 1431.
Bread, alarming price of, in France, 700.
Brest armament, the, 42.
British colonies, news from the, 53.
——— squadron dispatched to the West-Indies, 124.
——— Critic, Mr. Cobbett's letter to the editors of the, 652.
——— army, essay on the means of recruiting the, 924.
Bull baiting, debates on the bill against, in the house of commons, 626.
Burr, Mr. vice president, his character and conduct, 1192.
Buonaparté withdraws the civil code from the consideration of the legislative body, 25.
——— the discourse of to the Cisalpines, at Lyons, 80.
——— the letter of, to Toussaint, 271.
——— the influence of, over the press, 318.
——— and the cardinal legate, communications between, concerning religion, 385.
——— proclamation of, in Egypt, declaring himself a true Mussulman, 389.
——— letter of the Bey of Tunis to, 457.
——— message of, to the council of state of the Italian republic, on the peace, 458.
——— proclamation of, on the restoration of religion in France, 461.
——— the consuls order the sense of the people to be taken on making consul for life, 575.

Buonaparté, declared consul for twenty years by the senate, 575.
——— address of, to the legislative body on the treaty of Amiens, 577.
——— deliberation in the senate on the re-election of, 579.
——— address of, to the senate, 580.
——— consular decree respecting, 581.
——— the legislative body of the Italian republic summoned to meet at Milan, 661.
——— the emperor of Germany expresses great satisfaction that, is chosen consul for life, 798.
——— character of, by Mr. Windham, 950.
——— character of, extracted from Mr. Pitt's speech, 945.
——— Lucian, on the advantages that France and her allies derive from the treaty, 516.

C.

Cadiz, a French squadron leaves, 118.
Caithnesian's letter to Mr. Cobbett exculpating Mr. Otto from the publication of his letter, 404.
Cambridge, election for member of p. at——— 570.
———, his royal highness the duke of, about to depart for Hanover, 570.
———. the duke of, arrives at Hanover, 758.
Campo Formio, treaty of peace, between France and the king of Hungary and Bohemia, concluded at, 193.
Carmichael, Gen. receives the thanks of the legislature of Tobago, 759.
Carnatic, Nabob of, see India.
Catalogue of all the new books published in Europe and America, 971.
Causes, select ones in the several courts, 1142.
Celebration of the king's birth day, 664.
Ceremonies at the opening of the church at Notre Dame, 466.
Cession of Louisiana, 44.
Chalmer's estimate of the comparative state of Great-Britain, &c. noticed, 187.
Character of Buonaparté, extracted from Mr. Pitt's speech, 945.
——— of Buonaparté, by Mr. Windham, 950.
——— of Mr. Jefferson, extracted from the letters of Phocion, written by W. Smith, esq. 961.
Christophe burns the Cape and massacres the whites, 319.
———, surrender to the French, 727.
Church Affairs, 1058.
Cisalpine—Buonaparté meets the representatives of the republic at Lyons, 80.
——— the republic, subject to Buonaparté, 263.
Civil code, withdrawn from the consideration of the French legislative body, by Buonaparté, 25.
Clerical dispensations, 1130.
Clerical preferments, 1127.
Clergy, a third part of the, exist on twenty pounds or less *per annum*, 665.
——, tythes proven to be the property of the, and not payment for their labours, 666.
———, non-residence bill, debates in the House of Commons on the, 693.
———, Speech of Sir William Scott, on the non-residence of the, 1062.
Cobbett's, Mr. introductory address to the reader, 1.
———'s letters to the Right Hon. Henry Addington on the fatal effects of the peace, noticed, 30.
Cobbett's letters to Lord Hawkesbury on the sailing of the French fleet for the West-Indies, 67.
———'s arguments against the repeal of the additional duty on paper, 150.
———'s letters to Sir F. M. Eden, on the decrease of trade in England and America, 171.
——— Mr. recommends a duty on the importation of books into this country, 179,
———'s letter to the rev. Mr. Abercrombie on the schisms in the church of England, 174.
———'s letter to the Americans on the cession of Louisiana, 199.
———'s letter to Mr. Addington, on the violation of the preliminary treaty, 262.
———'s letter to Lord Hawkesbury, on the evils of the definitive treaty, 353.
———'s letter to M. Otto, commenting on Mr. O.'s letter to the French prisoners, 375.
———'s letter to Lord Hawkesbury on the omissions of the renewals of commercial relations, in the definitive treaty, 398.
———'s reply to the letter of a Caithnesian, 405.
———'s letter to Lord Hawkesbury on the cession of a part of the Portuguese Guyana to France, 427.
———'s letter to Lord Hawkesbury on the cession of Louisiana, 443.
———'s letter to Lord Hawkesbury on the non-renewal of treaties, 489.
———, Mr. attacked on the night of the illumination by a mob, six of whom are apprehended, 510.
———'s letter to Lord Hawkesbury on the injury and disgrace that the treaty produces to England, with a quotation from a piece written by Lucien Buonaparté, corroborating all Mr. C's assertions, 515.
———'s Mr. letter, proving that, by the non-renewal of treaties, England has lost the gum trade, 548.
———'s Mr. letter to Sir F. M. Eden, in reply to his defence of the definitive treaty, 552.
———, Mr. reply to W. H. on the treaties relative to the gum trade, 597.
———'s Mr. letter to Messrs. Nares and Beloe, on the conduct of the British Critic, 652.
———, Mr. the fellows who attacked his house, indicted, 671.
———'s Mr. letter to on the decline of national spirit, and the increase of effeminacy, 709.
———'s Mr. letter of to the author of the "letter to the proprietors of India stock, &c. "&c." 751.
———'s Mr. letters to Mr. Addington, extract from, 832.
College of Nova Scotia, copy of the charter for founding a, 1054.
Colonies, news from the British, 53.
———, decree respecting the trade of the French, 786.
Commerce of America, compared with her population, 237.
———, the freedom of, claimed by the companies of Pondicherry, Isle of France, &c. 569.
———, projects of France for increasing her, 609.
———, papers concerning, 801.
———, account of a society instituted in Lon-

don, for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, &c. 1021.
Commercial projects of France, 233.
——— stipulations made by France in thirteen different treaties, 481.
——— privileged companies, the French government accused concerning, 570.
Commons, proceedings in the house of, on the address in answer to the king's speech, 7.
———, the house of, passes a vote of thanks to Sir James Saumarez and his officers, &c. 10.
———, the convention with Russia and the preliminary treaty with France, laid before the house of, 10.
———, the house of, dicusses the preliminary treaty, 13.
———, the house of, passes a vote of thanks on the army and fleet in Egypt, 14.
———, debate in the house of, on the sailing of the French fleet for the West-Indies, 34.
———, debate in the house of, on the intended sale of colonial lands belonging to the king, 65.
———, proceedings in the house of, on the army extraordinaries, 98.
———, Mr. Abbot elected speaker of the house of, 107.
———, the attention of the house of, called to a breach of privilege in the "True Briton," 129.
———, a petition presented to the house of, from the booksellers and printers against the late duty on paper, 132.
———, the house of, receives a message from the king on the civil establishment, 133.
———, several petitions presented to the house of, 135.
———, the revenues of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales referred to in the house of, 137.
———, proceedings in the House of, on the American treaty act, 138.
———, debate in the house of, on reducing the army, 215.
———, debate in a committee of the house of, on the debtor's act, 215.
———, debate in the house of, on transferring the establishment from Bencoolen to Madras, 225.
———, proceedings in the house of, on Mr. Robson's declaration that the nation was insolvent, 227.
———, interesting debates, in the house of, on the American treaty bill, 229.
———, the house of, papers and resolutions to indemnify Lords St. Vincent and Grey, and American claims, 232.
———, a supply granted by the house of, 259.
———, a motion in the house of, to examine the corn trade between Great-Britain and Ireland, 260.
———, debate in the house of, on the Irish continuation duty bill, 261.
———, Mr. Fox pronounces an eulogium on the late Duke of Bedford, in the house of, 261.
———, proceedings in the house of, on a grant for supplying the arrears in the civil list, 333.
———, the house of, discusses the claims of the Prince, to the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, 338.
———, a motion made to the house of, respecting information concerning the population, resources, &c. of Trinadad, 365.
Commons, debates in the house of, on the new taxes, 370.
———, the house of, pass a vote of thanks to the army, navy, &c. 371.
———, a bill brought into the house of, concerning the non-residence of the clergy, 371.
———, debates in the house of, on continuing the restrictions on the payment of specie at the bank, 392.
———, debates in the house of, on a motion for censuring the late ministers, 393.
———, debates in the house of, on the consolidation and augmentation of the militia, 394.
———, debates in the house of, on the import and export duty, 396.
———, debates in the house of, on the beer and malt duty,
———, debates in the house of, on continuing the restrictions on the bank of Ireland, 528.
———, debates in the house of, on the tonnage, import and export duties, 529.
———, the definitive treaty laid before the house of, 531.
———, debates in the house of, on raising a sum by three lotteries, 532.
———, debates in the house of, on fixing a day for taking the treaty into consideration, 533.
———, debates in the house of, on a motion for papers connected with the treaty, 536.
———, a motion made in the house of, for papers concerning Malta, and a copy of the treaty of Luneville, 564.
———, a motion made in the house of, to thank his Majesty for removing the late chancellor of the exchequer, 565.
———, the house of, passes a vote of thanks to the right hon. William Pitt, 565.
———, a motion in the house of, for papers concerning the West-Indies, 567.
———, a motion made in the house of, for an account of the dying woods, gum, and mahogany imported into Great-Britain, 567.
———, a motion made in the house of, for an account of the prohibitions imposed on British commerce, since the preliminaries, 567.
———, the house of, the definitive treaty to be considered by, 567.
———, the definitive treaty finally discussed in the house of, 584.
———, names of those members of the house of, who voted for Mr. Windham's motion, 592.
———, debates in the house of, on the bill against bull baiting, 626.
———, proceedings in the house of, on Mr. Canning's motion concerning Trinidada, 689.
———, debates in the house of, on the Scotch militia bill, 690.
———, debates in the house of, on the clergy non-residence bill, 693.
———, the house of, grants sums to Dr. Jenner, and to Mr. Greathead, 694.
———, debates in the committee of the house of, on the sinking fund, 694.
———, the house of, attends public worship on thanksgiving day, 698.
———, the house of, votes a supply for the sea service, 718.
———, the house of, votes a supply for the army, &c. 719.
———, the house of, votes various supplies, 723.
———, various bills passed in the house of, 24.

Commons, debates in the house of, on a motion for papers concerning India, 774.
———, the house of, grants a sum of money to Dr. Smith, 777.
———, debates in the house of, respecting finances, 777.
———, the session of the house of, closed by a speech from the throne, 781.
Communications between the Cardinal Legate and Buonaparté, 385.
Company, East-India see India.
Comparative view of the American war and peace, and the late war and present peace, 505.
Compendium, Marten's, of the law of nations, noticed, 685.
Concordat between France and the Pope, 385.
———, the, produces some disturbances at Aix, 630.
Congress of the United States of America, a report laid before the, by the secretary of the treasury, 141.
——— of the United States, debates in the, on the countervailing duties, 239.
——— of the United States, Jefferson's report to the, on the American trade, 801.
——— of America, acts passed in the last session of, 1175.
Continental powers, a statement of the losses sustained by the war, 26.
Convention with Russia, laid before the house of lords, 9.
——— with Russia, discussed in the house of lords, 14.
——— with Russia discussed in the house of commons, 14.
——— concluded at St. Petersburg between Great-Britain and Russia, 74.
——— concluded at Constantinople with the Sublime Port, 115.
——— between France and the Batavian republic, explanatory to the definitive treaty, 361.
Cotton, a patent granted in France for a machine for spinning, 156.
Corfu, a new revolution in the island of, 184.
Cornwall, statement of the revenues of the duchy of, during the prince's minority, 185, 338.
Cornwallis, Marquis, see India.
Countervailing duties, not carried beyond the legal limits, 417.
Crisis of the sugar colonies, &c. &c. addressed to the right hon. Henry Addington, noticed, 619.

D.

Deaths, 32, 63, 96, 128, 159, 192, 224, 256, 288, 320, 352, 383, 416, 480, 543, 575, 607, 639, 671, 703, 767.
Debates, vide lords and commons, debates in parliament on the treaty of Amiens, analysed by X. 673.
Debt of the United States of America, 147.
Debtors act, debate on the, in the house of commons, 215.
——— relief bill, proceedings in the house of lords, on the, 740.
Decree of the French government respecting emigrants, 513.
Defects of the definitive treaty, 345.
Defence of the peace, observations on the, 539.
——— of the slave trade, from the old and new testament, 916.
Definitive treaty between the French republic, Spain, the Batavian republic, and Great-Britain, concluded at Amiens, 321.
Definitive treaty, evils of the, pointed out in Mr. Cobbett's letter to Lord Hawkesbury, 353.
Delusion among the people, concerning the peace, begins to disappear, 251.
Denmark, the hereditary princess of, delivered of a daughter, 211.
Deputation from the island of Malta praying his Majesty to keep possession of it, 120.
Dertaing, Gen. killed by Gen. Regnier in a duel, 631.
Dietrichestein, Count de, observations on two articles in the Times newspaper, noticed, 186.
Difficulties in the negotiations at Amiens, 315.
Directors of the India company, 473.
Discontent always produced by taxation, 378.
——— among the French generals, 676.
Discriminating duties, American, statement of the, 298.
Dispute, an account of the, between the lord-mayor and sheriffs of London, 1049.
Distributions of the British army and navy, 95, 223, 377, 800.
Disturbances in the republic of the seven islands, 409.
Dispensations, 1130.
Docks, the first stone of the London, laid, 778.
Domestic occurrences, 27, 60, 85, 119, 156, 185, 211, 249, 282, 314, 344, 373, 410, 471, 570, 632, 664, 698, 758, 787.
Dominica, revolt of the negro corps at, 695.
——— mutiny in the island of, 760.
Dominion to be derived by France from the cession of Louisiana, 444.
Doubtful conduct of Toussaint, 349.
Duckworth's, Admiral, letter to Villaret Joyeuse, 658.
Dundas's, evil consequences of Mr. measures with regard to India, 622, 712, 742.
——— Mr. letter, &c. see India.
——— Mr. censured by the East-India company, 748.
——— Mr. said to be the author of a letter to the proprietors of India stock, 752.
Dustmen, a handbill of two jacobinical, 244.
Dutch claim for property in the court of exchequer, 157.
——— threatened with war by Morocco, 372.
——— rejoicing of the, for the definitive treaty, 381.
——— East-India trade, 470.
——— possessions in the East-Indies, the English lose the right of trading to the, 501.
——— no longer to lower their flag to the English, 502.
Duthy's different effects of peace and war on the price of bread corn, noticed, 93.
Duties, discriminating, debates in congress on the, 239.
———, the, not carried beyond the legal limits, 417.
———, a table of the, paid on the importation of goods into England, in English, American and foreign ships, &c. 419.
———, debate in the house of commons on the tonnage, import and export, 529.
Duty on printing paper, Cobbett's reasons why the, should not be taken off, 150.
——— on the tonnage of ships opposed in a letter to Mr. Cobbett, by Amor Patriæ, 439.

E.

Earthquakes in the canton of Berne, 664.
East-Indies, see India.

Ecclesiastical preferments and promotions, 1127.
Eden's, Sir F. M. eight letters on the peace, &c. noticed, 30.
——— Sir F. M. Mr. Cobbett's letter to, on the decrease of trade in America and England, 171.
——— Mr. Cobbett's letter to Sir F. M, in reply to his defence of the definitive treaty, 552.
——— Sir F. M. eight letters on the peace by, with great additions, 2d edit. noticed, 619.
——— letters on the peace, extracts from, 830.
Effeminacy, letter of Philomisogallus on the increase of, in England, 707.
Egypt, the army and fleet in, receive votes of thanks from both houses of Parliament, 14.
——— Buonaparté's proclamation in, declaring himself a true Mussulman, 389.
——— the Porte intends to repair the fortifications in, 407.
——— actually evacuated by the French before the stipulation to that effect in the treaty, 606.
Elba, the island of, ceded to France, 263.
——— the advantages that will result to Great-Britain by the cession of, to the French, 358.
——— the island of, and the Italian republic, a motion made in the house of lords for papers concerning, 563.
Election for member of parliament at Cambridge, 570.
——— by the people always disorderly and improper, 792.
Elective franchise, the folly of, 791.
——— assemblies the most tyrannical, 793.
Embassies from the court of Vienna to various republics, 278.
Embarkation of troops in the British service for Jamaica, 314.
Emigrants French, decree of the French government concerning the, 513.
Emperor prohibits the importation of sugar into Austria, 157.
Engagement between La Sybelle and la Chiffronne, 156.
English trade on the decline, 159.
——— troops in possession of Alexandria, 282.
——— frigate, the crew of an, imprisoned by the Portuguese at Lisbon, 469.
——— the, excluded from the gum trade, 492.
——— the, deprived of the privilege of cutting log-wood in the bay of Honduras, 500.
——— the, excluded from the trade to the Dutch possessions in the East-Indies, 501.
——— the Dutch flag no longer to be lowered to the, 502.
——— and Portuguese ministers, a motion made in the house of lords, for the correspondence between, 563.
——— manufactures, the importation of, into France, prohibited, 569.
Enquiry into the nature and effect of the paper credit of Great-Britain, by Henry Thornton, Esq. M. P. noticed, 620.
Epigram, Le Brun's, on Carnot's vote, 696.
Essay, a political, on the commerce of Portugal and her colonies, &c. translated from the Portuguese, noticed, 620.
——— Gen. Hamilton's on neutral rights, 887.
——— on the means of recruiting the British army, 924.
——— on the balance of power, 931.
Europe, a list of all the new books published in, 972.
Evil consequences of the peace, 189.
Exchanged rates of 64, 96, 320, 304, 416, 480, 544, 475, 608, 640, 671, 704, 736, 768, 800.
Exchequer, the court of, confirms the claim for Dutch sequestrated property, 157.
Expenditure of the United States of America, 140.
Expenditures of the Irish treasury, abstract of them, 314.
Export duty, debates on it in the house of commons, 396.
——— a table of the kind, value, and distinction of the, of the United States of America, 616.
Exportation of gunpowder, &c. &c. prohibited, 344.
Exposure of the false statements, given by the True Briton, of the proceedings against the fellows apprehended in breaking in Mr. Cobbett's house, 541.
Extracts from thirteen treaties in which France has made commercial stipulations, 481.

F.

Finances, British, 1401.
Fires at Woolwich, by which property to an immense amount was destroyed, 620.
——— several considerable ones in America, 408.
Fisheries, the French are promoting their, 613.
Fleet, the, to be recalled from watching the motions of the French at St. Domingo, 763.
Floridas ceded to France, 253.
——— the great policy of France in obtaining the, and the advantages she will derive from them, 266.
——— the cession of the, necessarily follows that of Louisiana, 443.
Foreign intelligence, 24, 54, 79, 115, 156, 181, 210, 244, 278, 311, 340, 372, 407, 466, 539, 569, 599, 628, 660, 695, 727, 753, 786.
Forethoughts on the general pacification, noticed, 299.
Form of prayer to be used on the day appointed, for thanksgiving for the peace, 1058.
Fouilhoux arrested by the minister of police for a publication against Buonaparté, 54.
Fox's, Mr. eulogium on the late Duke of Bedford, 261.
France, preliminary treaty with, laid before the house of lords, 9.
——— preliminary treaty with, laid before the house of commons, 10.
——— sends out an expedition to reduce St. Domingo, 16.
——— the treaty of peace concluded at Luneville between her and the Germanic Body, 22.
——— concludes a treaty with Spain at Madrid, 52.
——— her influence over the Emperor of Germany, 55.
——— and Great-Britain, preliminary treaty between, concluded at London, 162.
——— and Russia, treaty between, concluded at Paris, 165.
——— and the Ottoman Porte, preliminary treaty between, concluded at Paris, 166.
——— and Portugal, treaty of peace between, concluded at Madrid, 166.
——— and Algiers, treaty of peace between, concluded at Algiers, 168.
——— and Turkey, about to renew their commercial relations, 181.
——— and the King of Hungary and Bohemia, treaty between, concluded at Campo Formio, 193.
——— her commercial projects, 234.

France, K. X's. letter on her views in America, 241.
——— and Spain, treaty of peace between, concluded at Basle, 290.
——— and Spain, treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive between, concluded at Ildephonso, 294.
——— and the Batavian republic, convention between, explaining the definitive treaty, 361.
——— and Portugal, the treaty of peace between, concluded at Utrecht, 425.
——— will derive an addition of dominion, and maritime resources by the cession of Louisiana, 444.
——— will acquire an influence in the United States, 447.
——— makes commercial stipulations in thirteen different treaties, 481.
——— admitted to the East-India trade, 496.
——— the importation of English manufactures into, prohibited, 567.
——— a legion of honour to be established in, 599.
——— one hundred and twenty thousand men raised in, for the peace establishment and a reserve, 599.
——— projects of, for extending her commerce, 609.
——— the commercial views and projects of, examined by Acatus, 609.
——— concludes a treaty with the Duke of Wirtemberg, 661.
——— the conduct of, gives great displeasure to the Americans, 765.
——— the naval projects of, 937.
French government, proceedings of the, 16, 42, 111.
——— fleet, debates in both houses of parliament on the sailing of the, for the West-Indies, 33.
——— government, notes presented to the, by the Russian minister at Paris, 73.
——— consuls in America, authorised to grant French licences to American ships, navigated by American seamen, 90.
——— squadron sails from Cadiz, 118.
——— morals, &c. 177.
——— armament, its arrival and hostile reception at St. Domingo, 268.
——— government makes a communication to the diet of Ratisbon on the consulta of Lyons, 289.
——— republic, Great-Britain, &c. definitive treaty between, 321.
——— general, at St. Domingo, declares Toussaint and Christophe outlaws, 341.
——— at St. Domingo, how to gain supplies, 351.
——— admiral, at St. Domingo, requests aid from the English admiral at Jamaica, 372.
——— funds, depression of them, 378.
——— government and Pope Pius VII. concordat between, concerning the re-establishment of the catholic religion in France, 385.
——— army, its successes at St. Domingo, 435.
——— republic and the regency of Tunis, treaty between, concluded at Tunis, 456.
——— army, great success of the, at St. Domingo, 462.
——— commanders, at St. Domingo, demand aid from the Spaniards at the Havannah, 468.
——— put 60 sail of American ships, laden with flour, under requisition, 468.
——— minister arrives at Lisbon, 468.
——— emigrants, decree of the French government concerning, 513.
——— cloths admitted into Lisbon at the same duties as English cloths, 538.
French armaments about to sail for St. Domingo and for Louisiana, 540.
——— colonies, slavery restored in the, 632.
——— generals, great discontent among the, 636.
——— troops embark from Genoa, 696.
——— customs, some regulations of the, 753.
——— colonies, decree respecting the trade of the, 786.
——— royalists, Mr. Windham's account of the, and of their treatment, &c. 955.
Funds, depression of the, 574.
Funds, view of the variations in, 1431.

G.

Gauls, proposal for making Buonaparté the first emperor of the, 60c.
Generals, great discontent prevailing among the French, 636.
Genoa, French troops embark from, 696.
Germanic Body, the treaty concluded at Luneville between the, and France, 22.
German booksellers punished, for styling Louis XVIII. king of France, 55.
Germany, the emperor of, expresses great satisfaction at seeing Buonaparté consul for life, 798.
Gibraltar to be governed by the Duke of Kent, 410.
Gloucester, Prince William of, arrives at Copenhagen, 754.
Government Bills unpaid, 228.
Great-Britain and France, preliminary treaty between, concluded at London, 162.
——— and Ireland, a motion in the house of commons to examine the corn-trade between them, 260.
——— the French republic, &c. definitive treaty, between, 321.
Greathead, Mr. rewarded by the house of commons for his invention of life-boats, 694.
Gregoire, the notorious Abbé, arrives in England, 787.
Grenville's, Lord, speech on the convention with Russia, noticed, 126.
——— Lord, calumniated in the Moniteur, 697.
Griffith's, Mr. description of the legislature of New Jersey, 793.
Guadaloupe, revolt in the island of, 83.
——— declared in a state of rebellion, 245.
——— the whites massacred in that Island, 286.
——— letter from the prefect of Bourdeaux respecting, 786.
Gum trade can no longer be carried on by the English, 492.
——— Mr. H's letter, endeavouring to prove that the English still have the right of carrying on the, 545.
——— Mr. Cobbett's reply to W. H's letter, in which he proves, that the English have no right to carry on the, 548.
——— W. H.'s letters on the treaties relating to the, 592.
——— Mr. Cobbett's reply to W. H.'s letter on the treaties relating to the, 597.
——— W. H.'s letter in support of his opinions concerning the, 710.
Guyana, Portuguese, Mr. Cobbett's letter to Lord Hawkesbury, on the cession of part of, to France, 427.

H.

Hamilton, Sir Edward, dismissed his majesty's navy, 62.
——— General Alexander, on neutral rights, 887.

Hamilton, Mr. his examination of the president's message to congress, 1168.
Hanover, his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge about to depart for, 570.
Havannah, all vessels sailing from American ports prohibited from entering the, 182.
———— the French at St. Domingo demand aid from the Spaniards at the, 468.
Hauterive, under secretary of state for foreign affairs, unfolds the commercial and naval projects of France, 234.
Hawkesbury, Lord, Mr. Cobbett's letter to, on the sailing of the French fleet for the West-Indies, 67.
———— Lord, Mr. Cobbett's letter to, on the evils of the definitive treaty, 353.
———— Lord, Mr. Cobbett's letter to, on the non-renewal of the commercial relations in the treaty, 398.
———— Lord, Mr. Cobbett's letter to, on the cession of a part of Portuguese Guyana to France, 427.
———— Lord, Mr. Cobbett's letter to, on the cession of Louisiana and the Floridas, 443.
———— Lord, Mr. Cobbett's letter to, on the omission to renew former treaties, 489.
———— Lord, Cobbett's letter to, on the injury and disgrace which the treaty will produce to England, with a quotation from a piece written by Lucien Buonaparté, corroborating all Mr. C.'s assertions, 515.
Hessian property on the left bank of the Rhine, the sequestration taken off the, 211.
Historical view of the causes of the non-residence, of the clergy, &c. noticed, 300.
Hoare's, debates in the house of Lords on, petition for a divorce, 213.
Holland proposes to admit the English trade, as during the war, 731.
Honduras, the English deprived of the privilege of cutting log-wood in the bay of, 499.
Honour, a legion of, to be raised in France, 599.
Hungary and Bohemia, and France, a treaty between, concluded at Campo Formio, 193.

I. J.

Jacobinical dustmen, two, publish a handbill, 244.
Jamaica, the assembly of, vote a service of plate for the Duke of Clarence, 120.
———— troops in the British service embark for, 314.
———— the English admiral at, solicited for aid by the French admiral at St. Domingo, 372.
Janissaries at Belgrade revolt and assassinate the Pacha, 82.
Jefferson, letter of president, to Tom Paine, inviting his return to America, 756.
————'s report to the congress, on the trade of the United States of America, 801.
———— character of Mr. extracted from the letter of Phocion, written by W. Smith, Esq. 961.
Jenner, Dr. rewarded by the house of commons for his discovery of the cow-pox, 694.
Ildephonso, treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between France and Spain, concluded at, 294.
Illuminations on the arrival of the definitive treaty, very few except the public offices, 347.
Import and Export duty, debates on, in the house of commons, 396.
Income tax to be repealed, 396.
Indemnities, conferences respecting the, to be held at Ratisbon, 246.
Indemnification granted to Lords St. Vincent and Grey against American claims, 232.
———— of the Prince of Orange, by whom paid? 380.
India company petitions the house of commons for permission to transfer their establishment at Bencoolen to Madras, 225.
India company, affairs of, 1201.
———— Mr. Dundas, letter to the chairman of, 1201.
———— first report of the special committee on said letter, 1210.
———— list of papers to be read on this subject, 1210.
———— minutes of the court of directors of the 4th of Feb. 1801, containing the resolutions adopted by the court, 1248.
———— Mr. Dundas letter to the chairman, 1254.
———— Marquis Wellesly, letter to the directors, 1256.
———— second report of the special committee, 1271.
———— Mr. Dundas, letter to the chairman, 1267.
———— third report of the special committee, 1323.
———— conclusion of this report, 622, 712, 742.
———— letter to the proprietors of East-India stock, 1334.
———— opinion of the proprietors respecting this letter, 747.
———— Nabob of the Carnatic's instructions to his agents, 1389.
———— intelligence, 373.
———— company, directors of the, 473.
———— trade, the French admitted to the, 496.
———— a committee of the directors, prove that Mr. Dundas's measures have injured the affairs of, 622, 712, 742.
———— company, the Nabob of Oude cedes certain territories to the, 664.
———— the present struggle between Mr. Dundas and the company, will end in the independence of, 130.
———— the evils of a private trade to, pointed out, 742.
———— company, the, meet, condemn the private trade, censure Mr. Dundas, and disapprove the appointment at Oude, 750.
———— affairs, in an alarming state, 763.
———— company, the attention of the house of lords called to the situation of the, 771.
———— debates in the house of commons, on a motion for papers concerning, 774.
Indians at Paris, 253.
Insurrection in Sierra Leona, 157.
———— at Tobago, quelled, 315.
———— of the peasants in the canton of Berne, 600.
———— of the negroes in Virginia, 797.
Intelligence, foreign, 24, 54, 79, 115, 155, 181, 210, 244, 278, 311, 340, 372, 407, 466, 539, 569, 599, 628, 660, 695, 727, 753, 786.
Ireland, a motion in the house of commons to examine into the state of the corn trade between Ireland and Great-Britain, 260.
———— debates in the house of commons on continuing the restrictions on the bank of, 528.
Irish peerages, motion concerning, in the house of lords, 258.
———— duties continuation bill, debates on the, in the house of commons, 261.

Irish receipts and expenditures, abstract of, 314.
Island of Trinidad, account of the, 857.
Italian republic, rights and constitution of the, examined, 111.
——— republic, proclamation issued by the, 169.
——— republic, proclamation of the vice-president of the, respecting the new system, 311.
——— republic, tacitly acknowledged by Great-Britain, 359.
——— republic, message from the council of state of the, to Buonaparté, on the peace, 458.
——— republic, address of the vice-president of the, to the citizens, 459.
——— republic and the island of Elbe, a motion made in the house of lords, for papers concerning, 563.
——— republic, the legislature of the, summoned by Buonaparté, 661.
Italy, a communication made by the French to the diet of Ratisbon, on the affairs of, 289.
Juridical proceedings, 1142.

K.

K. X.'s letter on the views of France in America, 241.
Kent, his royal highness the duke of, governor of Gibralter, 410.
The King's speech from the throne, 5.
——— message to the house of commons, on the deficiency in the provision for the civil establishment, 133.
——— copy of an address to, moved by Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham, 172.
——— address to, by the mayor, &c. of London, with his majesty's answer, 660
——— birth day, celebration of, 664.
——— addresses to, presented from various quarters, 664.
——— speech from the throne at the close of the session of parliament, 781.
——— of Sardinia resigns the crown in favour of his brother, 787.
——— address of the speaker of the house of commons to, 789.
——— speech from the throne, remarks on 790.
——— the guardian of the people, 796.
King's bench, appointment of chief justice of the, 383.

L.

Laws, the multiplication of, dangerous, 667.
—— passed during the last session of parliament, 1420.
Law proceedings, 1142.
Le Brun's epigram on Carnot's vote, 696.
Legate of the pope and Buonaparté, communications between the, concerning religion, 385.
Legion of honour to be raised in France, 599.
Legislature of New Jersey, Mr. Griffiths' description of the, 793.
Lent assizes, dates for holding the, 212.
" Letter to the proprietors of India stock, &c." note of the author of a, to Mr. Cobbett, 751.
Lisbon, a French minister arrives at, 469.
——— French cloths admitted into, at the same duties as English cloths, 538.
List, a, of all the new books published in Europe and America, 972.
Loan, the new, observations on, 348.
Log-wood, the English prevented from cutting in the Bay of Honduras, 499.
Lords, proceedings in the house of, on the answer to the king's speech, 7.
Lords, the convention with Russia and the preliminary treaty with France, laid before the house of, 9.
——— the house of, passes a vote of thanks to Sir James Saumarez and his officers, &c. 10.
——— the preliminary treaty discussed in the house of, 12.
——— the house of, passes a vote of thanks to the army and fleet in Egypt, 14.
——— the convention with Russia discussed in the house of, 14.
——— debates in the house of, on the sailing of the French fleet for the West-Indies, 33.
——— the attention of the house of, called to the pending negotiations between Sweden, Denmark, and Great-Britain, 66.
——— a petition presented to the house of from the insolvent debtors in the King's Bench and other prisons, &c. 97.
——— debates in the house of, on Mr. Hoare's petition for a divorce, 213.
——— ministers called upon in the house of, to give some reasons for the change in their conduct, 257.
——— motion in the house of, concerning Irish peerages, 258.
——— the attention of the house of, called to the disabled officers, 331.
——— debates in the house of, on an address to his Majesty, concerning the arrears in the civil list, 331.
——— information requested in the house of, concerning the definitive treaty, 363.
——— the attention of the house of, called to the important omissions in the definitive treaty, 390.
——— the definitive treaty laid before the house of, 522.
——— motion in the house of, for taking the treaty into consideration, 523.
——— motion in the house of, for the secret convention between France and Holland, 527.
——— a motion made in the house of, for papers concerning Malta, 563.
——— a motion made in the house of, for the correspondence between England and Portugal, 563.
——— a motion made in the house of, for papers concerning the Italian republic and the island of Elba, 563.
——— debates in the house of, on the definitive treaty, 581.
——— the names of those, who voted for Lord Grenville's motion, 583.
——— the attention of the house of, called to the clergy non-residence bill, 689.
——— the house of, attends divine worship on thanksgiving day, 698.
——— proceedings in the house of, on the debtors relief bill, 740.
——— debates in the house of, on Glenkin's canal bill, 740.
——— debates in the house of, on the repeal of the 129th standing order of the house, 740.
——— debates in the house of, on the alien bill, 769.
——— the attention of the house of, called to the situation of the East India company, 771.
——— debates in the house of, on the bill for the prevention of illicit games, 773.
——— the session of the house of, closed by a speech from the throne, 781.
London, the preliminary treaty between France and Great Britain, concluded at that city, 162.

London, the mayor and sheriffs of, address the king on the peace, 570.
——— docks, the first stone of the, laid, 788.
——— account of a society instituted in, for the encouragement of arts, manufactures and commerce, 1021.
——— account of the dispute between the lord mayor and sheriffs of, 1049.
Lotteries, debates in the house of commons on raising a certain sum by, 532.
Louisiana, cession of, 44.
——— Mr. Cobbett's letter to the Americans on its cession to France, 199.
——— the great policy of France in obtaining, 266.
——— Mr. Cobbett's letter to Lord Hawkesbury on the cession of to France, 443.
——— a French armament about to sail for, 540.
——— the Americans alarmed at the session of, 797.
Lucca, the republic of, accepts a new constitution, 57.
Luneville, treaty of, a motion made in the house of commons for a copy of the, 564.
Lyons, Buonaparte's speech to the representatives of the Cisalpine, at, 80.
——— Buonaparté congratulated by Prussia on the issue of the congress at, 281.

M.

Mac Arthur's financial and political facts, &c. noticed, 29.
Madrid treaty of, between France and Spain, 52.
——— treaty of peace between France and Portugal concluded at, 166.
Malt duty, debates on the, in the house of commons, 396.
Malta, a deputation from the island of, praying the king to keep possession of it, 120.
——— the arms of no longer placed at the head of the Petersburg gazette, with those of the empire, 150.
——— a sketch of the order of, in a note, 323.
——— the resources and situation of, and its insecurity demonstrated, 354.
——— papers concerning, called for in the house of lords, 563.
——— a motion for papers concerning, in the house of commons, 564.
——— the king of Spain, appropriates the estates of the order of, in his dominions to himself, 663.
Manufactures, the importation of English into France, prohibited, 569.
——— and commerce, account of a society instituted in London for the encouragement of arts, 1021.
Map of part of the United States, Florida, Louisiana and Mexico, 445.
—— of part of Portuguese Guyana, 429.
Maritime resources to be derived by France from the cession of Louisiana, 444.
Marriages, 32, 63, 96, 128, 159, 224, 256, 352, 383, 415, 543, 575, 607, 639, 671, 703, 767.
——— to be celebrated at the public fete on the 14th July, 798.
Marten's compendium of the law of nations, &c. &c. noticed, 685.
Martial, courts, held, 283.
Massacre of the Beys, 79.
——— of the whites at Guadaloupe, 286.
Mayor, the lord, invites the prince to dine at the Mansion-house, 410.
——— lord, appoints a general illumination, 412.
Lord Mayor, and sheriffs of London, account of the dispute between the, 1049.
Mediterranean, an American squadron sent to the, 245.
Memel, the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia meet at, 798.
Menou, general, challenged by general Renier, 631.
Mentelle's elements of history and geography, noticed, 31.
Milan, the legislative body of the Italian republic summoned to meet at, 661.
Militia, debates in the house of commons on the consolidation and augmentation of, 394.
——— the, useless, since no dependence can ever be placed on them, 668.
——— bill, debates in the house of commons, on the Scotch, 690.
Ministers called upon in the house of lords for some reasons for the change in their conduct, 257.
——— debates in the house of commons on a motion for censuring the late, 393.
——— the measures of the late, approved by the house of commons, 566.
Military promotions, 1096.
Misogallus's letter to Sir Joseph Banks, 327.
Mississippi, the interesting scene at the mouth of the, 735.
——— the Americans alarmed at the, being in the hands of the French, 797.
Mob, the, attack the house of Mr. Cobbett, on the evening of the illuminations for peace, 510.
—— six of the, that attacked Mr. Cobbett's house, apprehended, 511.
Moniteur calumniates Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham, 697.
Morals of Paris seen in an account of the births, bastards, marriages, divorces, and deaths, 177.
Morocco, the emperor of, threatens war against the Swedes and Dutch, 372.
Mortality, bills of for half year, 1432.
Mutineers in the Bantry Bay fleet executed, 28.
Mutiny in Dominica, 760.

N.

Nabob of the Carnatic, see India.
Napleton's advice to a young clergyman, in the united church of England and Ireland, noticed, 686.
Nation, receipt for the ruin of a great and independant, 179.
National institute, letter of Sir Joseph Banks to the, 327.
——— spirit, lost among the English, 709.
Naval preparations of the Barbary powers, 278.
—— projects of France, 937.
—— affairs, report of a committee of congress respecting the, of the United States, 661.
Navigation laws of Great Britain, observations on a strict adherence to the, 205.
——— of the Scheldt declared free, 471.
——— laws of England, the French determined to destroy the, 670.
Navy of Great Britain, statements of the distribution of the, 95, 223, 377, 799.
—— extraordinary preparations for the equipment of the, 250.
—— army, &c. thanked by the house of commons, 371.
—— promotions, 1096.
—— of America, 1181.
Naylor's history of Helvetia &c. noticed, 94.
Negotiation, object of France in protracting the, 209.
——— ministers advised to be firm, during the, 243.
——— at Amiens, difficulties in the, 315.

Negro corps, revolt of the, at Dominica, 695.
Negroes, the introduction of, degrading to the army, 701.
——— attack the settlement at Sierra Leone, 702.
——— insurrection of the, in Virginia, 797.
Neutral rights, general Hamilton's, essay on, 887.
New Orleans, neutral commerce prohibited at, by an order from the intendant, 577.
New books, a list of all the, published in Europe and America, 972.
New Jersey, description of the legislature of, by Mr. Griffith, 792.
Non-residence of the clergy, debate on the, in the house of commons, 371.
Note from the author of "A letter to the proprietors "of India Stock," to Mr. Cobbett, 751.
Notices of new books, 29, 92, 125, 186, 299, 619, 684.
Northern powers, the terms of peace with the, very dishonourable and injurious to England, 706.
Nova Scotia, copy of the charter for founding a college in, 1054.

O.

Object of France in protracting the negotiation, 209.
Observations on the weather, 160, 192, 222, 256, 288, 320, 352, 384, 416, 480, 512, 544, 576, 608, 640, 672, 704, 736, 768, 800.
——— on the defence of the peace, 539.
——— on a strict adherence to the navigation laws of Great Britain, 205.
——— on Dr. Sturges's pamphlet respecting non-residence, noticed, 302.
Occurrences, domestic, 27, 60, 85, 119, 156, 185, 211, 249, 282, 314, 344, 373, 410, 471, 570, 632, 664, 698, 758, 787.
Officers, the attention of the house of lords called to the disabled, 331.
——— in the army, some regulations concerning, 632.
Omissions in the definitive treaty, the attention of the house of lords called to the, 390.
——— to renew commercial relations in the treaty, Mr. Cobbett's letter to Lord Hawksbury on the, 396.
Orange, the prince of, arrives at Paris to solicit permission to enjoy his private property in Germany, 220.
——— the prince of, by whom to be indemnified? 380.
Otto's citizen, letter to the French prisoners, 374.
——— Mr. Cobbett's letter to citizen, on his letter to the French prisoners, 375.
Ottoman Porte and France, preliminary treaty between the, concluded at Paris, 166.

P.

Pacha at Belgrade assassinated by the Janissaries, 82.
Paine, Tom, letter of president Jefferson to, inviting his return to America, 756.
Paper, Cobbett's arguments against the repeal of the additional duty on, 150.
Papers connected with the treaty, moved for in the house of commons, 536.
Paris, treaty between France and Russia concluded at, 166.
——— preliminary treaty between France and the Ottoman Porte, concluded at, 166.
——— an account of the population, births, bastards marriages, divorces, murders, and deaths of, 177.
——— treaty of peace between Spain and Russia, concluded at, 784.
Parties, a description of the, among the politicians, 762.
Parliament, proceedings in, 5, 33, 65, 97, 129, 186, 213, 225, 257, 309, 331, 362, 390, 522, 562, 581, 625, 660, 688, 716, 740, 769.—See also lords and commons.
——— X's. analysis of the debates in, on the treaty of Amiens, 641, 673.
——— occupied with trifling and unimportant subjects, 729.
——— thin attendance of the members of, 761.
——— prorogued, 785.
Parliamentary papers, 1401.
Paswan Oglow sends commissioners to Constantinople to conclude a peace with the Porte, 211.
——— the immense and formidable army of, 632.
Peace, eight letters on the, by Sir F. M. Eden, noticed, 30.
——— the ill effects of the, in the United States, 59.
——— evil consequences of the, 189.
——— its fatal effects in America, 245.
——— the delusion of the people concerning the, begins to disappear, 251.
——— message from the council of state of the Italian republic to Buonaparté, on the, 456.
——— and war, the American, compared with the late war and present peace, 505.
——— the mayor and sheriffs of London address the king, on the, 570.
——— the county of Berks addresses the king on the, 570.
——— eight letters on the, by Sir F. M. Eden. 2d. edit. with great additions, noticed, 619.
——— verses occasioned by the, 620.
——— addresses to the king on the, presented from various quarters, 664.
——— the minister determined to obtain, on any terms whatever, 708.
——— Philo-Misogallus's letter on the dangerous consequences of the, 709.
——— extract from Eden's letters on the, 830
Petersburgh, the convention concluded at, between Great Britain and Russia, 74.
Petition presented to the house of lords from the insolvent debtors in the King's Bench and other prisons, 97.
——— of the ship owners of London against the new duties on tonnage, 715,
——— of the booksellers and printers, to the house of commons against the late duty on paper, 132.
——— several presented to the house of commons, 135.
Philo-Misogallus, letter of, on the decline of national spirit, and the prevalence of effeminacy, 707.
——— on the dangerous effects of the peace, 709.
Phocion, character of Mr. Jefferson, extracted from the letter of, written by W. Smith, esq. 961.
Pitt, the right hon. William, a motion made in the house of commons, to thank his majesty for removing, 565.
——— the right hon. William, subscription opened for the erection of a statue to, 570.
——— the birth day of the right hon. William, celebrated, 632.
——— the statue of the right hon. William, not to be erected until his death, 699.
——— character of Buonaparté, by the right hon. William, 945.
Poetical simile, on the ministry, 442.
Politics, summary of, 89, 122, 157, 188, 219, 250, 283, 315, 345, 378, 412, 476, 538, 572, 601, 633, 665, 699, 729, 761, 790.
Pope Pius VII. and the French government, concordat between, for the re-establishment of the catholic religion in France, 385.
Population of America, great increase of the, 237.
Popular assemblies always encroaching, 790.

Virginia Indians, letter from a ... [illegible] ...

Virginia, a partial insurrection ... [illegible] ...

Visitation of the universities ... [illegible] ...

W.

Wales, H. R. H. the prince ... [illegible] ...

Walpole, Sir Robert, his speech ... [illegible] ...

Wall, gentleman executed, ...

Walsh, proclamation of the ... [illegible] ...

Wardlaw, observations on the ... [illegible] ...

Warren, a British squadron ... [illegible] ...

Washington, his letter to the ... [illegible] ...

Watson, Dr. his speech ... [illegible] ...

Wedderburn, Alexander, his speech ... [illegible] ...

Wentworth, governor, his speech ... [illegible] ...

Wesley, Mr. his speech ... [illegible] ...

Whitefield, Mr. his speech ... [illegible] ...

Wilkes, his speech ... [illegible] ...

Williams, Mr. his speech ... [illegible] ...

Wilmington, earl of, his speech ... [illegible] ...

Wilson, Mr. his speech ... [illegible] ...

Wolfe, general, his speech ... [illegible] ...

Wood, Mr. his speech ... [illegible] ...

Wyndham, Mr. his speech ... [illegible] ...

Porte, the sublime, refuses to ratify the treaty concluded at Paris, 90.
—— the sublime, concludes a convention at Constantinople with Great Britain, 115.
—— the sublime, intends to repair the fortifications in Egypt, 407.
—— the sublime, accedes to the treaty of Amiens, 753.
Portsmouth, an armament fitted out at, in great haste, 211.
Portugal and Spain, treaty between, concluded at Badajos, 161.
——— and France, treaty of peace between, concluded at Madrid, 166.
——— the integrality of, as stipulated by the preliminaries, violated, 262.
——— and France, the treaty of peace between, concluded at Utrecht, 425.
——— and her colonies, a political essay on the commerce of, translated from the Portugeuse, noticed, 620.
Portuguese, the, imprison the crew of an English frigate at Lisbon, 469.
——— and English ministries, a motion made in the house of lords, for the correspondence between the, 563.
Power, essay on the balance of, 931.
Pratt's "Bread, a poem," noticed, 93.
Prayer, form of, to be used on the day appointed for thanksgiving for the peace, 1058.
Preferments, ecclesiastical, 1127,—see also the head of appointments and promotions.
Preliminary treaty between France and Great Britain, 162.
Preparations for the immediate equipment of the navy, 250.
——— at Paris for opening the churches, 400.
President of the United States, message of the, to both houses of congress, 46.
Press, state of the French, English, and American, 221.
——— Buonaparté influenced over the, 317.
——— destructions and regulations of the, in Berne, 753.
Prices current, 33, 64, 96, 159, 192, 224, 256, 288, 320, 352, 384, 416, 480, 544, 576, 608, 640, 704, 768, 800.
Princes of the house of Bourbon, propositions for the establishment of the, 245.
Prisoners, citizen Otto's letter to the French, 374.
Private trade, the, to India will be ruinous to the British possessions there, 745.
——— to India condemned by the directors of the company, 747.
Privileges of the house of commons violated by a paper called the True Briton, 129.
Probable effects of the peace, with respect to the commercial interests of Great Britain, noticed, 300.
Proceedings of the French government, 16, 42, 111.
——— of the ship owners against the tax upon tonnage, 474.
Promotions, naval, 1096.
Promotions, military, 1096.
Proclamation of the Italian republic, 169.
——— of the vice president of the Italian republic respecting the new system, 311.
——— of the French general at St. Domingo, 341.
——— in Egypt, in which Buonaparté declares himself a true Mussulman, 389.
——— on the restoration of religion in France, 461.
——— of peace by the king, 487.
——— of the conclusion of the war, 488.
Promotion for a thanksgiving day, 488.
——— the king's, for dissolving the present parliament and calling another, 783.
——— the king's, for summoning the sixteen peers of Scotland, 783.
——— of the organization of St. Domingo, by the clerc, 784.
Prohibition against exporting gunpowder, &c. 344.
Projects, the naval, of France, 937.
Promotions, 31, 63, 96, 127, 159, 191, 224, 255, 287, 320, 351, 383, 415, 479, 512, 543, 575, 607, 639, 702, 766, 798.
Proverbs, humourously applied to the ministry and their proceedings, 647.
Prussia, a cotton manufactory established in, 118.
——— congratulates Buonaparté on the issue of the assembly at Lyons, 281.
——— the King of, meets the Emperor of Russia at Memel, 798.
Public offices, very few other houses illuminated on the arrival of the definitive treaty, 347.
——— credit in danger, or frauds on the revenue, private wrongs and public ruin, &c. &c. By a Member of the Inner Temple, noticed, 687.
Publications,—a list of all the new ones in Europe and America, 972.

R.

Ratisbon, conferences respecting the indemnities to be held at, 246.
———, a communication from the French government, on the affairs of Italy, made to the diet of, 289.
Ray's letter on the ministry and their proceedings, 647.
Reader, Mr. Cobbett's introductory address to the, 1.
Reasons why those who approved the preliminaries should no longer defend the peace, 315.
Rebellion against France, Guadaloupe declared in a state of, 245.
Receipt for the ruin of a great and independent nation, 179.
Receipts of Ireland, an abstract of the, 314.
Recruiting the British army, essay on the means of, 924.
Reflections on the consequences of the cession of Louisiana and the Floridas, 253.
———, on the intelligence from St. Domingo, 264.
———, on the conquest of St. Domingo, 731.
Regency of Tunis and the French republic, treaty between, concluded at Tunis, 456.
Regulations of religious worship in France, 386.
Religion, Buonaparté's proclamation on the restoration of, in France, 461.
Remarks on the king's speech from the throne, 790.
Report of the secretary of the treasury of the United States laid before congress, 141.
——— Jefferson's, on the trade of the United States of America, 801.
——— Roberjot's, relative to his mission into the countries conquered by the armies of the north, and of the Sambre and Meuse, 811.
Republic of seven islands, Septimius's letter on the, 303.
——— of seven islands, disturbances in the, 409.
Reynier, Gen. having killed Gen. Destaing in a duel, and challenged Gen. Menou, banished from Paris, 631.
Restrictions on the payment of specie at the Bank, continued, 392.
Revenues of the United States of America, 144.

Revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, a statement of the fines paid from the, in aid of the civil list, during the prince's minority, 185.
——— of America, great increase of the, 237.
———, examination of the limits of the, 816.
Revolutions in Corfu, 184.
Rhine, the sequestration taken off all the Hessian private property, on the left bank of the, 211.
Rights, Gen. Hamilton's essay on neutral, 887.
Rigaud, the rival of Toussaint, ordered to France, 695.
Riot at Aberdeen, 699.
Roberjot's report to the convention on the conquests of the armies of the north, &c.
Royalists of La Vendée, still kept in prison, 287.
———, Mr. Windham's account of the French and of their treatment, 955.
Royal family attends the baptism of Lord Chesterfield's daughter, 344.
Russia, convention with, laid before the house of lords, 9.
———, convention with, laid before the house of commons, 10.
———, the minister of, at Paris presents notes to the French government, 73.
———, the convention concluded at St. Petersburg between, and Great-Britain, 74.
——— and France, treaty between, concluded at Paris, 165.
——— and Spain, treaty of peace concluded between, at Paris, 784.
———, the emperor of, meets the king of Prussia at Memel, 798.

S.

Saint Domingo, France sends out an expedition to reduce, 16.
———, the arrival and hostile reception of the French armament at, 268.
———, proclamation to the citizens of, 271.
———, reflexions on the intelligence from, 284.
———, Christophe burns Cape François in, 319.
———, movements of the French army in, 342.
———, the French admiral at, requests aid from the British admiral at Jamaica, 372.
———, successes of the French army in, 435.
———, another armament about to sail for, 540.
———, great successes of the French army in, 462.
———, all trade to, except to the Cape and Port Republicain, prohibited by the French, 577.
———, official details of the proceedings of the French and negro armies, 629.
———, to be supplied with provisions from the United States of America, 629.
———, the army and fleet at, supplied with money by the Spaniards, 636.
———, commercial regulations at, 663.
———, horrid cruelties committed at, 695.
———, peace restored to the islands of, by the surrender of Toussaint and Christophe, 728.
———, reflexions on the conquest of, 731.
———, the British fleet to be recalled from watching the motions of the French at, 763.
———, proclamation of the organization of the island of, 785.
Sardinia, the king of, resigns his crown in favour of his brother, 787.
Somerez, Sir James and his officers, &c. receive votes of thanks from both houses of parliament, 10.
Schisms in the church, Cobbett's letter on the, to the rev Mr. Abercrombie, 174.
Scheldt declared free, 471.
———, reflexions on the navigation of the, 764.
Scott, speech of the right hon. Sir William,, on the non-residence of the clergy, noticed, 619.
———, speech of Sir William, on the non-residence of the clergy, 1062.
Scotch militia bill, debates in the house of commons on the, 690.
Scotland, the king's proclamation for summoning the sixteen peers of, 783.
Sea service, a supply voted for the, in the house of commons, 718.
Separate article completing the definitive treaty, 513.
Septimius's letter on the republic of seven islands, 303.
Sheriffs appointed by his majesty for 1802, 127.
——— of London, letter of the, to the prince, concerning the lord mayor's dinner, 471.
——— of London, the prince's letter to the, 571.
——— of London, account of the dispute between the lord mayor and, 1049.
Ship owners, resolutions of the, against the tax upon tonnage, 474.
——— at a meeting in London opposed the duty on tonnage, 557.
——— of London, petition of the, against the new duty on tonnage, 715.
———, society of, formed, 1130.
Ships, duty on the tonnage of, opposed by Amor Patriæ, in a letter to Mr. Cobbett, 439.
——— greatly lowered in value by the peace, 633.
——— the great number of, unemployed, in consequence of the peace, 633.
Short view of the preliminaries, &c. noticed, 30.
——— view of the administrations of the government of America, &c. &c. by G. Anderson, esq. noticed, 688.
Sicily, the court assembled at, by the king, 468.
Sick and wounded officers refuse payment of, a bill 228.
Sierra Leone, an insurrection in, 157.
——— company applies for assistance to the house of commons, 669.
——— attacked by the natives, 702.
———, the house of commons grant money to the company of, 730.
———, engagement between the settlers at, and the natives, 757.
———, an account of, 862.
Simile, a poetical, 442.
Sinking fund, debates in the committee of the house of commons on the, 694.
Sir Sidney Smith presented with a magnificent piece of plate by the Turkish company, 411.
Sketch of the order of Malta, in a note, 323.
——— of the new taxes, 369.
Slavery restored in the French colonies, 632.
Slave trade defence of the, from the Old and New Testaments, 916.
Smyth, Dr. J. C. receives a sum of money from the house of commons, for his discovery respecting the prevention of contagion, 777.
Smith, William, of South Carolina, character of Mr Jefferson, 961.
Society, an account of the, instituted in London, for the encouragement of arts, manufactures and commerce, &c. 1021.
Society of ship-owners, formed, 1130.
Spain, treaty with France concluded at Madrid, 52.
——— restrains the importation of certain merchandizes, 139.
——— and Portugal, treaty between, concluded at Badajos, 161.
——— and France, treaty between, concluded at Basle, 290.

Spain and France, treaty of alliance between, concluded at Ildephonso, 294.
——, Great-Britain, &c. definitive treaty between, 321.
——, the king of, appropriates the estates, &c. of the order of Malta, in his kingdom, to himself, 663.
—— and Russia, treaty of peace between, concluded at Paris, 784.
Spaniards, the French commanders at St. Domingo, demand supplies from the, at the Havannah, 468.
Speaker of the house of commons chosen, 107.
——— of the house of commons, address of the, to the king, 789.
Specie, a bill brought into the house of commons for, containing the restrictions on the payment of, 392.
Speech of the cardinal legate to Buonaparté, 385.
—— from the throne, remarks on the king's, 790.
Spirit of anti-jacobinism, noticed, 688.
Squadron under Gantheaume, arrives at St. Domingo, 466.
Stadtholder's letter to the former members of his government, 83.
State papers, 21, 46, 73, 139, 161, 193, 268, 289, 321, 361, 385, 425, 481, 513, 577, 657, 783.
Statement of the losses of the continental powers by the war, 26.
——— of the distribution of the navy and army of Great-Britain, 95, 223, 377.
——— of the American discriminating duties, 298.
——— of the supplies already voted in the house of commons, and of the ways and means, 367.
Statue to the right hon. William Pitt, a subscription opened for the motion of a, 570.
Statistical table of the United States, 1200.
Stocks, prices of, 33, 64, 96, 128, 160, 192, 224, 256, 288, 320, 352, 384, 416, 480, 512, 544, 576, 608, 640, 672, 704, 736, 768, 800.
Sugar prohibited by the emperor from being imported into Austria, 157.
——— colonies, the crisis of the, addressed to the right hon. Henry Addington, noticed, 619.
Summary of politics, 89, 122, 157, 188, 219, 250, 283, 315, 345, 378, 412, 476, 538, 572, 601, 633, 665, 699, 729, 761,
Supplies granted by the house of commons, 259.
——— voted by the house of commons, 723.
——— for the French at St. Domingo, how to be obtained, 351.
Sweden, threatened with war by Moreau, 372.
———, the king of, acceeds to the convention, 788.
Switzerland, the melancholy state of, described in a letter, 183.
———, a great part of, besieged by the French, 265.
———, factious and discontented state of, 280.

T.

Table of duties payable in England on the importation of goods in English and foreign ships, &c. 419.
—— statistical, of the United States of America, 1200.
Tandy, James Napper, sails from Wicklow, 282.
Tax on income to be repealed, 369.
—— to be laid on malt and hops, &c. &c. 369.
Taxation produces discontent in all countries, 378.
Ternate, the island of, surrendered to his Majesty's forces in the East-Indies, 29.
Thanksgiving day, proclamation for a, 488.
——— day, both houses of parliament attend divine worship on, 698.
Thornton's enquiry into the nature and effect of the paper credit of Great-Britain, noticed, 620.
Thoughts on the residence of the clergy, &c. noticed, 301.
Thurgood's causes and consequences of the peace, &c. noticed, 29.
Tierney, Mr. his motions about finances, 1401.
Tobago, the insurrection in the island of, quel'ed, 315.
———, the legislature of, pass a vote of thanks to Gen. Carmichael, 759.
Tonnage, proceedings of the ship owners on the duty on, 474.
———, duty on, opposed at a meeting of the ship owners in London, 557.
Topographical description of the countries bordering on the Rhine, 811.
Toussaint's subserviency to France, 187.
———, flies into the interior of St. Domingo, on the arrival of the French, 269.
———, Buonaparté's letter to, 271.
———, and Christophe outlawed, 341.
———, doubtful conduct of, 349.
———, surrenders to the French, 728.
Trade of England on the decline, 159.
——, Cobbett's letter to Sir F. M. Eden, on decrease of, in America and England, 171.
———, great decline of, at London, 633.
———, private, to India, condemned by the directors of the company, 747.
———, the private, to India, will be ruinous to the English, 745.
Trials, account of select ones, 1142.
Treaties, extracts from thirteen, in which France has made commercial stipulations, 481.
——— Mr. Cobbett's letter to Lord Hawkesbury on the non-renewal of ancient, 489.
——— W. H.'s letter on the non-renewal of ancient, with Mr. Cobbett's reply, 545.
Treaty, preliminary, with France, laid before the house of lords, 9.
——— preliminary with France, laid before the house of commons, 10.
——— preliminary, discussed in the house of lords, 12.
——— preliminary, discussed in the house of commons, 13.
——— of peace, concluded at Luneville, between France and the Germanic Body, 22.
——— between France and Spain, concluded at Madrid, 52.
——— between Spain and Portugal, concluded at Badajos, 161.
——— preliminary, between France and Great-Britain, concluded at London, 162.
——— of peace, between France and Russia, concluded at Paris, 165.
——— preliminary, between France and the Ottoman Porte, concluded at Paris, 166.
——— of peace, between France and Portugal, concluded at Madrid, 166.
——— of peace, between France and Algiers, concluded at Algiers, 168.
——— definitive, of peace, between France and the emperor, king of Bohemia and Hungary, at Campo Formio, 193.
——— preliminary with France, violations of it, 262.
——— of peace, between France and Spain, concluded at Basle, 290.
——— of alliance, offensive and defensive, between France and Spain, concluded at Ildephonso, 294.
——— definitive, between the French republic, Spain, the Batavian Republic, and Great-Britain, concluded at Amiens, 321.
——— definitive, its defects, 345.

Treaty definitive, the attention of the house of lords, called to its important omissions, 390.
——— of peace between France and Portugal, concluded at Utrecht, 425.
——— between the French republic and the regency of Tunis, concluded at Tunis, 456.
——— the definitive, completed by a separate article, 573.
——— the definitive, laid before the house of lords, 522.
——— the definitive, laid before the house of commons, 531.
——— Mr. Cobbett's letter on the definitive, to Sir F. M. Eden, in reply to his defence of it, 552.
——— of Luneville, a motion made in the house of commons for a copy of the, 564.
——— the definitive, a day fixed for the discussion of, in the house of commons, 567.
——— the definitive, finally discussed in the house of lords, 583.
——— the definitive, finally discussed in the house of commons, 584.
——— of Amiens, X.'s analysis of the debates in parliament on the, 641, 673.
——— between France and the Duke of Wirtemberg, concluded, 661.
——— of Amiens acceded to by the Ottoman Porte, 753.
——— of peace, concluded at Paris, between Spain and Russia, 784.
Trinidad, motion in the house of commons, for requesting information of the resources, &c. &c. of the island of, 366.
——— proceedings in the house of commons, on Mr. Canning's motion concerning, 689.
——— account of the island of, 857.
True Briton, Mr. Cobbett's exposure of the false statements given in the, of the proceedings against the fellows who attacked his house, 541.
Tunis and the French republic, treaty between, concluded at Tunis, 456.
——— letter of the bey of, to Buonaparté, 457.
Turkey and France about to renew their commercial relations with each other, 181.
Turkish company present Sir Sidney Smith a magnificent piece of plate, 411.
Tythes, the, proven to be the property of the clergy, and not payment for their labour, 666.

U.

Utrecht, the treaty of peace between France and Portugal, concluded at, 425.

V.

Calais, taken possession of by the French, 199.
Verses occasioned by the peace, 620.
Vienna, a dispute at, between the Russian and French ambassadors, 56.
——— embassies from the court of, to various republics, 278.
Villaret Joyeuse, letter from admiral, to the French minister of marine, 657.
——— admiral Duckworth's letter to admiral, 658.
Virginia, a partial insurrection among the negroes in the state of, 184.
——— insurrection of the negroes in, 797.
Vindication of the convention with Russia, in six letters, noticed, 93.

W.

Wales's, H. R. H. the prince of, revenues referred to in the house of commons, 137.
——— a statement of the sums paid from the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, in aid of the civil list, during the minority of, 185.
——— claims to the revenues of Cornwall, discussed in the house of commons, 338
——— to dine with the lord mayor, 410.
——— letter to, from the sheriffs of London, stating their reasons for not dining with the mayor, 471.
——— answer of to the sheriffs, 571.
Wall, governor, executed, 63.
——— a statement of the trial of, 85.
War, proclamation of the conclusion of the, 488.
——— and peace, the American, compared with the late war and present peace, 505.
Ways and means, stated in the house of commons, 368.
Weather, observations on the, 160, 192, 222, 256, 288, 320, 352, 384, 416, 480, 512, 544, 576, 608, 640, 672, 704, 736, 768, &c.
West Indies, a British squadron sent to the, 124.
W. H. letter of, in support of the opinion that, the English have not relinquished the right to the gum trade, 545.
——— letter of, in reply to Mr. Cobbett, on treatises relative to the gum trade, 592.
——— letter of, in support of his opinions respecting the gum trade, 710.
Wellesley, Marquis, see India.
Windham's, the Rt. Hon. William, speech on the preliminaries of peace, noticed, 30.
——— calumniated in the Moniteur, 697.
——— character of Buonaparté, 950.
——— account of the number, means, character and views of the French royalists, and their treatment by the British government, 955.
Wirtemburg, the duke of, concludes a treaty with France, 661.
Woolwich, property to an immense amount destroyed by fire at, 632.
Word to the alarmists on the peace by a graduate of Cambridge, noticed, 302.
Works,—a list of all the new ones in Europe and America, 972.

X.

X's. analysis of the debates in parliament, 641.
——— on the treaty of Amiens, 673.

Z.

Zurich, an insurrection in the canton of, 119.

END OF VOL. I.

Printed by Cox and Baylis,
Great Queen Street.